

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

Translated from Syriac

by E. A. Wallis Budge

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[The history of the last ten years in the Chronography was not written by Bar Hebraeus, who died in 1286; the writer was probably his brother, Bar Sawma Safi.]

The pagination of the present edition is that of Paul Bedjan's Syriac text, which Budge indicates in brackets *within* his English translation.

Chronological tables are available on another page of this site: [Chronological Tables](#).
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Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

[1] The Book of the Chronicle of the Generations [of Kings]

WE, invoking the help of the Holy Trinity, Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, One veritable God, begin to write the 'Book of the Chronicle of the Generations [of Kings]' which was composed by MAR GREGORY, the Maphrian, the Light of the East and of the West, who is ABU'L-FARAJ, the son of AARON, the physician, who [came] from the city of MELITENE, who is commonly called 'BAR 'EBHRAYA' (i.e. 'the son of the Hebrew').

Firstly. The Preface

GOD, help my feebleness!

Blessed be Thou, Lord, and Lord of the Universe, the BEGINNING and the END;

Thou art the First, and Thou art the Last. With Thee every course of action is prepared, and unto Thee all praise is rightfully due;

And to the Son, the Word, the strength of Thy wisdom,

And to the Holy Spirit, the Life of Thy Being,

From everlasting, and now, and for ever.

And as this our rational being was created so that it might know righteousness, so that it might glorify it, and goodness that it might find it; and as knowledge in the first place becometh rich through thoughts of a theoretical nature, and it in the second place profiteth through practical (i.e. actual) hearings, the calling to remembrance of the things, both good and bad, which have happened in each and every generation conferreth no small benefit on all those who care greatly to acquire what is good, and who take pains to hate what is bad, and it urgeth a man to demonstrate pointedly the things which are excellent related thereby, and inciteth him to reject the disgraceful happenings which it narrateth.

For a period of eighty years none of our people have given any thought to this object, and to the doings of this none of our people has devoted himself thereto (that is to say, from the time of the blessed old man MICHAEL, the deceased Patriarch, who compiled that great threefold historical chronography), and to the [information] afforded by the old and antiquated historical chronographies of EUSEBIUS, I mean him of CAESAREA, and SOCRATES, the scholastic, and ZACHARIAH, the rhetorician, and JOHN of ASIA, and DIONYSIUS of TALL MAHRE, together with what he himself quickened. It hath [2] seemed to me that a similar breach and a gap which inviteth [filling] existeth in respect of us and our people, and that the famous events in the affairs of the world, and also in those of the Church which have happened in the period which precedeth us which will fall into oblivion and be no longer found in our own times after the lapse of much time will be sought for. Therefore, according to what time hath brought I, having entered the Library of the city of MARAGHAH of 'ADHORBIJAN, have loaded up this my little book with narratives which are worthy of remembrance from many volumes of the SYRIANS, SARACENS (ARABS), and PERSIANS which are [preserved] here. And those which concern the government of the world I have set in order from the Patriarchs, the first of whom was ADAM, and from them I proceed to the JUDGES of the HEBREWS,

then to their kings, then to the CHALDEANS, then to the MEDES, then to the PERSIANS, then to the pagan GREEKS, then to the RHOMAYE (i.e. BYZANTINES), then to the Christian GREEKS, then to the ARABS, and then conclude with the HUNS who [live] in our own days, order after order. And these I have committed to the First Part of the CHRONOGRAPHY. In the matter of ecclesiastical affairs I have begun with AARON, the first high priest, and as I end, to those who stand at the head today in the Second Part of the Ecclesiastical History. This last I have sealed in two discourses; the first treateth of the Western high-priesthood which is of ANTIOCH, and the second treateth of our own Eastern high-priesthood.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

I

The Patriarchs. From Adam to Moses.

The First Series of generations, which beginneth with the Patriarchs.

[3] (1) ADAM, the first man, the king of those who are on the earth, according to the opinion of the Divine Book, was created on Friday, the sixth day of the month of NISAN, the first month of year one of the existence of the world, which began on the first day of the week (Sunday), the first day of the month of NISAN. Now 'ANYANOS (2) (ANIANUS) the monk, adducing testimonies from the Book of ENOCH, saith, that seventy years after the expulsion from PARADISE, ADAM knew EVE, and she brought forth CAIN. And after seven (or, seventy) year, she brought forth ABEL. And after fifty-three years CAIN slew ABEL, and ADAM and EVE mourned for him one hundred years. And then ADAM knew EVE again, and she brought forth SETH. And according to METHODIUS (3) thirty (or, three) years after they had gone forth from PARADISE [ADAM] begot CAIN together with KLIMYA (or KLIMA, or EKLIMA) his sister. And after another thirty years [ADAM] begot ABEL together with LABHUDHA (or, 'ABHUDHA) his sister. And when ADAM was one hundred and thirty years old ABEL was killed, and when he was two hundred (4) and thirty years old he begot SETH. [4] All the years that ADAM lived were nine hundred and thirty years.

After ADAM [came] SETH his son. In the time of SETH, when his sons remembered the blessed life [which they had led] in PARADISE, they went up into the mountain of HERMON, and there they led a chaste and holy life, being remote from carnal intercourse (or, marriage); and for this reason they were called 'IRE (i.e. 'Watchers', and 'Sons of 'ALOHIM' (=Sons of God)). Now SETH, being two hundred and five years old, begot 'ANOSH; and all the years that SETH lived was nine hundred and twelve years.

After SETH [came] 'ANOSH his son. He announced that he would call upon the Name of the Lord. Now, although he submitted to marriage, he was not neglectful in pleasing God, and he did so more than those who chose a life of virginity and who went up into [the mountain of HERMON] but who did not abide in (i.e. keep) their covenant. 'ANOSH was one hundred and ninety years old when he begot KAINAN, and all his years were nine hundred and five. After 'ANOSH [came] KAINAN his son, who at the age of one hundred and seventy years begot MAHLALA'IL; and all the years of his life were nine hundred and ten years.

And after KAINAN [came] MAHLALA'IL his son, who at the age of one hundred and sixty-five years begot YARD; and all the years of his life were eight hundred and ninety-five years.

And after MAHLALA'IL [came] YARD his son, who, when he was one hundred and sixty and two years old begot HANOKH (ENOKH); and all the years of his life were nine hundred and sixty and two years. And in the fortieth year [of the life] of YARD, that is to say in the year one thousand of the world, the Sons of God, about two hundred souls, came down from the mountain of HERMON, because they had lost all hope of a return to PARADISE. And because they lusted for carnal intercourse with women, their brethren the sons of SETH and ANOSH despised them, and regarded them as transgressors of the covenant, and they refused to

give them their daughters. And because of this they (i.e. the men from HERMON) went to the children of CAIN, and took wives, and begat mighty men of names, that is to say, men notorious for murders and robberies. Moreover, they set up over them the first king, a man whose name was SAMYAZOS, and when they began to quarrel with their brethren the children of SETH, they forced them also to set up a king over them, and they set up a king.

The first was a man whose name was 'ALOROS.

And the second was 'ALPAROS.

And the third was 'ALMILON.

And the fourth was 'AMMANON.

And the fifth was MIGHALAROS.

And the sixth was 'AONOS, the shepherd.

[5] And the seventh was 'AODHORANBOS.

And the eighth was 'AMPESIS.

And the ninth was 'AOTYARTIS,

And the tenth was KSIOTHROS (or KSIORTHOS) his son, in whose days the FLOOD took place.

All these were KHALDHAYE, that is to say ANCIENT SYRIANS, according to the tradition of the early writers. And because the greater number of [these] writers were GREEKS, they changed the sounds of the Chaldean names and did not pronounce them as they were pronounced in Chaldean fashion. For behold, also, in the case of 'NOH' (NOAH), which is a pure Syrian name, and is derived from *nawha*, yet they (i.e. the Greeks) call it 'NOACHOS'. And it is not only the ancient [writers] who do this, but people who are living in our own days are in the habit of changing the pronunciation [of words], thus YA'KOB, which [is derived] from *'Ekbha* is called 'AIAKOBHOS', and BAR-SAWMA they call 'SOMOS'; and many others.

And after YARD [came] HANOKH (ENOC), who at the age of one hundred and sixty-five years begot MATHUSLAH (METHUSELAH). And having pleased God for three hundred years he was translated to the place where God wished him [to be], and it is said, to Paradise, the place where the first ADAM was when he transgressed the command in days of old. Now this ENOC made manifest before every man the knowledge of books and the art of writing. The ancient GREEKS say that ENOC is HARMIS (HERMES) TRIS-MAGHISTOS (5) (the 'THRICE GREAT'), and it was he who taught men to build cities; and he established wonderful laws. And in his days one hundred and eighty cities were built; of which the smallest is URHAI (EDESSA). And he invented the science of the constellations and the courses (orbits?) of the stars. And he ordained that the children of men should worship God, and that they should fast, and pray, and give alms, and [make] votive offerings, and [pay] tithes. And he rejected the foods [which produced] impurities, and drunkenness. And he ordered festivals for the entrance of the sun into each Sign of the Zodiac, and for the New Moon, and for every star (planet?) when it entereth its house or when it riseth. And he commanded [men] to present offerings of perfumes (sweet incense?), and beasts for slaughter sacrificially, and wine, and offerings of first-fruits of every kind. And they say that he received all this doctrine (or, learning) from 'AGHATHODAHMON (AGATHODAIMON), and they also say that 'AGHATHODAHMON was SETH, the son of 'ADHAM, that is to say, the priest of the priest of ENOC. And they also say that 'ASKLAIPIDIS (AESCULAPIUS), the wise king, was a disciple of HERMES, that is to say, of ENOC.

And when God translated [6] ENOC to Himself, 'ASKLAIPYADIS (AESCULAPIUS) was greatly afflicted because the earth and the inhabitants thereof were deprived of his blessings and his wisdom. And he painted his picture in most marvellous fashion, as one who is being taken up into heaven, and he set up an image of HERMES in the temple in which he used to pray and worship God. And when went into that temple he used to sit down before it as he used to sit before him when he was alive, and he was blessed thereby. And it is said that this thing which had been made was the cause of the worship of images in the world. Now after many

generations the Greeks imagined that that image was the image of 'ASKLAIPYADIS (AESCULAPIUS), and for this reason they magnified it greatly, and they swore oaths by it before Christianity [existed]. For HIPPOCRATES said, 'My disciples, I adjure you by the creator of death and life, and by the father of your father, 'ASKLAIPYADIS'. And he said, 'His name is derived etymologically from beauty, and light, and healing, and therefore it is right that every physician should be like unto him in purity, and chasteness, and holiness'. And GALEN said, 'It is not seemly to deny the healing which cometh to the sick when they go into the temple of 'ASKLAIPYADIS'. And HIPPOCRATES saith, 'His staff on which he supported himself was the *netaphtha* (i.e. marshmallow = *hibiscum*, or *althaea ficifolia* or *offcinalis*)'. And GALEN saith, 'It indicateth moderation, which is the most excellent thing, because the marshmallow is half-way between heat and cold'.

After ENOCH [came] MATHUSLAH (METHUSELAH) his son. When he was one hundred and sixty and seven years old he begot LAMKH (LAMECH); all his days were nine hundred and sixty and two years.

After METHUSELAH [came] LAMECH his son. When he was five hundred years old he begot SHEM; all the days of his life were nine hundred and fifty years.

In the six hundredth year of his [life] the FLOOD took place on the twenty-seventh day of [the month of] IYAR. There was heavy rain for forty days, and the waters increased and floated the ARK which NOAH had made, and he and his wife, and his three sons and their wives went into it by the command of God. And the waters rose up above the high mountains to a height of fifteen cubits. Then the wrath subsided, and on [7] the twenty-seventh day of the month of IYAR of the year following, they went forth from the ARK, which they left in APAMAEA, the metropolis of PISIDIA.

According to what JOSEPHUS said: the years from ADAM to the FLOOD added together are two thousand, and two hundred, and forty and two.

And then NOAH divided the earth among his three sons:

The Border of SHEM: From PERSIA and BHAKURTOS to HENDO (INDIA) and RINOKURA, [where are] the ASSYRIANS, the CHALDEANS, the LYDIANS (the LORIAN?), the SYRIANS, the HEBREWS, and the PERSIANS.

The Border of HAM: From RINOKURA to GADHIRON. And his sons are, the INDIANS, the HITAYE (HITTITES), the YABHOSAYE (the JEBUSITES), the HAWAYE (the HIVITES), the AMORITES, the GIRGASITES, the 'ARODHAYE (the ARVADITES).

The Border of YAPHT (JAPHET): From MEDIA to GADHIRON, the north side. And his sons are the MACEDONIANS, the ARMENIANS, the MEDES, the GREEKS, the LATINS, the BYZANTINES, [and] the 'IBHERAYE.

After NOAH [came] SHEM his son. When he was one hundred and one years old he begot 'ARPACHSHAR (ARPHAXAD); all [the days of] his life were two hundred years.

After SHEM [came] ARPHAXAD his son. When he was one hundred and thirty years old he begot KAINAN; all [the days of] his life were four hundred and sixty and five years.

After ARPHAXAD [came] KAINAN his son. When he was one hundred and thirty years old he begot SHALAH; all [the days of] his life were four hundred and thirty years. Now EUSEBIUS doth not reckon this KAINAN and his years in his table of years; neither doth the Hebrew Book (i.e. the Bible: see Genesis xi. 12-

14), and our Syrian Book doth not. But LUKE (see chap. iii, v. 36) mentioneth him in the Gospel. And according to what is said, it was he who invented CHALDAYUTHA (i.e. Astrology and the Art of Magic). His sons worshipped him as a god, and set up an image of him; thence began the worship of idols. And he built the city of HARRAN in the name of HARAN his son. After KAINAN [came] SHALAH his son. When he was one hundred and thirty years old he begot 'ABHAR (EBER); all [the days of] his life were four hundred and sixty years.

After SHALAH [came] 'ABHAR (EBER) his son. He was one hundred and thirty and three years old when he begot PALAGH (PELEG); all [the days of] his life were three hundred and forty-three years. And it is said that the HEBREWS derive their name from him.

After 'ABHAR (EBER) [came] PALAGH his son. He was one hundred and thirty years when he begot 'AR'O (REU); all [the days of] his life were three hundred and forty-three years.

And in the one hundred and first year of his [life] PANOPIS, the first king of EGYPT, reigned sixty-eight years.

And in the one hundred and fortieth year of PALAGH the earth was divided a second time, between the sons of NOAH. And to the sons of SHEM [8] came the inheritance from the middle of the inhabited world to the limit thereof on the east, [including] PALESTINE, ARABIA, and PHOENICIA, and the country of SYRIA, and all the country between the Two Rivers (MESOPOTAMIA), and HYRCANIA, and 'ATHOR (ASSYRIA), and the country of SEN'AR (SHINAR), and BABIL, and KARDI, and all PERSIA, and NORTHERN INDIA and BACTRIANA. And to the sons of HAM [came the inheritance], the whole of the south, from east to west, INDIA (Central, Outer, and Southern), KUSH, SHEBHA, EGYPT, LYBIA, THEBAIS, AFRICA, and towards the north CILICIA, PAMPHYLIA, PISIDIA, MYSIA, PHRYGIA, LUKYA (LYCIA), LYDIA, and of the Islands [of the MEDITERRANEAN] CYPRUS, CHIOS, SICILY, and twenty others. And to the sons of JAPHET [came the inheritance], the whole of the north from east to west, the country of the 'ALANAYE (GERMANS, RB: Alans?), the TURKS, MEDIA, ARMENIA, CAPPADOCIA, GALATIA, ASIA, MYSIA, TARKI (THRACE?), 'ILADHA (HELLAS), the land of the GREEKS (IONIANS), the RHOMAYE (BYZANTINES), the SARMATIANS, the 'ASKLABHE (SCLAVS), the BULGARS, the GALLAYE (GAULS?), the SPANIARDS as far as GADIRA.

And after PALAGH died and the sons of JAKTAN, his brother, saw that they had no inheritance, they set up three governors, SHEBHA, and 'ASHER, and HAWILA, and they seized [other] countries. And men began to build fortresses (or, citadels) whereunto they might go and take refuge from the armour (or, weapons) of the sons of JAKTAN, for they were the first to begin to arm themselves. And when the sons of CANAAN, the son of HAM, the son of NOAH, saw that the land of PALESTINE and the land of LEBHNAN (LEBANON) were good, they sat down there and they did not wish to go to their inheritance, which was the western maritime regions of EGYPT.

After PALAGH [came] 'AR'O (REU) his son. When he was one hundred and thirty-three (?) years old he begot SEROGH (SERUG); all [the days of] his life were three hundred and thirty and seven years.

And in the seventieth year of REU the building of the Great Tower in the land of SEN'AR (SHINAR) began, and NEMRODH (NIMROD), the son of KUSH, fed the builders on the beasts which he hunted. And forty years after the Tower was finished God sent a wind and the Tower was overturned, and NEMRODH died in it. It was he who after the FLOOD reigned in BABIL. Now his royal crown was of woven work, even as 'ASAPH wrote. And NEMRODH built three cities 'ARACH (ERECH), 'AKHAR (AKKAD), and KALYA (CALACH), that is to say 'URHAI (EDESSA), NISIBIS, and SALIK (SELEUCIA). And the speech of them

(i.e. the builders of the Tower) was divided into seventy languages. And the land of SEN'AR (SHINAR) was called 'BABHEL' that is to say, 'Confusion'. And Saint [9] BASIL and MAR 'APRIM (EPHREM) have decided that the first (i.e. oldest) language which existed before the division of tongues was SYRIAC, even as the word 'BHOLBALA' itself testifieth. But the pious JACOB and JOHN of YATHREB think that HEBREW was the first (i.e. oldest) language—the HEBREW which was preserved with 'ABHER (EBER), for he was a righteous man and did not agree to the building of the Tower. Others think that the word 'Hebrew' is so called from 'ABHRAHAM, who crossed the rivers (TIGRIS and EUPHRATES), and crossed the divided pieces (see Genesis xv. 17), and passed from the paganism of his father to the Faith which is in God.

After REU [came] SERUGH his son. When he was one hundred and thirty years old he begot NAHOR, and all [the days of] his life were three hundred and thirty years. Now in his days money and [womens'] chains (i.e. jewellery) appeared from OPHIR. And men made idols for the devils, and they relied for help upon demons.

And after NEMRODH arose the second king in BABEL, KAMBIROS; he reigned eighty-five years in the days of SERUGH. And he made war on the people who are called 'KALTO', and conquered [them], and he set their boundary in the mountains that were in their midst.

And after KAMBIROS rose up SAMIROS, the third king of the CHALDEANS; [he reigned] seventy and two years. And he made war on the GREEKS (IONIANS) and the CANAANITES and conquered them, and he built cities for the PARTHIANS and CHALDEANS. And he was the first among them to make weights (or, measures) and scales, and in his day silk and dyed fabrics appeared. And it is said that he had three eyes and horns. And at this time there rose up a second governor 'APIPHANYOS [who reigned] for forty and six years. And he was the first who constructed a ship and rode (i.e. sailed) the sea.

And after him rose up the third governor in EGYPT, ATHANOPYOS (AITHIOPS?), and it was because he made war on the CUSHITES and conquered them that he was called by this name, whereof the interpretation is 'CUSHITE'. And he slew SHEBHA. And after SHEBHA his daughter reigned forty years, and henceforward women began to reign over the CUSHITES.

And after 'APIPHANYOS a fourth king rose up in EGYPT, PER'ON BARSANOS, [and he reigned] thirty and five years. From this time the name of 'PER'ON' (PHARAOH) [came into use].

After SERUGH [came] NAHOR his son. He was seventy-nine years old when he begat TARH (TERAH); and all [the days of] his life were two hundred and one years. At this time KASARONOS (BASARONOS) the PARTHIAN made war on SAMIROS (?) and killed him, [10] and he lifted (i.e. carried off) his horns and set them on his crown. And 'ARODH, the CANANITE, saith, 'In the twenty-fifth year of NAHOR the agony of JOB, the righteous man, took place. JOB was a rich man of BETH YAKTAN, and seven times by himself alone he contended with SATAN and conquered.' ASAPH saith, 'His agony took place after sixty years', and others say that [the agony] was that of YOBHABH, the son of ZARH, of the children of ESAU (Genesis xxxvi. 33).

And at [this] time a fifth king rose up in EGYPT, PHARAOH KARIMON; [he reigned] four years. And at this time two sons came to 'ARMONIS, the CANAANITE, SEDHOM (SODOM) and 'AMORA (GOMORRAH), and he built a city in the name of each of them, and he also built SA'AR (ZOAR) in the name of their mother.

And there rose up also a sixth king in EGYPT, PHARAOH 'APINTOS; [he reigned] thirty and two years. This king sent to KASARONOS, the Parthian king, and he brought the writings and the doctrine (religion?)

of the CHALDEES to EGYPT. And 'APINTOS also built a city on the river NILE, and he named it 'BABHULON', that is to say BABEL. And ASAPH also saith that in the days of TARH the EGYPTIANS learned Chaldeeism, and they made an image of gold in honour of KINOS, the idol.

After NAHOR [came] TARH his son. When he was seventy years old he begot ABRAHAM; and all [the days of] his life was two hundred and seventy-five years. And in the fifth year of TARH a fifth king rose up in BABHIL, ARPAZADH; [he reigned] eighteen years, and then the kingdom of BABHIL came to an end for seven years, until BILOS (BELUS), the ASSYRIAN, rebelled against the CHALDEANS. And he made war upon them and upon the MEDES and conquered them, and he reigned over ASSYRIA and BABHIL, and over the whole of ASIA, with the exception of INDIA, for sixty and two years.

And in the fifth year of TARH the seventh king reigned over EGYPT, PHARAOH 'AURONKOS, for thirty and three years. And after this [king] the eighth king of EGYPT, PHARAOH SIMONOS, reigned for twenty years. And after this [king] the ninth king of EGYPT, 'ARMINOS, reigned for twenty and seven years, and twenty years before 'ABRAHAM was born DARMASUK (DAMASCUS) was built by MORFOS, and JOSEPHUS saith that 'UZ, the son of 'ARAM, built it.

After TARH (TERAH) [came] ABRAHAM his son. He was one hundred years old when he begot ISAAC; all [the days of] his life were one hundred and seventy-five years. And when ABRAHAM was fifteen years of age he entreated [11] God and drove away the *karkase* (ravens? locusts?) which were destroying the country of the CHALDEANS and eating up their crops. At this time BILOS (BELUS) died, and a second king rose up in ASSYRIA, viz. his son NINOS (NINUS), [who reigned] for fifty and two years, and built NINEVEH. After that city RAIHBUTH (REHOBOTH) and RASAN and KALNAI (CAB'AH), that is to say, 'ARBIL, and RISH 'AYNA (RAS'AIN), and SALIK (SELEUCIA), were built. And JERUSALEM also was built by MELCHISEDEK, the CANAANITE.

And ABRAHAM burned the temple idols which was in UR OF THE CHALDEES, and HARAN his brother went to quench the fire, and he was burned to death therein. And for this reason ABRAHAM, when he was sixty years old, fled to HARRAN with TARH his father, and NAHOR his brother, and LOT, the brother of HARAN, who was burnt to death; and he dwelt therein for fourteen years. And then he departed from his father: from HARRAN and came to the land of CANAAN. And in his seventy-first year the war of KARDL'MAR (CHEDARLAOMER) took place. And when he was eighty and five years old, that is to say in the first year of the promise concerning EGYPT, he begot ISHMAEL by HAGHAR. ISHMAEL lived one hundred and thirty and seven years. And the fortieth year of the promise, reckoning from ADAM, was the year three thousand three hundred. And at that time SHAMIRAM (SEMIRAMIS) the wife of NINOS (NINUS) reigned over the ASSYRIANS forty-six (or, forty-five) years. And she built mounds because of the FLOOD.

And a tenth king rose up in EGYPT, PARANDOS, the THEBAN; he reigned forty and three years. And after him rose up in EGYPT the eleventh king, PHARAOH PANOS. This king snatched from ABRAHAM his wife SARA, and he returned her to him afterwards with gold, and silver, and stuffs, and sent him away from EGYPT. And after him the twelfth king, PHARAOH 'ISOKOS, reigned over EGYPT twenty-one years. And after him the thirteenth king, PHARAOH SOSONOS, [reigned] forty-four years. And after him the fourteenth ktng, PHARAOH TARKOS (TARAKOS), [reigned] forty-four years.

And after SHAMIRAM (SEMIRAMIS) a fourth king reigned over the ASSYRIANS, viz. ZMAROS, for thirty-eight years. And in his days rose up the first king of the KRITAYE (CRETANS) [called] KARIS, who builded KRITI (CRETE).

After ABRAHAM [came] ISAAC his son. When he was sixty years old he begot JACOB; all the [days of] his life were one hundred and eighty years. And when he was fifteen years old his father offered him [as a] [12] sacrifice. In his thirty-eighth year his mother SARA died, being one hundred and twenty-seven years old. And after one year he took RAPKA (REBECCA) to wife, and in his sixtieth year she conceived, and she went to MELCHISEDEK to inquire of the Lord concerning what she had conceived. And he said unto her, 'There are two peoples in thy womb, and the one people shall be greater than the other', viz. ESAU, who is 'ADOM (EDOM) from whom [sprang] the EDOMITES, and JACOB from whom [sprang] the ISRAELITES. ABIMELECH was a friend to those of the house of ISAAC, and he it was who in the year one hundred of [the life of] ABRAHAM made war; and the Bible calls him King of GHADHAR (GERAR in Genesis xx. I) from the name of his city, and here [he is king] of the PHILISTINES, because of the many peoples over whom he reigned.

And in the days of ISAAC the fifth king of the ASSYRIANS rose up—'ARIS; [he reigned] thirty years. And the fifteenth king of the EGYPTIANS, SETIS; [he reigned] nineteen years. This was the first king of the four kings who were called 'SHEPHERDS'.

After ISAAC [came] JACOB his son. When he was eighty-two years old he begot LEVI; all [the days of] his life were one hundred and forty-seven years. When he was seventy-seven years old ISAAC blessed him and sent him to HARRAN. And in the tenth year of LEVI, JACOB went up to ISAAC his father. In the third year of LEVI, JOSEPH was born, and in the twentieth year of LEVI, JOSEPH was sold, being seventeen years old. He was a slave for ten years and was in the prison house for three years, and [he stood] before PHARAOH for thirty years, and he was in authority in EGYPT for eighty years, and he died at the age of one hundred and forty years. And after ISAAC died the children of ESAU were subject to MOAB and 'AMMON, and 'ARAM, and they came to war against JACOB and his sons in HEBRON; and JACOB prevailed, and he smote ESAU with an arrow and killed him, and the children of ESAU were broken before the children of JACOB, and their allies fled. When JACOB was one hundred and thirty years old he went down to EGYPT, in the second year of the famine.

After JACOB [came] LEVI his son. When he was forty-seven years old he begot KAHATH; all his life was one hundred and thirty and seven years. In his days the FLOOD which [came] in the days of 'AGOGOS took place, when BILOS (BELUS) was reigning in ASSYRIA; and MAPOS (MEMPHIS) in EGYPT was built. And STASIKOROS [13] (or, STIKOROS) brought acrobatic dancing and games into the world, for his bringing up (or, education) had been among women. And MANOS (HUMANOS) the king displayed luxuriousness in his own person (?).

And that fourth Shepherd king, 'APAPOS, reigned in EGYPT fourteen years. He it was who dreamed dreams and who made JOSEPH ruler, according to the histories of the CHALDEANS, and it seemeth likely that the 'SHEPHERDS' were called 'KINGS' because of JOSEPH'S brethren.

After LEVI [came] KAHATH (KOHATH) his son. When he was sixty years old he begot 'AMRAM; all [the days of] his life were one hundred and thirty-three years.

After KAHATH [came] 'AMRAM his son. He was seventy-five years old when he begot MOSES in the three hundred and fiftieth year of the promise; all [the days of] his life were one hundred and thirty and seven years. And in his days MAPROS reigned in EGYPT twelve years; and then TOMOTHOS (THOTHMES?) eighteen years; and then 'AMONPATHIS (AMENOPHIS?) forty-three years. It was this king who began to strangle (i.e. drown) the children of the HEBREWS in the NILE.

After 'AMRAM [came] MOSES his son. He ruled over the children of ISRAEL when he was eighty years old, and he led the people in the wilderness forty years. When he was born he was cast into the river, and the daughter of 'AMONPATHIS (AMENOPHIS?), whose name was TREMOTHISA, who is RA'OSA (RA'MOSO) whom the HEBREWS call 'DAMARIS', the wife of KANPARA, the king of MAPAS (MEMPHIS), found him and saved him from the waters, and brought him up as a son of hers. And when he was ten years old YANES and YAMBRES taught him wisdom, as 'ARTAMONIS showeth in his Epistle; this [fact] is not written in the Book of the Law, but the Apostle PAUL (Acts vii. 22) mentioneth it.

And in his twenty-second year PHARAOH 'AMONPATHIS began to compel the HEBREWS to throw (i.e. cast or mould) bricks and to build the city of, ARMOPOLIS (sic) (HERMOPOLIS?). And he also conquered the CUSHITES, and he took RA'OSA, the daughter of SOROS (ZOROS?) their king to wife. And the people were ascribing this victory to MOSES, and saying, 'he hath taken this RA'OSA to wife'. And because of this KANPARA (?) was jealous of him, [because he wished to marry RA'OSA, but] was unable to do so until DAMARIS his wife was dead. Then he sent a certain KHANOTHIS to kill him. But MOSES prevailed and killed [14] this man, and fled into ARABIA, to RA'U'IL, the MIDIANITE. And when he was forty years old, he took to wife ZEPORA (ZIPPORAH), the daughter of YATHRON (JETHRO) the son of RA'U'IL, the MIDIANITE, the son of DARAN, the son of YAKSHAN, the son of ABRAHAM by KENTORA his wife. The expositors say that YATHRON (JETHRO) is RA'U'IL.

And at this time a flood took place, the third, in THESSALY in the days of DOKALYON (DEUCALION); and a great conflagration in KUSH in the days of PARATON; and the famous war of the CHALDEANS with the PHOENICIANS; and EUNOMIUS invented the art of signs (i.e. the alphabet?); and MENANDER invented comedy; and KHYARON and 'ASCLEPIADIS [the art of] healing.

And when MOSES was eighty years old, that is to say, in the four hundred and thirtieth year of the promise, he was commanded by God to take the HEBREWS out from EGYPT. And when the HEBREWS had passed over in the middle of the sea on dry land, PHARAOH PSONOS, who rose [as king] after 'AMONPATHIS, and all his army were drowned in the SEA OF SUPH. Now when those EGYPTIANS who had not sallied forth with PHARAOH saw the destruction of those who had sallied forth, each one with the labour which was found in his hands made an [object of] fear for himself and worshipped it, as if forsooth by means of it he had been prevented from the going forth [which was] the cause of the disaster. And in that year MOSES warred with 'AMALIK (AMALEK). And he went up into the mountain in the third month and received the LAW and the JUDGEMENTS for ISRAEL. And from the time when God said unto ABRAHAM, 'Know well that thy seed shall be dweller[s] and sojourner[s] in a country which is not theirs', must be counted the four hundred and thirty years of the subjugation, as it is written in the BOOK OF EXODUS, and this also PAUL testifieth, although in the first Book, GENESIS, four hundred years only are written. And from ADAM to the death of MOSES is three thousand eight hundred (or, four hundred) and fifty years, according to ANIANUS the monk, and this computation agreeth with his. According to the Septuagint, however, it is three thousand eight hundred (or, four hundred) and eighty-two years, and according the Syrian and Hebrew [Books] it is two thousand four hundred and twenty [years]. MOSES lived in EGYPT forty years, and in MIDIAN forty years, and in the desert forty years.

(1) The numbers in brackets refer to the pages of Bedjan's [Syriac] text.

(2) The writer of a Chronicle now lost.

(3) Bishop of Tyre; martyred about A.D. 300.

(4) A GENERAL WARNING by BEDJAN. Various statements will be found in this HISTORY which do not agree with the Book of the Law of the Syrians which is called 'peshitta', especially those which refer to the number of the years of the world, the lives of the Patriarch, and so on. It is not seemly for us to stumble over these because our author made use of the Book of the Law according to the Seventy (i.e. the Septuagint), and the Book of the Law according to the SAMARITANS, and other ancient [versions of the] Scriptures, and he wrote down in historical fashion the opinion of each one of them even as he found it.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

II

The Judges. From Joshua to Samuel.

Here beginneth the Second Series, from the Patriarchs to the Judges.

[15] AFTER MOSES the prophet, ISHO' (JOSHUA) the son of NON, his disciple, ruled the people, according to EUSEBIUS and ANDRONICUS, twenty-seven years, and according to ANIANUS twenty-five years. And when JOSHUA was eighty-three years old he received the rod of rule from MOSES the Great, and he brought the people into the land of promise; and he destroyed seven peoples of the CANAANITES. And in his tenth year, that is to say of his rule, he divided the inheritance for the people. He died at the age of one hundred and ten years.

After JOSHUA, the son of NON, the priests (or, elders) governed the people. Now the Book doth not show the number of their years, but AFRICANUS saith that they ruled for thirty years. And ANIANUS saith that PHINEHAS, the Zealot, the son of ELIEZAR, the priest, governed the people for twenty-four years. KUSHAN the wicked had dominion over the peoples of the people for eight years, and he was killed by 'ATHN'EL (OTHNIEL).

After KUSHAN, OTHNIEL judged the people forty years, and in the days of OTHNIEL cities were built in BETHUNIA (BITHYNIA), MALOS, PAPOS, TASOS, KALISTA, [and] MARONDA.

After OTHNIEL, 'EGLON, the MOABITE, ruled the people after the manner of a tyrant for eighteen years, and he was killed by 'AHOR (EHUD), the son of GIRA.

After 'EGLON, 'AHOR (EHUD) the son of GIRA judged the people for sixty-two years; those who say eighty years include with them the eighteen years of [the exile of] 'EGLON. In the time of 'AHOR the 'Beth Din' (i.e. temple) of 'ARIOS PAGHOS (AREOPAGUS) was built in ATHENS; and LACEDEMONIA was built, and HALAB (ALEPPO) was built by BALKOS, the Assyrian king.

After 'AHOR (EHUD), SHAMGHAR the son of 'ANATH judged the people for eighteen years. This man killed sixty men of the PHILISTINE chiefs with a goad for bulls—in [another] manuscript [we read] six hundred.

After SHAMGHAR, NABHIN (JABIN), king of HASOR, [judged the people for] twenty years. The name of the captain of the host of this NABHIN was SISRA, and he had ninety (nine hundred in Judges iv. 3) chariots of iron; his head was smashed in by DEBORAH the prophetess and he perished.

After NABHIN (JABIN) came DEBORAH and BARAK, [they ruled for] forty years, DEBORAH and BARAK sang the song of [16] praise for the deliverance of the Lord.

After DEBORAH and BARAK, the MIDIANITES ruled the people in a cruel manner for seven (or, seventy) years—until GED'ON (GIDEON) destroyed them.

After the MIDIANITES, GIDEON judged the people for forty years. Unto GIDEON were born seventy sons. In [his] time there reigned in THEBES 'APOLON (APOLLO?), who by the music of his lyre used to coax the stones, that is to say, the hearts that were heavy and cruel.

After GIDEON [came] ABIMELECH his son, who was born of a concubine. And he slew his seventy brethren and judged the people for three years.

After ABIMELECH, TOL'A the son of POA [judged] the people for twenty years. And in the twentieth year of his [rule] the city of TARSOS (TARSUS) was built by PRISOS (PARSOS) the son of DANA, and KARKIDON (CARTHAGE) also was built and ILION (ILIUM) was reduced to subjection, but others say that it was subjugated in the days of SHEMSHON (SAMSON).

After TOL'A, YAIR, the GILEADITE, judged the people twenty-two years. After YAIR the AMMONITES ruled the HEBREWS in a cruel fashion for eighteen years, and they oppressed the HEBREWS sorely until they were conquered by NAPHTAH (JEPHTHAH).

After the AMMONITES, JEPHTHAH [ruled the people] for six years. Those [who say] twenty-four years include the eighteen years of the AMMONITES with the six years. Now when the HEBREWS were sorely oppressed by the AMMONITES the dwellers in GILEAD went to JEPHTHAH, after they had driven him out from among them, and brought him [back] and he became their governor. It was he who having fought and conquered offered up his daughter as a sacrifice, according to his vow which cannot be applauded.

After JEPHTHAH, 'ABHISAN [ruled] seven years. Some of the writers of histories never mention this name at all.

After 'ABHISAN, 'ALON, the ZEBULONITE [ruled] ten years. JOHN of YATREB says seven [years], and this [name also] is not [found] in the commentary of the Septuagint.

After 'ALON, 'AKHRON [ruled] eight years. In the seventh year of this man there rose up 'ANIAS (AENEAS) the first king of the LATINS, that is to say, the RHOMAYE (Byzantine GREEKS), who were the FRANKS; [according to some he reigned] three years, and according to others eight.

After 'AKHRON the PHILISTINES ruled the people cruelly for forty years. EUSEBIUS doth not admit these, but 'ANIANUS sets down forty years and ANDRONICUS says twenty years only.

After the PHILISTINES, SAMSON the NAZARITE, of the tribe of DAN, judged the people twenty [17] years. And in his third year he began to wage war against the PHILISTINES, and in his fifth year took place the affair of RA'OTH (RUTH), the MOABITESS.

After SAMSON the ELDERS ruled the people for forty years, according to what AFRICANUS stateth, because there was peace and quietness, and there was no need for a man to stand at the head of an army. ANDRONICUS says ten years, and twenty years is written in the Septuagint, and others have written twelve.

After the ELDERS, ELI the priest judged the people for twenty years, according to what the Septuagint saith, but the HEBREWS say forty years. And in the eighteenth year of his rule SAMUEL the prophet was born. And in the twentieth year of ELI, SAMUEL was brought before ELI as a votive offering.

After ELI the priest, SAMUEL the prophet judged the people for twenty years. After the death of ELI the priest, the Ark of the Lord was in the house [of] 'AMINADABH ('ABHINADABH). In the twentieth year of the rule of SAMUEL the children of ISRAEL asked for a king.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

III

The Kings of the Hebrews.

Here beginneth the Third Series, The Kings of the Hebrews.

AFTER SAMUEL the prophet [came] SAUL, the first king. He reigned over the children of ISRAEL, according to EUSEBIUS, forty years, and according to ANIANUS twenty years. And in his third year SAUL conquered AMALEK, and in his thirty-first year a festival took place in YONATH, which is in RAMA, and SAUL also prophesied with the prophets. In the thirty-fifth year of SAUL, SAMUEL the prophet died. And after five years SAUL and JONATHAN his son were killed in the war.

After SAUL, DAVID, the son of JESSE, reigned forty years, seven in HEBHRON and thirty-three in JERUSALEM; all [the days of] his life were seventy years. He built SEHYONON (SION or ZION). And in his tenth year he took up the Ark into the tabernacle which he had constructed for it. DAVID was born in the tenth year of the kingdom of SAUL, and he was anointed [king] in the twenty-third year of SAUL, being thirteen years old. And he slew [18] GULYADH (GOLIATH) in the thirtieth year of SAUL. And in the thirty-ninth year of the kingdom of DAVID he divided the tribes of the LEVITES, and he appointed from among them one (two?) hundred and eighty and eight 'praisers' (i.e. singers). And he separated them into twenty-four divisions, and he appointed twelve in each division to sing. And DAVID warred with the peoples round about him and conquered them. And in the twenty-eighth year of DAVID the king EPHESES was built, and also SAMOS.

[In other manuscripts [it is written]: It was he who acted deceitfully in respect of URIAH, the captain of his host in the war. And through the fraud which he perpetrated upon him he took from him BATHSHEBA his wife, whilst URIAH was engaged in the war of the peoples, and from her was born SOLOMON, his unlawful son, and he sinned. (1)] And in his time lived EMPEDOCLES, the great philosopher, who was one of the five pillars of wisdom, viz. he and PYTHAGORAS, SOCRATES, PLATO, and ARISTOTLE. And there is attributed to him a certain book which abolished the new life after death which [men] were wont to assign to the rational soul, and it agreed with the opinion of SOLOMON in the Book of KOHLATH (2) (ECCLESIASTES). And he was the first to think that in the Divine Nature there is not a plurality of names, even though it is said that He is wise, and good, and all mighty. He doth not possess the various senses to which these names apply, but He is One, Simple, Lord-like, and not One who doth accept division, neither in sense nor in fact.

After DAVID [came] SOLOMON his son when he was twelve years old, and he reigned forty years; and all [the days of] his life were fifty-two years. In the fourth year of his kingdom he began the building of the Great Temple, and he finished it in seven years, in the mountain of the AMORITES, that is JERUSALEM, in the threshing-floor of 'ARAN, the JEBUSITE. Its length was sixty cubits, its width twenty cubits, and its height was thirty cubits. In the thirty-fourth year of his kingdom he forsook the God of ISRAEL, and he builded a high place in the mountain in front of Jerusalem to CHEMOSH [a god] of MOAB, and to

MALKUM [a god] of the children of AMMON. Its length was one hundred cubits, and its breadth fifty cubits, and its height thirty cubits. And he made for it shields of gold, and a sea of brass, and bulls. [19] And at the beginning of his kingdom 'IROMOS (HIRAM) ruled over TYRE, and he sent to SOLOMON to help [him] in building the temple eighty thousand men. And according to some men HOMER and HESIOD were renowned at that time. SOLOMON uprooted 'ANTIOCHYA and built seven cities, viz. PALMURA (PALMYRA), which is TEDHMUR (TADMOR), MALO, HASOR, MAGHDO, GHAZAR, Lower BETH HAWRAN, [and] BA'LUTH. And from the Exodus from EGYPT to the building of the Temple was six hundred and thirty-four years. In other manuscripts [it is written] six hundred and ten, and in the Book of KINGS four hundred and eighty is written, leaving out the years of the domination of enemies. And thus also PAUL, the Apostle, saith, 'He gave them Judges for four hundred and fifty years' until SAMUEL [came]. And from ADAM to the building of the Temple was four thousand, one hundred, and sixty-eight years.

After SOLOMON, REHOBOAM his son reigned over JUDAH in JERUSALEM seventeen years.

And at the beginning of his kingdom JEROBOAM reigned with rectitude over ISRAEL for twenty-two years. And he made two calves of gold, one in DAN, and one in BETHEL. And he said, 'Behold thy gods, O ISRAEL, who brought thee up out of the land of EGYPT'. And SHAMA'YA the prophet came from JUDEA, and rebuked him for the sin which he had committed, and [for making] ISRAEL to sin. And he prophesied and said, 'Altar, Altar, hear the word of the Lord. Behold a son shall be born to the house of DAVID, JOSIAH [shall be] his name, and he shall sacrifice heathen priests upon thee, and he shall burn the bones of men upon thee.' And because of this JEROBOAM stretched out his hand to slay him; and his hand withered. And when JEROBOAM entreated the prophet it was healed. And EPIPHANIUS saith that the name of this prophet was YOYADA, from SHAMRIN (SAMARIA). It was he whom the lion killed, because he heard 'ABHITON the prophet, an old man to whom he had lied. And he ate bread and transgressed the command. And he took a garment and tore it into twelve pieces, and he gave ten to JEROBOAM.

And in the fifth year of REHOBOAM, SHISHAK, the king of EGYPT, through the treachery of JEROBOAM, went up against JERUSALEM, and he took away the shields of gold which SOLOMON had made, and REHOBOAM made shields of brass to take their place.

After REHOBOAM, 'ABHYA his son reigned three [years]. And JEROBOAM gathered together about him eighty [20] thousand [men], and the sons of JUDAH were gathered together, four thousand men of war, and JEROBOAM was defeated and fifty thousand [men] of ISRAEL fell. 'ABHYA took fourteen wives, and he had twenty-four sons and sixteen daughters. And 'AHIYA and SHAMA'YA prophesied.

After 'ABHYA, 'ASA his son reigned forty-one years. And in his tenth year ZARAH, the Kushite king, having taken with him IOBAS (LIBWAS or 'ALIBWAS), came with a thousand thousand [men] and six hundred thousand KUSHITES and LIBYANS to fight against JUDAH. And 'ASA went forth and smote them in GADHAR and conquered [them]. And in the fifteenth year of his reign he burned the idols, and he cast out of the kingdom his mother who used to celebrate a festival [in honour] of 'ASHTORETH, and he burnt her graven image (or, idol) and he expelled fornicators from the land; And in the twenty-ninth year of 'ASA, 'ALA reigned over ISRAEL two years, and then ZAMRI, having killed 'ALA, the son of BA'SHA his lord, reigned seven days. Then ISRAEL was divided; some [went] with TABHNI and some with 'AMRI. And when 'AMRI waxed strong TABHNI died. And when ZAMRI saw that the people were content with 'AMRI he burnt his palace and himself. And when, AMRI had reigned righteously for six years, he bought the mountain of SHAMRIN from SHAMIR his lord, and built a city on it and called it 'SHAMRIN'. This city was afterwards called 'SEBASTIA', and it is that which is NABHOLOS (NABLOS). 'AMRI reigned twelve years.

After 'ASA, YOSHAFAT (JEHOSAPHAT) his son [reigned] twenty-five years. And in his second year AHAB, the son of 'AMRI, reigned over ISRAEL for twenty-three years. This king took to wife JEZEBEL, the daughter of 'ITHB'EL (ETHBAAL), king of TYRE and SIDON. And he [Hiel?] built JERICHO, which JOSHUA, the son of NON, cursed; he finished it with 'ABHIRAM his firstborn, and in SHAKHUB, his youngest, he set up its gates. At this time ELIJAR, and OBADIAH, and ABHIHUDH, and 'OZAIL, and MICAH, the son of YAMSHI, were prophesying; and ZEDEKIAH and ELIAZAR and four hundred others were lying prophets. ZEDEKIAH, the lying prophet, made horns of iron and set them upon his head and said to AHAB, 'With these thou shalt gore the EDMITES and make an end of them.' And in the twenty-ninth year of JEHOSAPHAT, AHAZIAH, the son of AHAB, reigned [21] over ISRAEL one year; and after him JORAM, his brother, [reigned] twelve years.

After JEHOSAPHAT, JORAM his son reigned eight years. This [king] took ATHALIAH, the sister of AHAB, to wife, and he slew all his brethren, the sons of JEHOSAPHAT; therefore was he smitten by the rod of justice, and his bowels came down and he died.

After JORAM, AHAZIAH his son [reigned] one year, and in it he sent ELISHA the prophet, and he anointed YAHU (JEHU), the son of YAMSHI [NIMSHI], over ISRAEL, and he reigned twenty-eight years; and he slew seventy sons of AHAB and the priests of idols, and he destroyed the temple of BAAL. After ELISHA had anointed JEHU, the son of YAMSHI, JEHU slew JORAM, the son of AHAB, and AHAZIAH, the king of JUDAH, and JEZEBEL, the Sidonian woman, the wife of AHAB.

After AHAZIAH, his mother ATHALIAH [reigned] seven years; her son AHAZIAH having been killed she destroyed all the royal progeny, and YOASH the son of AHAZIAH alone escaped. YOSHBA', the sister of AHAZIAH, hid him—now she was the wife of YOYADHA' (JEHOIADA), the chief of the priests of idols. And that JEHOIADA gathered together JUDAH and slew ATHALIAH. And he set up [as king] YOASH, who was seven years old, and he also sent the men of JUDAH to the house of BAAL, and he destroyed MATHAN, the pagan priest.

After ATHALIAH, YOASH the son of AHAZIAH, her son [reigned] forty years. And in the twenty-fifth year of YOASH, YAHUAHAZ the son of JEHU reigned over ISRAEL seventeen years. And in the thirty-sixth year of YOASH, ELISHA the prophet died; and after [this] YOASH was killed by his slaves.

After YOASH, 'AMOSYA his son [reigned] twenty-nine years; this king conquered EDM and SEIR (or, SHAMIR?), and brought their gods to JERUSALEM, and served them. And in the tenth year of 'AMOSYA, YOASH reigned over ISRAEL sixteen years. And he went out to war against BAR HADADH (BEN HADAD), king of SYRIA, and he brought back the cities which HAZA'IL had brought back, and he smote the EDMITES thrice, according to the word of the Lord which was to ELISHA. At that time HOSHA', and 'AMOS, and NAHAM, and YONATHAN (YAWNAN or JONAH) were prophesying. And in the eighteenth year of 'AMOSYA, YORABH'AM reigned over ISRAEL forty years. And 'AMOSYA, king of JUDAH, fought with YOASH, king of ISRAEL, and the children of ISRAEL went up against JUDAH and destroyed three hundred of its men, and 'AMOSYA was struck by a spear and died. [22] And according to certain [writers] his slaves stabbed him when he fled to LACHISH. And the children of ISRAEL came to JERUSALEM, and they broke down its wall for four hundred cubits, and they took the gold and the silver, and all the vessels that were found in the house of the Lord and in the house of the king, and they returned to SHAMRIN (SAMARIA).

After 'AMOSYA, 'AZARYA his son reigned fifty-two years: he is 'OZIA. And in the twenty-fourth year of his kingdom he made bold and went into the temple of God that he might place (i.e. offer) incense, and being restrained by 'AZARYA ('OZIA) the priest, and refusing to go away, suddenly his whole body became

covered with leprosy, and from that time YOTHAM his son judged [the people]. Up to this time ISAIAS the prophet prophesied for twenty-four years. And having seen that the king dared [to offer incense], because he did not rebuke him [the gift of] prophecy was taken away from him for twenty—eight years—until 'OZIA died. And then the righteous man prophesied for sixty-one years. And in the twenty-ninth year of 'OZIA, ZACHARIAH reigned over ISRAEL six months. Here the four sons of YAHU (JEHU) came to an end.

And after ZACHARIAH, SHALOM reigned for one month; and after him MAHNIM ten years. It was he who smote TAPSAH because they (i.e. its people) did not open its gates [to him], and he destroyed it, and he ripped up the women who were with child. And in the thirty-fourth year of 'OZIA, POL, the king of BABIL (BABYLON), went up against SHAMRIN, and he took from MAHNIM, the king of ISRAEL, one thousand talents of silver and returned. And in the fortieth year of 'OZIA, PEKAHYA reigned over ISRAEL ten years. And in the forty-eighth year of 'OZIA, TIGLATH-PILESER, the king of the ASSYRIANS, went up and captured JUDAH and ISRAEL, and carried off into captivity a very large number of the people. This 'OZIA uprooted the wall of GATH, and 'ASOTOS (ASHDOD) and YAMNIA. Now he made war on the ARABS who dwell in PATARA (PETRA?). And PORPHYRIOS saith that at this time HOMER and HESIOD were famous.

After 'OZIA, YOTHAM his son [reigned] sixteen years. This king built a large portion of the wall of JERUSALEM; and he conquered the AMMONITES and laid them under tribute.

After YOTHAM, 'AHAZ his son [reigned] sixteen years. This king likewise served the gods of the heathen, and he did what was evil. PEKAH, king of ISRAEL, [23] brought RASAN, the king of SYRIA. And he went up against JUDAH and destroyed twelve thousand myriads [of men]. Now 'AHAZ, king of JERUSALEM, sent to TIGLATH-PILESER, the king of ASSYRIA, and he came and killed RASAN, and made war on DAMASCUS, and captured the EDOMITES (ARAMEANS?); and he took a vast quantity of silver from them and departed to his own country. And in the second year of 'AHAZ, HOSHA' rebelled against PEKAH and killed him, and he reigned over ISRAEL nine years. And in the eighth year of 'AHAZ, SHALMANESER, king of ASSYRIA, went up against ISRAEL, and HOSHA' became subject to him and gave him tribute, and afterwards he rebelled. And he sent to 'ADHARMLECH, the KOSHITE, who was dwelling in 'IGHUPTOS (EGYPT) to come to his help. And when SHALMANESER heard [this] he went up again against SHAMRIN, and he camped about it three years, and he captured it and carried away captive to BABYLON the children of ISRAEL, ten tribes. Now this was the first Captivity.

Now from ADAM to this year, which is the eleventh year of the kingdom of 'AHAZ, was four thousand, seven hundred, and thirty years.

And 'AHAZ took down the sea of brass from the oxen of brass, the which SOLOMON had constructed. At this time the island of RHODES was fortified, and it remained [thus] for one thousand, four hundred, and five years—until the ARABS uprooted it. And also in SIKILIA the city of SALINOS was built, and SAKALI and TRAPIZONTA in PONTOS, and KUZIKOS (CYZICUS) in BITHYNEA, and KALONON and LYCANIA in ITALY. And in the seventh year of 'AHAZ, ROMULUS reigned, and in ITALY he built that great and famous [city of] ROME (RHOMI) and dwelt therein. Now up to this time the kings of ITALY were called LATINS (LATINAYE), but from this time onwards they were called ROMANS (RHOMAYE), that is to say, FRANKS.

After 'AHAZ, HEZEKIAH [reigned] twenty-nine years. The country of SHAMRIN and all the dominion of the ISRAELITES was in the hands of the ASSYRIANS, and subject to them. And HEZEKIAH was reigning over JUDAH in JERUSALEM. HEZEKIAH alone remained independent.

And in the eighth year of HEZEKIAH, SHALMANESER, the ASSYRIAN, sent men to keep guard over JUDAH. And because the Lord made him to have dominion over them SHALMANESER commanded that they should keep the judgement of the God of the land. And he sent to them a certain priest, whose name was 'AZARYA, that he might teach them the Law of MOSES. And he wrote for them the 'ORAITA (PENTATEUCH) in Hebrew, [24] and for this reason the SHAMRAYE (SAMARITANS) accept the Pentateuch only. And it is said that this 'AZARYA, by the help also of an Aramean book, that is to say, Syrian, wrote the 'ORAITA, and this is the PESHITTA edition which is in the hands of the SYRIANS.

And in the sixth year of HEZEKIAH, SENNACHERIB, who went up against JERUSALEM, reigned over the ASSYRIANS, and through the prayer of HEZEKIAH he was vanquished, now fifteen years were added to the life of HEZEKIAH, and the angel of the Lord slew in the camp of SENNACHERIB one hundred and eighty-five thousand men. And he heard that TARHAK (TIRHAKAH), king of the KUSHITES, had gone forth to fight with him, and straightway he departed to NINEVEH, and there his sons killed him. And HEZEKIAH made a lake of water, and he made a canal to the city of JERUSALEM, and he brought in water by aqueducts. And having shown to the ambassadors of the king of BABYLON everything which was in his house, the Lord was angry with him, and it was said to him, 'Everything which they have seen in thy house, [shall be his], and thy sons shall become eunuchs in the house of the king of BABYLON.' And HEZEKIAH said, 'Fair is the word of the Lord; O that there may be peace in my days!' And in his days the righteous man TOBIT, who was of the captivity of ISRAEL, and was dwelling in NINEVEH, was fed by the angel RAPHAEL, and the blindness of his eyes was cured by the gall of that fish which was given to him by the angel. And at that time SYRACUSE, and KATANA, and LEONTINO, and MAGHLARA, and MARTONIYA (TAORMINA?). and CHRERONESUS were built in SIKILIA (3) And SENNACHERIB built TARSUS of CILICIA.

After HEZEKIAH, MENASSEH his son [reigned] fifty-five years. And in his thirteenth year he killed ISIAH the prophet by sawing him in twain with a wood saw. Because of this God rejected him and delivered him over into the hands of the ASSYRIANS. And having taken him captive they bound him in strong iron fetters and set him in a brass cage for beasts in NINEVEH. And when affliction waxed sore on him, he turned to the God of his fathers, and offered [Him] true repentance and prayed that famous prayer, and God answered him, and he was released and returned to JERUSALEM. And that image with four [25] faces which he had made he cast out of the temple and smashed it, and he threw away the idols. And he built the south wall of JERUSALEM, and stablished JUDAH. And in PONTOS were built the cities MITHIA, 'ISTRIS, 'AKANTHOS, 'AKARDIA, and 'ESTAGHIRA, and SALINOS was built in SIKILIA (SICILY). And in the twenty-first year of MENASSEH the city of CHALCEDON was built, and THALIS (THALES) the MILESIAN, the first *phusikos* (physicus), that is to say, natural philosopher, was known (i.e. famous). And the SCYTHIANS seized the country as far as PALESTINE. And in the thirty-sixth year of MENASSEH, SENNACHERIB THE LESS reigned over the ASSYRIANS, and after one year he sent MENASSEH away. And in the fortieth year of MENASSEH, TULLOS reigned over the RHOMAYE (Byzantines) thirty-three years; the same is HOSTILIOS, who was the first to wear purple apparel and to use royal rods (sceptres). And BOZANTIA, the first building, was built by BOZOS; and after [nine hundred] and ninety-seven years CONSTANTINE restored it and enlarged it, and called it CONSTANTINOPLE.

After MENASSEH, AMMON his son [reigned] twelve years—according to the Hebrew [Bible], and ANIANUS two years. Now this AMMON served strange gods, that is to say, the liar-gods of the heathen, and he offered sacrifices to idols. He was smitten by his slaves and died by the sword.

After AMMON, JOSIAH his son [reigned] thirty-one years. He had four sons, YOKANYA, YOYAKIM, YAHOAHAZ, and ZEDEKIAH. YOKANYA begot DANIEL the prophet; and YOYAKIM begot ANANIAS, AZARIAS, and MISAEL. And ZEPHANIAH, the son of KOSHI the SIMEONITE, was prophesying; and in

his thirteenth year JEREMIAH the prophet began to prophesy; and in his eighteenth year HULDHI the prophetess was prophesying. And at that time he displayed care for the Temple of the Lord, and he commanded HILAKYA (HILKIAH) to give money from the treasure of the House of the Lord to workmen. And whilst they were digging [in the foundations] they found a Book of the Law.

And when JOSIAH read it, and learned what things God had commanded, he burned with zeal, and rent his garments, and devoted himself to keeping the whole Law. And he cast out the idols of AMMON his father, and he purified the temple, and he smashed the statues, and uprooted the altars, and slew all the priests, and he burnt their bones [26] on the altar of BAAL. and thus the words of the prophet who came from JUDAH to JEROBOAM were fulfilled. And in the thirty-first year of JOSIAH, NAKHAUTH (NECHO), the same is PHARAOH THE LAME, reigned in EGYPT. He came down on the river FRATH (EUPHRATES) against MABBUGH (MANBIJ), to fight with the king of ASSYRIA, and when JOSIAH went to attack him, he was slain there by NAKHAUTH. And his slaves brought him [back] and buried him in JERUSALEM.

After JOSIAH, YAHOAHAZ his son [reigned] three months. When PHARAOH THE LAME came back he carried this king off as a captive, and he set up in his stead JEHOIAKIM, the son of JOSIAH, his brother.

After YAHOAHAZ, JEHOIAKIM his brother [reigned] eleven years. It was he who is called 'ELYAKIM, and PHARAOH THE LAME set him in the place of his brother, and laid it upon him to give each year one hundred talents of gold. And in the third year of 'ELIAKIM, NEBUCHADNEZZAR, the CHALDEAN, the son of NABHUPALSAR (NABOPOLASSAR), reigned over the ASSYRIANS forty-four years. And he went up against JERUSALEM and brought down captives and the vessels of the Temple; and he laid tribute on 'ELYAKIM and departed. In this captivity DANIEL and his companions went down to BABYLON. This was the first Captivity which was to BABYLON. PHARAOH THE LAME, having destroyed MABBUGH and slain JOSIAH, returned [to EGYPT]; but he came a second time and camped on the EUPHRATES and there he killed NEBUCHADNEZZAR (sic). And in the eighth year of YOYAKIM and NEBUCHADNEZZAR in his fifth year he went up again against JERUSALEM, and he laid tribute on YOYAKIM and returned. And in the eighth year of NEBUCHADNEZZAR, YOYAKIM died.

After YOYAKIM, his son YOYAKHIN, who is called in the Gospel of MATTHEW, YOKANYA, and who is also called by his father's name YOYAKIM, [reigned] three months. His heart turned aside from the Lord, and for the third time NEBUCHADNEZZAR went up and carried him, and his mother, and his chief men captives to BABYLON, and he remained there a prisoner for thirty-seven years. And NEBUCHADNEZZAR set up in his stead ZEDEKIAH his uncle, the son of JOSIAH.

After YOYAKHIN, his uncle ZEDEKIAH reigned eleven years. And in the fourth year of ZEDEKIAH, 'ESTIGHOS (ASTYAGES) reigned over the MEDES thirty-eight years. And in the nineteenth year of his kingdom, that is, in the eleventh year of ZEDEKIAH, NEBUCHADNEZZAR went up a fourth time against JUDAH. And NABHUZARDAN, [27] the captain of his host, burnt the Temple and the city of JERUSALEM. And he took captive ZEDEKIAH, and blinded his eyes, and with the exception of a few he carried away captives all the JEWS. And the kingdom of JUDAH, which had flourished after the ending of the kingdom of the children of ISRAEL for one hundred and fifty-five years, came to an end. Now when JEREMIAH knew of the burning of the Temple, he hid in a cave the Tabernacle of Witness, and the Ark, and no man knoweth the place. And CLEMENS reckons from the burning [of the Temple] the seventy years of the Captivity until the second year of DARIUS, the son of HYSTASPES. And the prophets HAGGAI and ZECHARIAH bear witness, saying, 'Lord, how long before Thou wilt show mercy upon JERUSALEM and on the cities of Judah? For Thou hast been angry with them for seventy years.' And EUSEBIUS and ANDRONICUS also hold this opinion. And others say from the third year of 'ELYAKIM until the nineteenth year of CYRUS [was seventy years]; and DANIEL the prophet from the thirteenth year of JOSIAH, that is to

say, from the beginning of the prophesying of JEREMIAH; and AFRICANUS from the beginning [of the reign of] ZEDEKIAH. The years of the Kings, twenty and three, until the burning [of the Temple] were five hundred and twenty and five; and from ADAM is four thousand, five hundred, and sixteen years.

(1) The passage within square brackets is a note by Bedjan.

(2) On this Bedjan says: 'This was not the opinion of Solomon, who confesseth the new life in ECCLESIASTES and said, The soul shall return to the earth as it was; the spirit shall return to the Lord who gave it (chap. xii. 7). Therefore Bar Hebraeus, who thought thus about Solomon, erreth.'

(3) The vocalization of these names was corrected by Bedjan from the work of Dionysius of Tall Mahre; see his note on p. 24.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

IV

The Chaldean (Babylonian) Kings.

The Fourth Series, the Chaldean (Babylonian) Kings.

AFTER ZEDEKIAH, NEBUCHADNEZZAR, the CHALDEAN, reigned twenty-four years after he burnt the Temple, and had made the kingdom of the JEWS to come to an end, and before this he had reigned nineteen other years, so that all the years of his kingdom were forty-three years. And once again, for the fifth time, after the burning [of the Temple] he went up and laid siege to TYRE, and he built a bridge of stone [from the mainland] to the city. And the sons of TYRE becoming terrified cast everything into the sea and fled, and they (the BABYLONIANS) surrounded HIRAM and killed him. Now HIRAM had lived five hundred years, the whole of the time of the kings of JUDAH. And the land of EGYPT was given to the army of NEBUCHADNEZZAR [28] as a reward for the labour on the bridge (or, causeway) which they had built in the sea of TYRE; then NEBUCHADNEZZAR returned to BABYLON. And he made a *kremastos*, that is to say suspended paradise, and he made it that it might be one of the Seven Wonders [of the World]. And in the thirteenth year of the Captivity he made an image of gold sixty cubits high, because of which those of the house of HANANYA (ANANIAS) triumphed. Then he became an animal, according to the prophecy of DANIEL, and he grazed with the beasts on the grass of the desert. At this time the contest [which is called] 'gumnastikos' (gymnastic), because it was fought by naked men, began to be known in ATHENS. And in the time of this NEBUCHADNEZZAR, HIPPARCHUS, the philosopher and mathematician, was also famous. He more than all the wise men who were before him made most careful study with watchings and observations of the courses of the constellations [and planets]. And PTOLEMY, CLAUDIUS, the lord (i.e. author) of the Book MAGISTI, which he called 'SUNTAKSIS', was enlightened and made exceedingly strong (or, wise) by his writings. And of all the multitude of books of HIPPARCHUS, only one book is extant today. [I mean] the 'Mysteries of the Luminaries' (or, shining orbs of the heavens), whereby is made known the renewal of the various kingdoms in the world. (1)

After NEBUCHADNEZZAR his son EVIL MERODACH [reigned] three years after, the death of his father and not after he went mad. Whilst this king was reigning he brought YOYAKIM, who is YOYACHIN, that is to say YOCANYA, the son of YOYAKIM, who is 'ELYAKIM, out of prison and paid him honour. And he ate bread at the table of EVIL MERODACH in the thirty-seventh year of his captivity, that is to say the twenty-sixth year [after] the burning of the Temple.

After EVIL MERODACH, BELTSHAZAR (BELSHAZZAR) his brother [reigned] two years, according to the CHALDEANS five. In the first year of this king DANIEL saw the vision of the four beasts, which symbolized four kingdoms. BELSHAZZAR in the second year [of his kingdom] made a great feast for his nobles. And he was drinking wine [as he reclined] opposite a thousand, that is to say they could see him, but he was not alongside of them. And when he dared greatly, and drank out of the vessels [used in] the service [of the Temple], which his father had carried off [from JERUSALEM], the figure of a hand went forth and wrote the decree of his doom on the wall; and that same night came DARIUS the Mede and killed him.

(1) Bedjan says in a note, 'There are no mysteries in the Luminaries, and it cannot be known from them what the Lord wished to do', and he quotes Daniel iv. 17.

Bar Hebraeus' ***Chronography***

V

The Kings of the Medes.

Here beginneth the Fifth Series, which passeth from the Chaldean Kings to the Kings of the Medes.

[29] AFTER BELTESHAZAR, DARIUS the MEDE, who is NABHORHIDOS (NABONIDUS), reigned for one year after he had killed BELTESHAZAR; now he had then been king for sixteen years. And in that year he set up DANIEL above all his nobles, and therefore DANIEL was envied and cast into the den of lions for the first time; and when he was delivered they (i.e. the men who envied him) perished.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

VI

The Kings of the Persians.

Here beginneth the Sixth Series, which passeth from the Kings of the Medes to the Kings of the Persians.

AFTER DARIUS the MEDE, CYRUS the PERSIAN [reigned] thirty-one years; some manuscripts have [thirty]-nine and others [thirty]-three years. This CYRUS having slain DARIUS the MEDE made an end of the kingdom[s] of the CHALDEANS, and the ASSYRIANS, and the MEDES, and set up the kingdom of the PERSIANS. And he made BABYLON the place of his abode (i.e. capital), and he also appointed DANIEL, the upright man, administrator of his kingdom. And DANIEL was full of zeal and he smashed the idol of BEL, the god of the BABYLONIANS, who was the first king of the CHALDEANS, the father of NINOS, who built NINEVEH. And DANIEL also slew the SERPENT, and became hated by the BABYLONIANS, and he was cast a second time into a cave (or, cage) wherein there were seven lions. And the prophet HABAKKUK was sent from JUDAH and brought food to him, and he was also delivered from the lions and his enemies perished.

Now DANIEL in reckoning up the years of the Captivity, thought that the seventy years which had been decreed for the people by the word of the Lord by the hand of JEREMIAH, had already been fulfilled, and he fasted and prayed for twenty-one days, making supplication for the return of the people. Then he saw a terrifying vision by the river DEKLATH (TIGRIS), namely that of a man clothed in byssus, and he said unto him, 'Behold, I have to contend for twenty-one days against the governor of the PERSIANS [30] for the sending away of the people'. And in the first year of his kingdom he sent away five myriads (but not all of them, because the seventy years were not as yet fulfilled) by the hands of ZURBABHEL and ISHO' BAR-YOZADAK. And he commanded them to build the Temple of JERUSALEM according to the prophecy of ISAIAH; but the building was obstructed by the peoples who were round about them, for forty-six years, as JOHN the Evangelist wrote, until the sixth year of DARIUS, the son of HYSTASPES. After CYRUS the PERSIAN, CAMBYSES his son reigned for eight years; the HEBREWS say that he was called NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

And in his time JUDITH, who slew HOLOPHERNES, the man of MAGHOGH, that is to say the TURK. And in the sixth year of his reign they overthrew TYRE wholly.

After CAMBYSES two brothers who were MAGIANS [reigned] for seven months, and these months are reckoned with the years of CAMBYSES.

After the two brothers who were MAGIANS, DARIUS, the son of HYSTASPES, [reigned] for thirty-six years. In his second year the seventy years of the Captivity came to an end, according to CLEMENS, and EUSEBIUS, and ANDRONICUS, and the testimony of [the prophets] HAGGAI and ZECHARIAH. And in his sixth year the HOUSE (i.e. Temple) was finished in the month of 'IYAR. Its height was sixty cubits, its

breadth was twenty cubits. The years from the first building of SOLOMON to this year of the completion of the second building added together are five hundred and eight years. At this time PYTHAGORAS the philosopher died, having lived ninety-five [years]. And DEMOCRITUS and DIOGENES, the philosophers; and ANAXAGORAS, the physicist, and PINDAR and SIMONIDES, the musicians; and HIPPOCRATES, the physician; and PROTAGORAS and ISOCRATES, the sophists; and ARISTOPHANES and 'APCALIS (EUPOLES?), the introducers of comedy, were known (or, famous).

Of all these he who was the most triumphant in the world was HIPPOCRATES, the master and teacher of physicians until the present day. He used to live in the city of EMESA, and from time to time he would go to DAMASCUS and live in those gardens, the site of which is known at the present day, and is called the 'Porch of HIPPOCRATES'. He was a godlike man, and he healed the sick gratuitously. It is related that 'ARDASHiR, the king of the PERSIANS, was sick and he sent a message to him [31] saying that he must come and heal him; and that he would give him the half of his kingdom; but HIPPOCRATES would not go, because of the fee which [the King] had promised him. The following works of his are extant: The Book of Aphorisms, the Book of Prognosis, the Book of Peeled Barley, the Book of Humours, the Book of the Kastrom (i.e. Belly), the Book of Water and Air, the Book of the Nature of Man, the Book of Headaches (?), and the Book of Diatiki (Covenant).

Ater DARIUS, his son 'AHSHIRASH (AHASUERUS) [reigned] twenty-one years. In his second year he subjugated EGYPT. In his eleventh year he came to ATHENS and burnt it with fire. In his time HAMAN, the AMALEKITE, sought to make an end of the JEWS who remained from the Captivity. ESTHER and MORDECAI put on sackcloth, and the Lord made the wickedness of HAMAN to recoil on his own head. And certain people say that if this story had been current in the time of EZRA, who wrote about everything which happened at this period, he would not have kept silence about it, and would have mentioned it.

After AHASUERUS, ARTABANUS his own son reigned seven months, and these months are reckoned with the years of AHASUERUS.

And after ARTABANUS, 'ARYOCH, that is ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS, [reigned] forty-one years. And in his ninth year he commanded 'AZRA (EZRA) the scribe to go up and build JERUSALEM, that is to say the city, after the Temple was built. And a vision of God appeared unto EZRA the scribe, and he made a copy of [the Book of] the Prophets from memory, because their Books were burnt when [the city] was captured. And in his twentieth year NEHEMIAH, the cup-bearer (*shakya*), was sent to build JERUSALEM. Now although this man was a Hebrew by race, he was a eunuch, and the cup-bearer of ARTAXERXES; and he persuaded the king and the queen and went up. Now the Jews who were in JERUSALEM had no holy fire, because they had cast it into a pit when they were carried away captives. And NEHEMIAH commanded and they brought some of the clay (or, soil) from that pit and cast it upon the wood of the altar, and it burst into flame after it had been extinguished for one hundred and forty-six years. And NEHEMIAH remained in JERUSALEM for twelve years. And from this time of ARTAXERXES one reckoneth the seventy weeks which are written in DANIEL, and which make four hundred and ninety years, and they agree with the year three hundred and sixty-six of the GREEKS, in the second year of NERO, in whose days JERUSALEM was besieged. Hitherto [32] writers have collected the [numbers of the years] from the Books of the Prophets and EZRA, but from this time onward [they have taken them] from the Book of the MACCABEES, and from the historians JOSEPHUS and AFRICANUS. In the third year of this ARTAXERXES, SOCRATES the philosopher was born, and he was poisoned at the end of his days.

After 'ARYOCH another ARTAXERXES [reigned] for two months.

After this other ARTAXERXES, SAGHDIANOS [reigned] for seven months, and these months are added to the two preceding months.

After SAGHDIANOS, DARIUS NOTHUS [reigned] nineteen years. In his fifteenth year EGYPT rebelled against the PERSIANS, and the EGYPTIANS set up a native king after one hundred and twenty-four years [of foreign rule]. And after NEHEMIAH had finished [building] the whole of the wall of JERUSALEM he returned to BABYLON. And PLATO promulgated [his] opinion about the three uncreated beings, viz. God, Matter, and Silence. And he taught the migration of souls from bodies to bodies, even for insects and reptiles; and he advised that women be common property. EPICURUS clung to his teaching, and ARISTOTLE, at the age of seventy, listened to wisdom from PLATO.

After DARIUS NOTHUS, ARTAXERXES the Governor [reigned] forty years. And in his fifteenth year AFRICANUS, the Dictator of the ROMANS, laid waste CARTHAGE (?), and he called that country 'AFRIKI after his own name. The HEBREWS call this ARTAXERXES 'ASVIROS', and because of this JOHN thought that the [events of] the story of ESTHER took place [in his reign]. In the translation of the SEVENTY he is called 'ARTAXERXES'.

After ARTAXERXES the Governor, ARTAXERXES OCHUS [reigned] twenty-seven years. This [king] was a man of power and he reigned over EGYPT, and once again the IGHUPTAYE (EGYPTIANS) became subject to the PERSIANS; the king of EGYPT, whose name was NAKTANABOS (i.e. NEKHT-HER-HEBIT), fled to ETHIOPIA. He saw by means of magical incantations that very many armies were advancing against him; and it is said that he was the unlawful father of ALEXANDER [the Great]. OCHUS also conquered the JEWS and made them bearers of tribute to him; and he settled them by the side of the CASPIAN SEA, in the city of HYRCANIA. And at this time PHILIP, the father of ALEXANDER, reigned in MACEDONIA twenty-seven years. And in the thirteenth year [33] of OCHUS the Persian, and the eighth [year] of PHILIP, ALEXANDER [the Great] was born in HELLAS, and the name of his mother was OLYMPIAS.

After OCHUS, PARSIS ('ARSIS) his son [reigned] four years. At this time SOCRATES, and PLATO, and ARISTOTLE, the philosophers, were famous. PLATO died at the age of eighty-two years, and SPOSIPOS (SPEUSIPPUS), the son of his uncle, and not ARISTOTLE, stood in his place, even though he was his disciple, but he did not agree with his opinion, especially on the subject of the migration of souls from bodies to bodies, which he opposed strongly.

At this time MANASSEH, the brother of ONIAS (?), the high priest of the JEWS, built a great temple in MOUNT GARZIM (GERIZIM), which was like that which was in JERUSALEM, and ALEXANDER, the son of King PHILIP, became a disciple of ARISTOTLE. SOCRATES and PLATO received wisdom from PYTHAGORAS the Great. After the death of SOCRATES, PLATO became famous. THEON, the ALEXANDRIAN, estimates that PLATO composed thirty-three books, among them being the Book of 'POLITIKON', and the Book of LAWS, and the Book of PHAEDO, and the Book of TIMAUS. PLATO was of noble origin both on his father's and mother's side, for his father was descended from POSIDION, and his mother from SOLON, the lawgiver of the ATHENIANS. Others say that when PLATO was a youth he was greatly skilled in the poetic art, and that when he was being trained under SOCRATES and he saw that [his master] held the poetic art in contempt, he burnt the books of poetry which he possessed, and cleaved to SOCRATES, and was a disciple of his for fifty years; and from him he learned pythagorean wisdom. And when he died he left many estates (or, gardens), and two slaves, and a cup and a pinax, and an ornament which he used to put in his ear in his childhood as a mark of the nobility of his race. And the rest of his possessions he spent in providing dowries for his brother's daughters; and he also divided some of his goods among his friends. Over his grave is written, 'Here is laid a godlike man, who was superior to all men in

wisdom, and in modesty , and in righteous habits. Therefore, every one who praiseth wisdom, [34] it is PLATO whom he praiseth, because in him was the greater part of wisdom.' And on the other side of the grave is written, 'O thou Earth, though thou hidest the body of PLATO, thou canst never draw nigh to his soul, because it never dieth'.

ARISTOTLE was the son of NICOMACHUS, the physician from STAGIRA, a village in the country of MACEDONIA, and his race (i.e. pedigree), both through his father and mother, went back to the ASKLEPIADES; and for a period of twenty years he was an auditor of PLATO. And on a certain occasion when he was with the rest of the disciples, and was still uninitiated, PLATO said unto those who were initiated, 'Mind (or, understanding) hath not come, the philosopher is remote from the truth, deaf are his hearers'. ARISTOTLE was held in very great honour by kings and ALEXANDER administered the affairs of his kingdom under his direction. And when he went to war with the kings of the earth, ARISTOTLE held his peace, and he began to write books on linguistics, and natural objects, and divine (i.e. celestial) objects, and the care (i.e. study) of customs. His stature was handsome, [his complexion] fair (or, white), the eyes and mouth small, the cheek broad, the beard crisp, the nose broad, his eyes were light blue (?). When he was walking by himself his gait was hurried, and when he was with other people he walked leisurely. And with the reading of books he sometimes, it seems, abolished sleep. He put restraint on every word, and inquired carefully into the force thereof. Being asked a question, he did not answer quickly, but only after a time. He loved songs (ballads or, metrical poetry). And when a man was disputing (or, debating) with him, he never cared whether he (i.e. the man) gained the victory or not, all that concerned him was the truth. And if he was in the wrong he admitted it, and when the truth [lay] with his fellow debater, he testified to the correctness thereof willingly. And his apparel, and his food, and his drink, and his marriage, and his motions were praiseworthy. He died at the age of sixty-eight years, and he left a son, and a daughter, and a wife, and slaves and maidservants, and many possessions.

And there rose up in doctrine in his stead THEOPHRASTUS, his brother's son. And when he died he made a beautiful (i.e. wise) will with directions for the members of his household and his disciples.

And of SOCRATES it is said, 'This man beggared himself completely. He loved labours, and hated the delights and gratifications of the body. He used to live in a pit (or, well) [35] and not in a house. And a certain man said unto him: 'If the pit becometh broken what wilt thou do?' And he replied, 'If the pit be broken, the place which is in the pit will not be broken'. He used to say, 'The external beauty of the body maketh known the interior beauty of the soul'. And when the ATHENIANS saw that he always selected good-looking youths to instruct, they thought that he was a lover of boys. And because he blamed and severely rebuked the king for his luxurious life, he instructed his sons ANITOS and MILITOS, and they accused him of sodomy; so he killed him with poison. St. GREGORY, the Theologian, mentions this SOCRATES in the second part [of his work], saying, 'The love of beauty of SOCRATES! Though I am ashamed I must say "the love of boys", though he was modest (or, chaste) in things which are to be praised' (?).

After PARSIS, DARIUS the son of 'ARSHACH ('ARSHAM) [reigned] six years. And in the first year of his reign, ALEXANDER [the Great], who was twenty years old, was reigning. He was three cubits in height, and he was much greater than any of the kings who were before him. He conquered many countries, and he destroyed thirty-five kings and his camp contained twelve myriads of men. And in the sixth year of DARIUS, and also of ALEXANDER, they joined in battle at ISSUS in CILICIA, and ALEXANDER conquered and DARIUS was slain, and the kingdom of the PERSIANS came to an end.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

VII

The First Kingdom of the Greeks.

Here beginneth the Seventh Series, which passeth from the Kings of the Persians to the pagan Greeks.

AFTER DARIUS, ALEXANDER reigned six years, after he killed DARIUS, and the prophecy of DANIEL concerning the he-goat which came and killed the ram (Daniel viii) was fulfilled. Now ALEXANDER, having brought to an end the kingdom of the BABYLONIANS and PERSIANS, [36] seized BABYLON, and subjugated 'IORIPOS (PERSEPOLIS?), and 'ERKONIA (HURKANIA?) and MURIA (MEDIA?). And he took all GREATER ASIA, and he also crossed the river HENDOS (INDUS), and he conquered INDIA and SHEBHA (SABA?). And he took to wife RUSHNAK (ROXANA), the daughter of DARIUS, and he carried off SHEBHA her sister with her. And he built twelve cities and made a door of Iron that the HUNS might not go forth. The height thereof was twelve cubits and the width thereof eight cubits. He took the JEWS and they welcomed him, and he sacrificed to GOD. And when the SHAMRAYE (SAMARITANS) slew ALEXANDER the priest, whom he had left with them, he came from EGYPT and destroyed them, and he settled MACEDONIANS in SHAMRIN. And having come to BABYLON after he had reigned twelve years and seven months, one of his nobles put him to death by poison. And the Great Horn was broken, and under it there rose up four horns [Daniel, chaps. vii and viii], viz. his servants who reigned after him. The total of the years from ADAM to the death of ALEXANDER, according to ANIANUS the monk, is five thousand and sixty and nine-years. And in the time of ALEXANDER lived ANDROMACHUS the physician, who added the flesh of vipers to the antidote METHRODITOS (i.e. of MITHRIDATES), and recovery from the bites of vipers took place.

Ater ALEXANDER, PTOLEMY, his servant, [reigned] forty years; he was the son of LOGHOS (LAGUS), that is to say the 'son of 'ARNEBHA'. He rose up after ALEXANDER, and he brought his body [to EGYPT] and buried it there. And in the year in which he [began to] reign, he captured JERUSALEM by guile, and he carried the JEWS into captivity, and he settled [them] in EGYPT in the days of HUNIA (ONIAS), the chief of the priests. And from him the kings (of EGYPT) were known as 'PTOLEMIES'. PHILIP ARRIDAEUS reigned over the MACEDONIANS, and ANTIOCHUS reigned in SYRIA. And he had a partner in the kingdom, SELEUCUS NIKATOR, i.e. the 'Conqueror'. Now in CILICIA, and in ASIA, and in CARIA, and in HELLESPONT, and in THRACE, and in PAPHLAGONIA, and in EPIRUS (var. 'EURIPI), seven other kings rose up. Now in all there were ten [kings]; and the word of DANIEL (chaps. vii and viii) agreeth, viz. 'The beast had ten horns'. [37] And in the thirteenth year of PTOLEMY [LAGUS], twelve years after the death of ALEXANDER, ANTIOCHUS died. And SELEUCUS reigned alone over SYRIA, and over all GREATER ASIA, and BABYLON as far as INDIA, for twenty-one years. And with him began the reckoning by the years of the GREEKS (i.e. the Era of the Greeks) which we SYRIANS use, even though it be called after ALEXANDER. SELEUCUS built ANTIOCH, and SELEUCIA, and LATAKIA, and APAMEA, and URHAI (EDESSA), and BEROEA, and PILAS, and GERMANIKI, which is MAR'ASH.

From ADAM to SELEUCUS, according to EUSEBIUS, is 4,889 years;
From ADAM to SELEUCUS, according to ANDRONICUS, is 5,083 years;
From ADAM to SELEUCUS, according to GIWARGI (GEORGE) the most excellent Elder, is 5,085 years;
From ADAM to SELEUCUS, according to AFRICANUS, is 5,083 years;
From ADAM to SELEUCUS, according to THEOPHILUS of EDESSA, is 5,197 years;
From ADAM to SELEUCUS, according to JACOB of EDESSA, is 5,49 years;
From ADAM to SELEUCUS, according to GEORGE, bishop of the Arab peoples, is 4,929 years;
From ADAM to SELEUCUS, according to ANIANUS, is 5,180 years and 10 months.

And with this last the Greek Septuagint agreeth. The reckoning which the Greeks use in our time agreeth with that of THEOPHILUS of EDESSA. Now if we add to 5,197 years the complete years of SELEUCUS, and one month to the complete months of the incomplete year, which beginneth with the FIRST TESHWIN (OCTOBER), there are gathered together for us the complete solar years from ADAM, and the months from the incomplete year which beginneth with 'ILUL (SEPTEMBER). What then in respect of the day which remaineth (?), the tenth of 'ILUL [of the] year of the GREEKS 1587? Let us add five thousand one hundred and ninety-seven to one thousand five hundred and eighty-six, and their total is six thousand seven hundred and eighty-three; then add to the eleven months one month and they become twelve months. Let us add then one year to the complete years, and they become six thousand seven hundred and eighty-four. And we say that the tenth of 'ILUL belongeth to the incomplete year, that is to say, the year six thousand seven hundred and eighty-five.

After LAGUS, PHILADELPHUS. i.e. 'loving his brother', reigned thirty-eight years. And in his fifth year ANTIOCHUS SOTER reigned over SYRIA after his brother SELEUCUS. And in his sixth year PHILADELPHUS gave freedom [38] to the JEWS who were in captivity in EGYPT. And he sent gifts to ELIAZAR, the high priest, and asked him for [copies of] the Holy Scriptures and translators. Then he (i.e. the high priest) wrote the Books in gold [ink], and sent [them] together with seventy-two learned men who were well acquainted with the two languages Greek and Hebrew; and there were six men from each tribe. And PHILADELPHUS settled them on the Island of FARO (PHAROS), and he built thirty-six cells, one cell for every two men; and he admonished them that they were to change nothing [in the text]. And they translated the Books in seventy-two days, each two men of the whole number [seventy-two], and there were thirty-six copies. And when they were collated with each other they were found to agree, as if one man only had translated them [i.e. all the copies]. And the king placed them in his library in ALEXANDRIA.

And after ANTIOCHUS SOTER, ANTIOCHUS, who was called God ['Allaha], reigned over SYRIA fifteen years. And in the thirty-fourth year of his reign the PARTHIANS, that is to say the 'ARMENAYE, rebelled against the MACEDONIANS, that is to say, GREEKS (YAWNAYE), and they set up over them a king whose name was 'ARSHAK, and from that time they were called 'ARSHAKAYE. And at that time the RHOMAYE slew of the GALLAYE (GAULS), and the KALAYE (KALTAYE, CELTS?) up to four myriads. And RHODES and all the countries round about them were so much shaken [by an earthquake], that the great COLOSSUS fell. And they afflicted SYRACUSE with war, and they also laid waste KAFU (CORFU?), and SICILY became subject unto them, and likewise very many Iberian (i.e. Spanish) cities.

After PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS, PTOLEMY EUERGETES (that is, handicraftsman') [reigned] twenty-six years. And in that year SELEUCUS KALONIKUS reigned in SYRIA twenty years. And he built KALONIKUS, that is, RAKKAH, and KARKISON (CIRCESIUM). And after him SELEUCUS KRONOS [reigned] three years, and after him ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT thirty-six years. Now ONIAS, the high priest, being unwilling to pay his customary tribute to the king of EGYPT, PHARAOH was wroth with him, and made ready to destroy the JEWS utterly. Then JOSEPHUS, the wise and strong man, was sent to him by

the JEWS, and favour was shown to him, and he pacified the anger of EUERGETES, and received from him an authority (or, Patent), and from that time a general [39] appeared in JUDEA who was over all the cities.

After PTOLEMY EUERGETES, PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR (that is, 'loving his father') [reigned] seventeen years. This [PHARAOH] afflicted the JEWS. And at the end of his kingdom ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT, of SYRIA, conquered him and also took possession of EGYPT. And he also came to JUDEA and subjugated it. And then there happened the events which are described in the holy history of the MACCABEES.

After PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR, PTOLEMY EPIPHANES (that is, the 'purifier', or perhaps 'the dispenser of justice') [reigned] twenty-one years, though other codices say twenty-four years. This PHARAOH sent SCOPAS his general, and he subdued JUDAH and SYRIA. Against him went forth ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT, and he conquered the army of the EGYPTIANS and took from them all their cities. Now the JEWS submitted themselves with alacrity to ANTIOCHUS, and he honoured them with gifts. And he paved the roads and passages over which the soldiers marched, and he built bridges of stones over the rivers. And in his eleventh year ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT was conquered by the RHOMAYE at THERMOPYLAE, and he covenanted to give to them annually one thousand talents of gold, and he also gave EPIPHANIUS, the son of ANTIOCHUS, to the RHOMAYE as a hostage. And from that time the kingdom of the GREEKS (YAWN'AYE) was in subjugation to the authority of the RHOMAYE. For this reason the GREEKS and EGYPTIANS became allies, and ANTIOCHUS stopped the war with PTOLEMY EPIPHANES, and made a covenant of friendship with him. And ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT took CLEOPATRA, the daughter of PTOLEMY EPIPHANES, to wife, and gave to her as her dowry SYRIA, PHOENICIA, SAMARIA, and JUDAH. And in the seventeenth year of PTOLEMY EPIPHANES, ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT went down [by sea?] against 'ILAM, the royal city (or, capital) of the PERSIANS, and there he died. As DANIEL said, 'In a few days he shall be broken, neither by wrath nor war' (Daniel xi. 20).

And SELEUCUS reigned over SYRIA. In his time HELIODORUS, his trusty deputy, was chastised with a stroke from God because he persecuted the JEWS mercilessly. And in the twenty-first year of PTOLEMY EPIPHANES, ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, the son of ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT, ruled over SYRIA; [40] he had lived as a hostage in ROME for eleven years. As soon as he began to reign he went to EGYPT to PTOLEMY, and although he was forbidden [to do so] by the RHOMAYE, he returned to JUDAH. And when he came to JERUSALEM he plundered the Temple of God, and set up in it an image of ZEUS. And he laid hold of ELIEZER the priest to make him offer up sacrifices, and when he refused, after [suffering] tortures, he died. And after him they brought SHAMONI, the wife of SHALOM, together with her seven sons, before ANTIOCHUS. And they cut out the tongue of the first one, and the chief of all his members, and cast him into a pan to be roasted. Of the second they ripped off the skin of his head. They cut out the tongue of the third, and so on with the other four, and at last they murdered their mother. They were crowned (i.e. martyred) in JERUSALEM, but afterwards their bodies were brought to ANTIOCH.

After PTOLEMY EPIPHANES, PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR (this is, 'loving his mother') [reigned] thirty-five years. In his sixteenth year ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES died in the land of the PERSIANS of a severe sickness [caused by] a stroke which was from God. And ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR reigned two years, and this king also multiplied evil acts towards the JEWS. In his time MATITHA, son of JOHN, son of SIMEON the priest, one of the sons of YONADHABH, dwelt in MUR'IM and he had five sons, viz. JOHN GADDAI, SIMON TARSAI, JUDAH MAKBAI, ELIEZAR HAWRAN, and JONATHAN HAPOS. When these men saw a certain JEW who was offering up a sacrifice they were filled with indignation, and they killed him, and also the governor who was forcing him to sacrifice, and they swept away the offering. Now these brethren, together with other zealous men of the Law, fled to a mountain. And when ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR heard [this] he sent a force of one hundred thousand men to JERUSALEM. And whilst they were fighting, ELIEZAR HAWRAN saw a great elephant, and he thought that the king was sitting upon it. And he went

under the elephant and stabbed it in its belly with a sword. And the elephant staggered about and fell upon him and he died. And when the fighting ceased and they were collecting the dead bodies for burial, they found under the apparel of every man of them some of the gold of idols. Then JUDAH sent three thousand pieces of silver to the priests in JERUSALEM, so that they might make an offering on behalf of those who had died, and might make propitiation for them for the sake of the [41] hope of the resurrection. At this time was built the first temple to the Lord among the heathen. HUNIA (ONIAS) built it at 'ILIOSPANTAS, (or, HELIPOLIS?) which is in EGYPT, and he performed in it the service according to the custom of the JEWS.

And in the eighteenth year of PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR, DEMETRIUS SOTER, who was the son of SELEUCUS, reigned over SYRIA twelve years. Now he came from RHOME, and he seized the kingdom of his ancestors and slew ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR and his deputy LUSIA. And in the twentieth year of PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR rose up the first governor of the JEWS, viz. JUDAS MACCABAEUS, and from that time he held for three years equally (or, both together) the office of high priest and that of king. He drove the general of ANTIOCHUS out from JUDAH, and he purified the Temple, and he was killed by the captain of the host of DEMETRIUS during the war. And after him rose JONATHAN, his brother, for nineteen years—thus the high priest was a general, and he fought during the war with great valour. And in the twenty-ninth year of PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR, ALEXANDER reigned over SYRIA ten years. He slew DEMETRIUS, and he also went to EGYPT and seized the country, and PHILOMETOR gave him CLEOPATRA, his daughter, and made peace with him. And HIPPOLYTUS saith, 'This agreeth with what DANIEL saith, "The daughter of the king of the south shall be given to the king of the north" , [compare Daniel xi. 17]. And THEODORET saith, 'With CLEOPATRA, the daughter of PTOLEMY EPIPHANES, who was given to ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT, the prophecy [of Daniel] was fulfilled'. And this is probably [correct].

After PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR, PTOLEMY EUERGETES II, the son of HABHUBHA (?), [reigned] twenty-nine years. In his fifth year, there reigned over SYRIA, after ALEXANDER, DEMETRIUS II, three years. And in the seventh year of this EUERGETES there rose up, after JONATHAN, SIMON, the high priest, who was a general eight years. This king sent a gold shield to RHOME, and the RHOMAYE made a treaty of love with him [which was written] on a tablet of brass. And he also sent his son JOHN against KANDABIS, the captain of the host of ANTIOCHUS DEMETRIUS, and he conquered him and destroyed all his host, [42] and thus the JEWS were freed from [the payment of] tribute. And in this year the second history of the MACCABEES came to an end.

And in his eighth year PTOLEMY, the son of HABHUBHA, deposed DEMETRIUS, and ANTIOCHUS SIDITOS reigned over SYRIA in his stead, and he came to make war on JERUSALEM. And certain slaves rebelled in SICILY, and being besieged in one of the towns on the island because of their hunger, they ate each other. And there was a great eruption of fire on the Island of IWALOS (AEOLUS). And in the fifteenth year of PTOLEMY, the general of PTOLEMY who was in JERICHO, killed SIMON, the high priest. And after him rose up JOHN, who was called 'HYRCANUS', because he gathered together an army against HYRCANIA, and he went to war—twenty-six years. And in the seventeenth year of this PTOLEMY, DEMETRIUS returned to [his] kingdom, and he reigned over SYRIA four years more. And after him there rose up over SYRIA, ANTIOCHUS AGRIPPA—twelve years. And he came to JERUSALEM, and he afflicted it sorely. Then HYRCANUS, being in sore straits, opened the grave of DAVID and brought out therefrom three thousand talents of gold which had been laid up there by the ancients. And he gave three hundred of them to ANTIOCHUS, and he departed from him. And at this time HYRCANUS laid waste SHAMRIN (SAMARIA).

After PTOLEMY EUERCETES, the son of HABHUBHA, PTOLEMY SOTER, who was also called 'PHYSKON', [reigned] seventeen years. In his fourth year ANTIOCHUS KUDIKOS (sic) reigned over SYRIA—eighteen years. And in the eleventh year of SOTER, JOHN HYRCANUS died. And

ARISTOBULUS, the son of JONATHAN, rose up—one year. This man bound on [his head] a crown, and with guile he slew his brother ANTIGONUS. And another brother, JOHN, also slew this man; this JOHN is IWANNIS, and he was also called 'ALEXANDER'. And he reigned twenty-seven years. This man governed the people in a cruel manner. And in his time PTOLEMY SOTER was driven out by CLEOPATRA his mother, and he fled to the Island of CYPRUS.

After PTOLEMY SOTER, PTOLEMY ALEXANDER, his brother, [reigned] ten years. [43] In his fourth year he burned alive KUZIKOS (sic) king of SYRIA, and he himself reigned over SYRIA for one year. Then rose up PHILIP over SYRIA—two years. And he was deposed by the people as being one who assisted in the burning of KUZIKOS (sic), and thereupon the people cleaved to the subjugation of the RHOMAYE. In the sixth year of this PTOLEMY ALEXANDER the kingdom of the GREEKS came to an end finally in SYRIA and ASIA. ANTIOCH became subject to the RHOMAYE in the year of the GREEKS two hundred and twenty.

After PTOLEMY ALEXANDER, SOTER his brother returned, and he reigned eight years. This SOTER came back from CYPRUS, whither he had fled from his mother. He fought with his brother, and expelled him, and he resumed his former rank. And SOTER, who was called 'PHYSKON', reigned in ALEXANDRIA and over all EGYPT.

After PTOLEMY SOTER, his son PTOLEMY DIONYSUS reigned a second time—thirty years. In the fifth year of his reign JOHN ALEXANDER died, and his wife ALEXANDRA, who was named SELINA, rose up for nine years. She observed the Commandments very strictly, and she punished those who abrogated them. But the affairs of the JEWS fell into a great state of confusion because she made HYRCANUS her son high priest, and ARISTOBULUS her other son was offended, and they quarrelled greatly with each other. And after very much trouble HYRCANUS was confirmed as high priest, and ARISTOBULUS [became] king. After a little [time] POMPEY, the captain of the host of the RHOMAYE, came and captured ARISTOBULUS, and carried him off in fetters to ROME, and he established his brother HYRCANUS [as king]. And he stood for thirty and four years, and he [re]built the walls of JERUSALEM which POMPEY had thrown down. For this POMPEY had laid the JEWS under tribute, and he subjugated also GREAT ARMENIA, and IBERIA and ISAURIA. And he increased greatly [in power] and was called 'AUTOCRATOR'. And in the year in which PTOLEMY DIONYSUS of EGYPT died there began in ROME, the Consulship of the three Consuls whose names are GAIUS JULIUS, MARK ANTONY, and CRASSUS.

After PTOLEMY DIONYSUS, [44] CLEOPATRA, his daughter, [reigned] twenty-three years. And in her third year the RHOMAYE made GAIUS JULIUS, one of the three Consuls, king. And he was named 'CAESAR', because when his mother was dying they made an opening in her and brought him out from her womb. And he went down to EGYPT and confirmed the sovereignty of CLEOPATRA. And in the year in which he reigned the month of KUNTILIS was called 'JULIUS'. And when JULIUS had reigned four years he died. and AUGUSTUS CAESAR reigned after him fifty-seven years. And in his sixth year, HYRCANUS, the high priest, was carried off captive to the country of the PARTHIANS, that is to say, PERSIANS. And for this reason HEROD, the son of ANTIPATER, the son of HEROD the priest of the house of idols of APOLLO, which is near the wall of ASCALON, went up to ROME. And thence he received sovereignty over the JEWS, and he reigned thirty-seven years. And when HYRCANUS returned from captivity he slew HEROD and his son JONATHAN in the eleventh year of AUGUSTUS. And here was fulfilled the word of the prophecy, 'The rod shall not depart from JUDAH until He to whom sovereignty belongeth shall come'. For in the time of this HEROD the birth of our Redeemer took place, and the seven weeks and the sixty-two weeks of DAVID were fulfilled. These make the four hundred and eighty-three years which began with the sixth year of DARIUS, the son of HYSTASPES.

Now when that HEROD came from ROME the JEWS would not receive him, and he fought and conquered them, and laid waste the two walls of JERUSALEM, and he destroyed many. And he took the vestment of priesthood under his hands, and with the exception of one year he did not release the high priest. And having slain HYRCANUS he sent to BABYLON and brought from thence a man whose name was HNANA'IL, who did not belong to the grade of priests, and he made him high priest for a year, and then dismissed him. And he made ARISTOBULUS, the son of HYRCANUS, who was a brother of the wife of HEROD, [high priest]. And after a little while he killed him, and MARY, his sister, who was his wife, and their mother, and each and every one, without any exception, who belonged to the family of the high priests. And again he appointed HNANA'IL [high priest]. And in the thirteenth year of AUGUSTUS ANTONINUS (ANTONY), the captain of his host rebelled against them, [45] and he loved CLEOPATRA, Queen of EGYPT. And AUGUSTUS marched against him and conquered him. And after a consultation of the SENATE AUGUSTUS made friends with ANTONINUS (Antony). Then CLEOPATRA asked ANTONINUS (ANTONY) for dominion over the kingdom of the JEWS and the ARABS, and he agreed to her request. And because of this AUGUSTUS was offended, and he marched again against ANTONINUS (ANTONY) and conquered him; and he also subdued EGYPT. And he took the two sons of CLEOPATRA, who were called 'Sun' and 'Moon', and slew them. Then CLEOPATRA and ANTONINUS (ANTONY) killed themselves.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

VIII

The Roman Emperors.

Here beginneth the Eighth Series, which passeth from the Kings of the pagan Greeks to the Kings of the Rhomaye.

THE sovereignty of the PTOLEMIES, that is to say GREEKS, having come to an end in EGYPT also, the whole of EGYPT and the whole of SYRIA came under the dominion of the RHOMAYE.

After CLEOPATRA [came] AUGUSTUS CAESAR, and whilst reigning over EGYPT he was named 'SEBASTUS'; and also [the month] of SEKSTILIS was called 'AUGUSTUS'. And in [his] eighteenth year AUGUSTUS sent TIBERIUS, the captain of [his] host, to ARMENIA, and he subjugated it. And HEROD built SHAMRIN (SAMARIA), and in honour of SEBASTUS called it 'SEBASTIA'. And he also built the Tower of 'ESTRATON (TURRIS STRATONIS) and named it 'CAESAREA', and he also built GABHALA in GALILEE. And in the forty-third year of AUGUSTUS, which is the thirty-third year of HEROD, and the three hundred and ninth year of the GREEKS, on the twenty-fifth day of the month of the FIRST KANON (DECEMBER), on the night of the dawn of the third [day of the week], our Lord JESUS CHRIST, the Son of God, was born in the flesh of the VIRGIN MARY, the daughter of DAVID; and that year entered (i.e. began) on the second day of the week. And in that year KEURINOS (CYRENIUS), the governor, was sent by the Senate of ROME to levy poll-tax of the JEWS because GALILEAN JUDAH had rebelled, and many of the JEWS said, [46] 'It is not right to pay poll-tax to Caesar', and, 'to make for ourselves lords who are mortal'.

And thirty years after this, on the fourth day of the week, on the sixth day of the LATTER KANON (JANUARY), Christ was baptized by JOHN in the JORDAN. And when our Lord in the flesh was two years old, and JOSEPH and MARY were going up from NAZARETH to JERUSALEM and they came to BETHLEHEM, the MAGI came, and there they bowed down in homage to Him. And by night they departed to Egypt, and they lived there for two years, until HEROD died, and then they returned. Now when the Holy Virgin gave birth to Him she was thirteen (or, fifteen) years old, and she died when she was fifty-one (or, sixty-three) years old. LONGINUS, the Roman sage, wrote to CAESAR concerning the coming of the MAGI, saying, 'PERSIANS from the east have travelled and come to thy kingdom, and they have brought offerings to a child who hath been born in JUDAH, but who he is, and whose Son he is, we have not yet heard'. And AUGUSTUS sent [an answer saying], 'HEROD, the Satrap, whom we have left there, shall make known to us who he is'. And as for the year of the birth of our Lord, although writers (or, historians) have stated it differently, we find that it was only the three hundred and ninth year of the GREEKS (1), which began on the second day of the week—besides the other things which they wrote. And HEROD having slain the children of BETHLEHEM and the borders thereof, the Lord smote him; he suffered sorely for two years and died aged seventy years.

And AUGUSTUS set up ARCHELAUS his son, who reigned nine years. And having committed an act of folly he was banished to BHINAN (VIENNA), a city of the GALSINE (GAULS). And then AUGUSTUS set

up the four governors, TETRARCHS, HEROD, and ANTIPATER, and PHILIP—these then were brothers of ARCHELAUS—and the fourth was LYSANIUS, the alien. And in the same year AUGUSTUS died.

After AUGUSTUS CAESAR, TIBERIUS CAESAR [reigned] twenty-three years. And in his fourteenth year PILATE, the governor, was sent to the JEWS, and he was Prefect over them. And he introduced the statue of CAESAR into [47] the Temple, and [thus] stirred up the JEWS to revolt. And besides this he expended all the treasure of the priests when the aqueduct came into [the city], which became the cause of the second revolt.

And in the nineteenth year of TIBERIUS, ABHGAR, king of URHAI (EDESSA), sent a certain painter, whose name was JOHN, the tabellarius, and he painted a portrait of our Lord JESUS upon a tablet, and brought [it] to ABHGAR. And ABHGAR also sent [a letter] to our Lord by the hands of HANANYA, saying, 'I have heard that mighty deeds flow from thee, and that thou effectest healings without medicines. Therefore thou must either be God Himself, who hath come down from heaven, or the son of God. Because of this I have written [and] I have asked thee to trouble thyself to come to me and heal the sickness which is in me. Moreover I have also heard that the JEWS are jealous (or, envious) of thee, and that they murmur complainingly concerning thee, and are very wishful to do thee an injury. Now have a small and beautiful city, and it will suffice for the two [of us].'

And our Lord made answer to him, saying, 'Blessed is he who hath believed in me, though he hath not seen me! And as concerning what thou hast written, that I should come to thee. A course of life and action is [laid] upon me, and it is meet that I should fulfil in this place that on account of which I have been sent, and I shall be taken up to Him who hath sent me. But I will send unto thee immediately one of my disciples who shall heal thy sickness, and shall give life unto thee and unto those who are with thee'.

And in the nineteenth year of TIBERIUS Our Redeemer suffered, and died, and was buried, and rose up again, and ascended into heaven. And on the day of Pentecost a great quaking seized the priests of the JEWS, who heard a voice from the inside of the Temple, saying, 'We must depart from this place'. And ABHGAR of EDESSA, wrote to TIBERIUS concerning everything Which the JEWS did to Christ. And the Emperor replied, 'Behold, because of this I have dismissed PILATE in disgrace, and I will take vengeance on the JEWS'. And HEROD the Tetrarch, who was also named 'ANTPATOS (ANTIPATRUS)—now, he was the son of HEROD, the slayer of the children—killed JOHN. And he took to wife HERODIAS, the wife of his brother, whilst her husband was still living. And he was sent into exile with HERODIAS, and both he and she were killed in the city of BAWINNA (WINNA?).

The years from ADAM to the year in which our Redeemer suffered, make a total of five thousand five hundred and thirty-nine years, and that year began on the First Day of the Week (Sunday). According to HIPPOLYTUS, and JOHN, and MAR JACOB, the total is five thousand five hundred and fifty years; according [48] to EUSEBIUS five thousand two hundred, and thirty-two; according to the SYRIANS four thousand one hundred and fifty-six; according to AFRICANUS, five thousand five hundred and thirty-two; and according to others five thousand three hundred and twenty years; and in the chronology which many hold to, five thousand five hundred and nine (nineteen?); and according to ANDRONICUS, it was in the year three hundred and forty-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 31).

After TIBERIUS CAESAR, GAIUS CAESAR [reigned] four years. That AGRIPPA, who was called 'HEROD', was the son of ARISTOBULUS, the son of HEROD, the slayer of the children, by MARY, the daughter of HYRCANUS, the chief of the priests. When in the days of TIBERIUS he went up to ROME to lay an accusation against HEROD the Tetrarch, that is to say, ANTIPATOS (ANTIPATRUS), he was put in prison. And whilst he was fettered he used to pray that GAIUS might become king. Therefore when GAIUS reigned he gave him the principalities of PHILIP and of LUSANIA, and because of this HERODIAS cursed

HEROD ANTIPATOS (ANTIPATRUS), saying that, because she had not gone to Caesar 'thou hast been deprived of governorship. For if AGRIPPA, who was of the common folk, became a governor, how much more ought thou, who wast of the tetrarchship, to become one?' And because of this, when GAIUS went up to ROME to receive the kingdom, he was wroth, and he drove him forth into exile with his wife, and there they died. And when this AGRIPPA reigned, in his first year, he slew JAMES, not the brother of our Lord [but the son of ZABHDAI (ZEBEDEE)], of whom PAUL maketh mention [I Cor. xv. 7]; and he was crowned (i.e, martyred) on a cork tree, and not by the sword of AGRIPPA.

And at that time FELIX, the Eparch of EGYPT, was sent, and he afflicted the JEWS for seven years. and because of this ambassadors were sent to GAIUS that they might break him, namely JOSEPHUS, the wise man, and PHILO the Hebrew philosopher, who was from ALEXANDRIA. And GAIUS in his fourth year commanded PATRONUS, the Eparch of SYRIA, to set up images of himself in the Temple and in the synagogues of the JEWS, and thus was fulfilled what DANIEL [wrote] concerning the polluted sign which stood in the Holy Place [Daniel xi. 31]. And when AGRIPPA had reigned in his kingdom for three full years he came to CAESAREA, and made a festival of theatricals representing the life of CAESAR. And on the second day of the theatricals he put on a garment in which was sewn silver [threads], and he came in the dawn to the theatre, and when the first rays of the sun fell [49] upon the silver it sparkled in a most wonderful fashion, whereupon his adulators called him 'God'. And because he did not restrain them he was smitten with a stroke, and after five days he came to an end.

After GAIUS CAESAR, CLAUDIUS CAESAR [reigned] fourteen years. In his time a revolt took place in JERUSALEM, on the day of the feast of the Passover. And whilst the people were crowded together in a dense mass at the exits of the Temple three myriads of JEWS were trampled under foot, each by the other, and died. And a great famine took place throughout the inhabited world, and the prophecy of 'AGHABHOS (Agabus), which is in the Book of PRAXIS [Acts xi. 28; xxi. 10], was fulfilled. And the disciples who were in ANTIOCH, according to the sufficiency which was in their hands, divided up their possessions and sent [gifts] to the poor who were in JERUSALEM. And PHILO, the wise man, met the apostle PETER when he was preaching in ROME, and he wrote about those who became disciples of the Faith which is in our Lord, and who had stripped themselves of the possessions and anxiety of [this] world. None of them ate food before the sun set. They adjudged the cultivation of wisdom to be like unto the light, and the necessary care and use of the body to be like unto darkness. Some among them only ate food every second day, and some only every third day, and there were others who only ate every sixth or seventh day.

At this time a certain EGYPTIAN, a lying prophet, came to JUDEA, and he led astray after him three myriads of men. And having marched them round in the desert he brought them to the MOUNT OF OLIVES, and he wished to take JERUSALEM. Then came FELIX and a battle took place, and the EGYPTIAN fled and his force perished. And because of this it was said to PAUL by the Chiliarch, 'Wert not thou thyself that Egyptian?' [Acts xxi. 38], &c.

After CLAUDIUS CAESAR, NERO CAESAR [reigned] fourteen years. He sent FESTUS and dismissed FELIX. And he was the first one who set up the persecution of the Christians in which PETER and PAUL testified in ROME and were crowned (i.e. suffered martyrdom). In the thirteenth year of NERO the JEWS rebelled, and NERO sent [against them] VESPASIAN and TITUS his son. And in one year, in the month of HAZIRAN (JUNE), TITUS captured the city of YOTOPATA (IOTOPATA) because he heard that JOSEPHUS, the scribe, the son of MATTAI the priest, who was the captain of the host of the JEWS, was there. And when he was taken he prophesied concerning the death of [50] NERO and who was going to reign after him. Therefore TITUS did not kill him. Now this JOSEPHUS was not KAYAFA (CAIAPHAS), as some men have thought, for CAIAPHAS was also called JOSEPHUS.

And after these things the ROMANS encircled JERUSALEM, and whilst VESPASIAN was occupied in the war against JERUSALEM, the report of the death of NERO arrived, and of the tyrant OTHO, who stood for three months, and he killed him, and of VITALLIANUS, the tyrant, who stood for eight months. Him the ROMANS slew in the middle of the city. Then the Roman troops who were with VESPASIAN proclaimed him king, and he committed the war against JERUSALEM to TITUS his son, who went to ALEXANDRIA and subjugated it, and [then] departed by sea to ROME.

After NERO CAESAR, VESPASIAN CAESAR [reigned] ten years. It was he who built the CAPITOLIUM. And he made the CIRCUS in ALEXANDRIA, the length of which was one hundred and twenty-five feet. And TITUS his son, on the fourteenth day of the month of NISAN (APRIL), in the three hundred and eighty-second year of the GREEKS (i.e. A.D. 71), encamped against JERUSALEM; he captured it on the eighth day of the month of ILOL (SEPTEMBER), and destroyed it completely in the second year of VESPASIAN. He burnt the Temple on the tenth day of the month of 'AB (AUGUST), before the city was captured, the same day on which the Temple was burnt in the days of ZEDEKIAH. From ADAM to this final overthrow was five thousand four hundred and thirty-seven years, but according to others five thousand two hundred and three years. And from the building of the Temple to the destruction thereof was ten hundred and ninety-five years, and from the year of the PASSION forty years. And, according to others, five thousand five hundred and eighty-five years, and after the PASSION thirty-three years, in the year of the GREEKS three hundred and twenty-three (2).

And if, as JOSEPHUS saith, the Passover took place on the twelfth day of NISAN (APRIL), and the Resurrection on the fifteenth day, it must be the three hundred and eighty-first year of the GREEKS. And how many people perished therein! This same JOSEPHUS saith, 'On the day of the Passover they offered up two hundred and fifty thousand rams, and around each ram twenty men were gathered together. And these were people ceremonially pure, for the unclean, and the people with fluxes, and the children did not eat. Sixty thousand men were killed in the war, and one million one hundred thousand perished through hunger, [51] and one hundred thousand people were sold as slaves, and the rest were distributed about as menials for service. This is the terrible calamity which came to the JEWS in JERUSALEM. As concerning the great tribulation which took place in the city, and the calamities which the JEWS suffered in bondage, JOSEPHUS describes very many of them, the which a small treatise like this cannot contain.

After VESPASIAN, TITUS his son [reigned] two years. The Senate proclaimed this man to be 'God', and having accepted the proclamation which thus styled him, he died suddenly.

After TITUS CAESAR, DOMITIAN CAESAR, his brother, [reigned] sixteen years. This Emperor drove the CHALDEANS and the philosophers out of ROME, and he commanded that no vine should be planted in the city, and he prohibited the castration of the male. CORNELIA, the priestess, a virgin, was accused of unchastity, and she was buried alive. And as the Gospel of CHRIST was increasing mightily, PATROPILOS (PATROPHILUS) the philosopher said unto URSINOS his master, 'What is this? THEODORE, the chief of the sages in ATHENS, and AFRICANUS, the Alexandrian philosopher, and MARTINUS from BADU (BARDU?), and many others worship a man who was crucified, and though they are not rewarded with riches, they are mighty in word and deed.' And he replied, 'Yea, even the gods and their priests become disciples of His. The fact that His disciples do not give themselves up to the hateful habits of sin testifieth that their doctrine is the best of all doctrines.' And when DOMITIAN heard these things he marvelled, and he brought the persecution to an end. At this time APOLLONIUS, that is PILARE (PHILARIUS), exhibited *talismatas* (i.e. the art of magic), and he performed everything by means of devils, and he used to say, 'Woe is me! For the Son of MARY hath obtained pre-eminence over me' (or, anticipated me).

After DOMITIAN CAESAR, NERVA CAESAR [reigned] one year. Then he fell sick, and his body rotted, and he died in the garden of SALLUST.

After NERVA CAESAR, TRAJAN CAESAR [reigned] nineteen years. He stirred up the persecution of the Christians in which SIMON, the son of CLEOPHAS of JERUSALEM, and JOHN the Apostle, and IGNATIUS of ANTIOCH were crowned (i.e. suffered martyrdom), and PLINIUS SECUNDUS, the Eparch, killed many Christians. And when he saw how many they were, he was greatly troubled, and he wrote [52] to TRAJAN, saying, 'No other offence can be urged against the Christians except that they do not wish to offer sacrifice to idols; they abhor adultery and murder and every disgraceful act'. And when CAESAR learned these things he commanded that they should not be searched for, but that whenever anyone of them was discovered he should be proceeded against until he offered sacrifice. And in the tenth year of TRAJAN, GALEN the physician was born, and at the end of his reign the JEWS who were in CYPRUS uprooted the city of SALOMONI (SALAMINA), and slew the GREEKS (YAWNAYE) who were therein. And the JEWS also who were in LYDIA stirred up to revolt the GREEKS who were therein, and thus also did the JEWS who were in CYRENAICA, and in THEBES (THEBAID?), and in ALEXANDRIA and in BETH NAHRIN (MESOPOTAMIA). And the JEWS who were in EGYPT rebelled, and set up for themselves a king whose name was LUMPIS, and he governed them and came to JUDEA. Now the JEWS conquered in every place. And BASILIDES, the head of the heresy of the Gnostics, that is to say, the worshippers of the serpent, became celebrated.

After TRAJAN CAESAR, HADRIAN CAESAR [reigned] twenty-one years. When he reigned, he abolished liability for debts, and he remitted many tributes to many peoples, and he burnt the documents on which the debts (or, liabilities) of cities were recorded. In the fourth year of his reign the sovereignty of EDESSA ceased, and governors administered affairs there as in every other place. And in his fifth year he brought the river PISOS (KEPISOS) to 'ALOSINA, and made for it a bridge, and he wintered in ATHENS.

And in his time there became famous CLAUDIUS PTOLEMY the astronomer, who made the Book of MAGISTI and called it 'SYNTAXIS'; and GALEN, the physician, who learned and taught, and SECUNDUS, the silent philosopher. [At the last named] HADRIAN marvelled, and wished to break his silence, but SECUNDUS maintained it until his death.

And a certain Jew, whose name was BAR KAWKEBHA, rebelled in JUDEA, and he used to carry off and kill those who would not agree with him. The Emperor sent troops and destroyed the JEWS; and he uprooted JERUSALEM thoroughly. And they built there a city and called it 'HELIOS HADRIANUS', and they settled aliens therein. And he bound the ears of the JEWS, and he made a law that they were not to look upon that place, even from a distance. [53] And the Christian philosophers KURTOS (QUADRATUS?) and ARISTIDES, the ATHENIANS, wrote an *Apologia* for the doctrine of the Christians. And SAYRAINOS (SERENUS) the governor wrote to the Emperor [saying], 'It is not right to kill them merely because of the name Christian, without any blameworthy act'; and the Emperor wrote, 'Unless there is a reason for condemnation they shall not die'. And in his days the First Council in NICEA was gathered together, namely forty-three bishops; and they excommunicated SABELLIUS, who said, 'One Person of the Trinity', and VALENTINUS, who confessed that our Lord brought a body for Himself from heaven.

After HADRIAN CAESAR, TITUS ANTONINUS CAESAR, who was called EUSEBIUS, and was named 'Righteous' and 'Father of the Country'—he and his sons [reigned] twenty-two years. This Emperor commanded that the Christians should not be persecuted. And in his time GALEN flourished. And that he did not live in the time of our Lord, as some men think, is known from GALEN'S own words. For he saith in the beginning of the First Chapter, which treateth of fissures (or, wounds), 'I composed the first book of fissures when I went up. to ROME the first time'. And he saith also in his exposition of PLATO'S Book of PEDON

(PHAEDO), 'We have seen these men who are called "NAZRAYE" (NAZARENES), who found their Faith upon Divine indications (or, inspirations) and miracles, and they are in no wise inferior to those who are in truth philosophers. For they love purity (or, chastity), and they are constant in Fasting, and they are zealous in avoiding the committal of wrong, and there are among them some who during the whole course of their lives never indulge in carnal intercourse. I say that this is a sign of the monastic life which became famous after the Ascension of our Lord, during the period of one hundred years'. Now the total of the years from the Ascension of our Lord to the death of GALEN, according to the accurate opinion of chronographers, is one hundred and sixty years.

Now this GALEN came from the city of PERGAMUS, and he wrote many books on the craft of the physician, and of these about one hundred works are extant. He revived the Hippocratic system of medicine which had fallen into disuse (or, become antiquated). And when he was told about the mighty deeds and healings which [54] CHRIST, our Lord, used to do, he said, 'I have no doubt whatsoever that He doeth these things by means of the Divine Power'. And he asked, 'Doth any man of His disciples still remain?' And it was told him, 'Such remaineth in JERUSALEM'; and he rose up to go to JERUSALEM. And when he arrived in SICILY he died there at the age of eighty-eight years. And at the beginning [of his career] GALEN became a pupil of 'ELIANOS (AELIANUS) the physician, who, a pestilence having broken out among the people of ANTIOCH, took 'theriacle' and went there, and made the people drink it. And of those who drank it after they had fallen sick some were saved and some of them perished; and of those who drank before the sickness [attacked them] all of them escaped.

CLAUDIUS PTOLEMY [wrote] many books on the science of astronomy, and of these the most famous are the great Book of SYNTAXIS, and the Book of GEOGRAPHY, and the Book of FRUIT, and the Book of ASTROLOGY in four discourses. He was the first who made the planisphere, i.e. the brazen sphere which was the similitude of the heavens. At this time flourished ALEXANDER, the APHRODISITE, who translated the books of ARISTOTLE; now his translations were very famous among the GREEKS, and they still are among the SYRIANS and SARACENS (or, Arabs). And many disputationis, and debates, and investigations are attributed to him and to GALEN. And he gave GALEN the nickname of 'mule-head', because of the strength of his head at the time of disputation and debate. THEON, the geometrician, the ALEXANDRIAN, also lived at this time. He was the author of some books which are famous throughout nearly the whole world, viz. the Book of the WORKING OF THE BRAZEN CIRCLES, by means of which the observations of stellar motions are perfected, and the Book of the CANON, by means of which one placeth the observations of the changing reckoning of the tropical positions face to face with those which cleave thereto every eighty years one degree, up to eight divisions and then come back. This was not thought possible by PTOLEMY because, with the exception of this addition. the reckonings (or, computations) agree with the indications which are made by means of the instruments for observations. [And THEON also wrote] the Book of ISAGOGE, that is to say, an introduction to the Syntaxis of PTOLEMY.

After TITUS ANTONINUS CAESAR, MARCUS AURELIUS CAESAR, and his sons, [reigned] [55] nineteen years. In the beginning of his reign WALGASH, king of the PARTHIANS, laid waste many of the provinces of the ROMANS, and the sons of MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS and LUCIUS went and brought the PARTHIANS into subjection. And the ROMANS made war on the GARMANAYE, and the KWARAO (KODAYE?), and the SARMATAYE (SARMATIANS), and the DAKAS, and LUCIUS triumphed over them and was called 'Autocrator'; and after nine years he died. Then ANTONINUS his brother associated his son COMMODUS with him in the kingdom; and ANTONINUS fell sick in PANNONIA and died. And his son COMMODUS, having ruled thirteen years, was strangled in the house of VESTILIANUS. And lightning fell on the Capitolium, and burnt up the Library, and the Palace, and the House of the Virgins.

After MARCUS CAESAR and his sons PERTINAX [reigned] six months, and was killed.

After PERTINAX CAESAR, SEVERIANUS CAESAR [reigned] eighteen years. In the first year of his reign a fierce war between the JEWS and the SAMARITANS took place, and from the ninth year of his reign to the end of his life he persecuted the Christians cruelly and continually, and many of them bore witness and were crowned (i.e. suffered martyrdom). And whilst marching against a barbarous people, who lived on the skirts of the mountains to the west [and] north, and who harried greatly the ROMANS who were on their borders, he died. In other manuscripts [it is said that] he was killed.

After SEVERIANUS CAESAR, ANTONINUS CAESAR his son [reigned] four (seven?) years. This Emperor removed the ban of exile on those who had been banished because of their Faith: he was killed in BETH NAHRIN (MESOPOTAMIA) between HARRAN and EDESSA.

After ANTONINUS CAESAR, MACRINUS CAESAR [reigned] one year; and in that year the CIRCUSES of IPASTIA (HEPHAISTIA) which were in ROME were, burnt down, and he was killed in 'ARKELAIS (ARCHELAIS).

After MACRINUS CAESAR, ANTONINUS CAESAR, who was from ALYOGALA (ALYOGABAL?), [reigned] four years. In his time NIKOPOLIS of PALESTINE, that is to say EMMAUS, was built; it stood on the building of JULIUS AFRICANUS the chronographer.

After ANTONINUS CAESAR, ALEXANDER CAESAR BAR MARNA [reigned] thirteen years. This MARNA believed on Christ, and helped the Christians greatly. In his third year, which is the year [56] five hundred and forty-two of the GREEKS, 'ARDASHIR the son of PABAK, reigned over PERSIA, and another kingdom of the PERSIANS which is called BETH SASAN began, and it continued for four hundred and eighteen years, until the kingdom of the Arabs arose and ended it.

After ALEXANDER CAESAR, MAXIMINUS CAESAR [reigned] three years. This Emperor, because of his hatred of his predecessor, stirred up a persecution of the Christians, and SERGIUS and BACCHUS, who had been sent to MESOPOTAMIA, and CYPRIAN the bishop and many others, bore witness and were crowned with martyrdom. [This went on] until MAXIMINUS was killed in KWENA (AQUILEIA?).

(Continued on Next Page)

(1) Bedjan's note reads, 'Doctors agree generally in stating that our Lord Jesus Christ was born in the three hundred and eleventh year of the Greeks, and we keep to this date throughout this book'.

(2) Bedjan does not accept these figures, for he considers them incorrect; he thinks that the correct number is either 373 or 383 years.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

VIII

The Roman Emperors (continued).

After MAXIMINUS CAESAR, CORDIANUS CAESAR [reigned] six years, and he was killed on the borders of PERSIA. In his days MANI (MANES) was born.

After GORDIANUS CAESAR, PHILIP CAESAR [reigned] seven years. In his time the persecution of the Christians was stayed. And in his first year SHABHOR (SAPOR), the son of 'ARDASHIR, reigned over the PERSIANS thirty-one years. And in his time the one thousand years from the building of ROME was completed. And beasts were slaughtered in the Great Circus during the celebration of the contest of One Thousand Years. And plays of a warlike character were performed at nights, there was a vigil of three days, and forty athletes (or, heroes), as in the nativity of ROME, ran. And the theatre of POMPEY and the 'AKATOSTOLON, that is to say [the building of] six pillars, were burnt down. Now PHILIP his lord was killed by DAKYOS (DECIUS).

After PHILIP CAESAR, DECIUS CAESAR [reigned] one year. This Emperor persecuted the Christians greatly. And in his time the Seven Young Men fled from EPHEBUS and hid themselves in a cave. And many [Christians] through fear of DECIUS denied CHRIST, and when he was killed and wrath died down, those who had apostatized came to ROME, and sought restoration to communion; but NABHATIS (NOVATUS?) used to say, 'There is no forgiveness'; and he was called the 'head of the KATHARO' (the PURISTS).

After DECIUS CAESAR, the CAESARS CALLUS and VOLUSIANUS [reigned] two years, and they were killed in the Flamminian Way. At this time a destroying sickness broke out in the world, [57] especially in EGYPT.

After the CAESARS GALLUS and VOLUSIANUS, the CAESARS VALERIANUS and GALLINUS [reigned] fifteen years; they persecuted the Christians. And SAPOR, the son of 'ARDASHIR, the king of the PERSIANS, laid waste SYRIA, and CILICIA and CAPPADOCIA. And the GHOTHAYE (GOTHS), having crossed the river of MABHYANOS (MABIOS?, DANUBE), carried off many of the governors into captivity. And VALERIANUS having been carried off into PERSIA, GALLINUS gave the Christians rest.

After GALLINUS CAESAR, CLAUDIUS CAESAR [reigned] two years. At [that] time BRAKYON was imprisoned in ALEXANDRIA. And being oppressed by the war CLAUDIUS died in SERMYON (SERMION), and the similitude of a crown was seen (or, appeared) in the heavens.

After CLAUDIUS CAESAR, AURELIAN CAESAR [reigned] six years. In his first year he defeated the PALMYRENIANS and subjugated the GALLAYE. And in his time MANI (MANES) became famous. And AURELIAN gave his daughter to SAPOR, and made peace with him. And SAPOR built for himself in PERSIA a city which was like CONSTANTINOPLE. And its name was GUNDISHABHOR and he made his Roman wife to live therein. And there came with her distinguished Greek physicians, and they sowed the system of medicine of HIPPOCRATES in the East. And there existed also excellent Syrian physicians, e.g.

SERGIUS of RISH 'AYN, who was the first to translate philosophical and medical works from Greek into Syriac; and 'ATANOS (ATHANASIUS?) of AMID, and PHILAGRIUS, and SIMON the monk, whose goodness is well known, and GREGORY the bishop, and THEODOSIUS the Patriarch, and the excellent HUNAIN, the son of ISAAC. And there were many other physicians their successors, until the present day, and they were all 7 SYRIANS. AARON the priest, however, was not a SYRIAN, but GHOSIOS (GOSIUS), the ALEXANDRIAN, translated his book from Greek into Syriac. AURELIAN CAESAR built the wall of ROME, and whilst persecuting the Christians was struck by lightning and died.

After AURELIAN CAESAR, TAKITOS (TACITUS) CAESAR [reigned] six months, and was killed in PONTUS. At this time HORMIZD reigned in PERSIA.

After TACITUS CAESAR, FLORIANUS CAESAR [reigned] two months, and he also was killed—at TARSUS in CILICIA.

After FLORIANUS CAESAR, [58] PROBUS CAESAR [reigned] seven years. And in that year WARHARAN [reigned] in PERSIA three years, and after him his son reigned seventeen years. And SATURNINUS, the Eparch, wishing to rebel and to rule over the ROMANS, began to build ANTIOCH, and he was killed in APAMEA. And PROBUS CAESAR was also killed—in SERMION.

After PROBUS CAESAR, CARUS CAESAR [reigned] two years. CARUS died in BETH NAHRIN of SYRIA, and his son NUMERIANUS was killed in the country of AFRICA, and CARINUS, another son of his, was killed in the war with the GARMANAYE accidentally.

After CARUS CAESAR, DIOCLETIAN CAESAR [reigned] twenty years, and three others also reigned with him, viz. MAXIMINUS, who gave his daughter to DIOCLETIAN, and was surnamed 'HAIRKULYOS', and the two of them ruled together in the East. And MAXENTIUS, the son of MAXIMIANUS, who ruled in ROME; and CONSTANTINTUS (CONSTANTIUS?) ruled in GALLIA and BRUTONIA. And the first year of DIOCLETIAN, which is the five hundred and ninety-fifth year of the GREEKS (= A.D. 284), is the five thousand seven hundred and seventy-fifth year from ADAM—and with this [year] the reckoning of the EGYPTIANS beginneth.

At this time EGYPT rebelled, and the ROMANS went and subjugated it, and slew many. And in the eleventh year of DIOCLETIAN, NARSAI reigned in PERSIA seven years; and after him his son HORMIZD [reigned] five years. And in the nineteenth year of DIOCLETIAN, when the great Feast of the Passover was nigh at hand, he commanded that the churches of the Christians should be pulled down to [their very] foundations, and that the SCRIPTURES should be burnt in the fire, and that every one who would not offer sacrifice [to the gods] should die. And many chosen and mighty martyrs finished their course, [among them being] SERGIUS and BACCHUS. And he cut out the tongue of ROMANUS. And in his days NICOLAUS, the martyr, and 'AZAZ'IL of SHAMISHAT (SAMOSATA), the splendid martyr, [were crowned].

Now DIOCLETIAN was smitten by the Lord, and his genital organs rotted. He perceived that it was a stroke from God, and therefore he wrote to every place [saying] that the Christians should continue to follow the usual course of their lives publicly, and should build their churches. [59] Now MAXIMIANUS, though unwilling, stopped the persecution. And after a short time he made a false proclamation, saying 'that the gods had revealed to him that it was right for the Christians to be expelled from the towns into the villages'; and the persecution was stirred up again. God admonished the earth with famine and pestilence [so severely] that a modius of wheat was sold for two hundred and fifty *menin*, and ten corpses were cast into one grave. And whilst MAXIMIANUS was occupied in the war with the ARMENIANS, the rod of justice overtook him, and he was smitten with severe sickness, and he also died with DIOCLETIAN.

After DIOCLETIAN CAESAR and his associates, CONSTANTIUS [CHLORUS] THE GREAT (who in the days of DIOCLETIAN was king in GALLIA, and he was the father of CONSTANTINE the victorious conqueror) [reigned]. When he reigned he had two wives; the one was HELENA, the mother of CONSTANTINE, the victorious conqueror, and the other was THEODORA, the daughter of the tyrant MAXIMIANUS. And SYLVESTER, the bishop of Rome, converted this Emperor, for he was a leper, and he believed and was baptized and was healed (1). Now, he reigned twelve years, and in the eighth year of his reign he associated his son CONSTANTINE with him in his kingdom.

After CONSTANTIUS THE GREAT, CONSTANTINE, the Conqueror, his son, [reigned] thirty-two years, besides the three years wherein he reigned conjointly with his father. He reigned in the six hundred and twenty-third year of the GREEKS (= A.D. 312), which from ADAM was five thousand eight hundred and seventeen years, but other manuscripts say five thousand eight hundred and thirteen years. And in his second year SAPOR, the son of HORMIZD, reigned over the PERSIANS sixty-nine years. When this CONSTANTINE went to make war on the tyrant MAXENTIUS, he saw at midday a cross in the form of a pillar of light in the air, and on it were written letters which said, 'By this thou shalt conquer'. And also in the night our Lord appeared to him, [60] and said, 'Make for thyself according to the similitude which thou hast seen, and thou shalt conquer'. And having done [so] the tyrant MAXENTIUS was vanquished, and was drowned in the river DUNBIS (TIBRIS?). Then he was strengthened the more in his Faith, together with his wife, DIOKLAITYANA (2), the daughter of DIOCLETIAN the pagan.

In his third year he renewed (or, restored) the building of [the city of] BYZANTIA, and added four miles to it, and he removed the kingdom from ROME to this BYZANTIA. And he built therein a church to EIRENE, and another to the Twelve Apostles. And he made all the inhabitants thereof free men, and he swept away the idols, and he permitted no man who was pagan to serve. And Queen HELENA, his mother, went up to JERUSALEM and made search for the Cross of our Lord and found it; one portion of it she deposited in the Temple which she built over the Tomb [of our Lord], and the remainder she sent to the Emperor. And in the time of CONSTANTINE the Victorious, the IBERIANS believed on CHRIST, and they sent to the Emperor, and received (or, welcomed) bishops and elders (or, priests), and they believed and were baptized. And the SARMATIANS, and the GOTHs, and the SCYTHIANS, after the Emperor had conquered them, believed and were baptized. And he built a great church over the BALUTA TREE (oak?) of MAMRE, where ABRAHAM received the revelation. And he also built a church in B'ELBAK (BAALBEK) of PHOENICIA, because the sons thereof lived in a state of great error. They had their wives in common, and the father of every one of them was unknown; but as soon as the bishop brought order among them, little by little they corrected their ways. And he built in ANTIOCH an octagonal Temple. He built a bridge over the river DUNBIS, and his troops passed over it, and he subjugated the SCYTHIANS, and brought [them] into the Faith.

He gathered together the World Council of Three Hundred and Eighteen [bishops, at NICEA], and they established the Faith in the six hundred and seventy-seventh year of the Greeks (3), and the Canons of the Fast and the Passover were set in order by him.

In his days SAPOR, king of PERSIA, persecuted the Christians who were in his dominions, and he also went up against NISIBIS, and returned therefrom [61] having been put to shame through the prayers of MAR JACOB and MAR APHREM, and in his wrath he took BETH NAHRIN and departed. CONSTANTINE, having gone forth to wage war against the PERSIANS arrived at NICOMEDIA and fell sick, and there he died. He made a Will and bequeathed the kingdom to his three sons, and he committed the Will to the hands of a certain priest [who was] an Arian. After his death his body was transported to CONSTANTINOPLE.

After CONSTANTINE the Victorious, his three sons [reigned] twenty-four years. CONSTANTINE the Victorious had three sons. The eldest [bore] the name of his father CONSTANTINE, the second was CONSTANTIUS, and the youngest was CONSTANS. During his lifetime he made his eldest son governor in CONSTANTINOPLE, and his second son ruled over ANTIOCH and all the East, and the youngest son ruled in ROME. And when the Victorious King died, the second son, since he was near at hand, came first and made a covenant with that Arian priest that he would persecute every one who said 'son of the substance' (i.e. consubstantial), and he delivered to him the Will, and he took his father, in a coffer of gold, into the city of royalty (i.e. the Capital).

And when SAPOR heard that the Victorious King was dead, he went up again against NISIBIS, which stood on the boundary line of the ROMANS and PERSIANS, and was called 'ANTIOCH of MYGDONIA', and he oppressed (i.e. besieged) it for seventy days. And he built up mounds against it, and made a great dam against the current of the river MAGDONIUS, which entered into the city and divided itself in the middle thereof. And the waters thrust themselves against the wall which, being unable to withstand the strain, tottered and fell down. And whilst SAPOR was imagining that he could capture the city without [further] trouble, he saw another new wall which had been built up meanwhile (or, already), and also that the blessed man APHREM had gone up on the wall to curse the Barbarians. And APHREM prayed to God, and He brought upon them clouds of flies of all kinds and gnats, and the elephants were greatly afflicted thereby because their hides were dry and cracked. And the insects crawled into the nostrils and ears of the horses, and they broke their bridles and threw off their riders and stampeded. And SAPOR went back to PERSIA in shame.

And when CONSTANTINE the oldest brother, [who ruled in the] royal city, came against CONSTANS his youngest brother, who was in ROME, he was killed by [62] the field labourers of his youngest brother; and he left two sons, GALLUS and JULIANUS. Then CONSTANTIUS their uncle, that is to say the middle (i.e. the elder of two brothers of CONSTANTINE) brother of their father, because they were young, commanded them to be instructed in learning (i.e. educated and trained) in the village of MAKALI by the side of CAESAREA of CAPPADOCIA. And the two of them became Lectors and built a church to MAR MAMA. And when they grew up CONSTANTIUS made the one who was the elder, that is GALLUS, CAESAR in the place of his father. After a short time GALLUS rebelled against his uncle who had established him, and the king his uncle sent and killed him, and he also placed his younger brother in prison.

And afterwards Queen EUSEBIA, his mother, demanded him from the king, and she sent him to ATHENS that he might learn wisdom, and there he studied with BASIL the Great, and GREGORY of NUSA (NYSSA) his brother, and GREGORY the theologian of NAZYZANZO. And when BASIL saw his habits of life and general behaviour he prophesied that he would become a pagan; and he said, 'Woe be to RHOMANIA! (i.e. the new kingdom of Constantinople). What kind of a man is she rearing?' And CONSTANTIUS, the second brother, enlarged AMID and called it 'AUGUSTA'.

And CONSTANS, the youngest brother who was in ROME, having reigned for six years, died through the treachery of the soldiers (or, peasants); and MAGNENTIUS the tyrant seized all ITALY and AFRICA; and he was proclaimed king in SERMION. And when the king, the intermediate brother, heard [of this], he attacked the tyrant with violence and killed him, and entered ROME in triumph. And when he returned to CONSTANTINOPLE he appointed the son of his elder brother CAESAR, and gave him his sister HELENA to wife—now she was called 'CONSTANTIA'. And he sent him against the GALLAYE, and JULIAN conquered them completely. And he increased in power, and became haughty and arrogant, and was proclaimed Emperor by the ROMANS. Now when CONSTANTIUS his uncle heard [this], he trembled, and made haste and was baptized by OZIOS (EUZOIUS) of ANTIOCH, and he marched against JULIAN, and between CILICIA of CAPPADOCIA in MAMPROKEA (MOPSUERENE) he died.

After the three sons of CONSTANTINE the Victorious, JULIAN PARABITIS, that is the denier [of CHRIST], the son of the eldest son of the Victorious King, [reigned] two years, in addition to the five years which [63] he had reigned with his uncle. This Emperor had, under the name of rhetoric, learned the art of magic, to which the kingdom of ROME was addicted in his time. And he behaved in a brutal manner, and relied confidently on his luck, and he was sure and certain that 'the devils had raised him to his exalted station'. And he began to open the temples of idols, and he offered up sacrifices [therein], and he acted in the lying manner of the philosophers, and he expelled cooks and knaves (?). But his mouth hung open for laughter, and his tongue was ever ready for scoffing. When he went into CONSTANTINOPLE he was called 'Autocrator'. Having gone into ANTIOCH and reduced the price of everything that was sold [there], he was treated with contempt by the people of ANTIOCH. They were quickly moved to mirth, and they used to laugh at his beard because it was [very] long. And when he wished to destroy them, LIBANIUS, the sophist, brought [to him] a petition of supplication on their behalf, and the Emperor abused (or, cursed) them with words; and he made to cease his wrath. And [that] wicked man set out two tables, on one of which was placed gold, and on the other there was frankincense and fire. And every one who wanted gold had to throw frankincense on the fire, and burn incense before an idol, and then he could take the gold. He expelled from his service eunuchs, and camels, and asses, and mules, leaving in it horses only. And he passed a law that Christians should not read philosophical books. And he made houses wherein orphans, and widows, and destitute folk were fed, and he led astray the simple (i.e. common) folk on a well-thought-out plan. He sent a message to the men of EDESSA that they were to receive him, and when they refused to receive him he left them and passed on to HARRAN. And he offered sacrifices to idols and paid honour to the JEWS. And when the Christians who were in EDESSA heard [this], they became filled with envy and wrath, and slew the JEWS who were their neighbours. Now JULIAN practised divination and the art of sorcery in every place, and there went forth to him a vaticination which said, 'Behold, I ARES will go before thee to give thee help'. And relying on this confidently he marched straight to PERSIA, having with him three hundred and ninety-five thousand warriors; and he captured and laid waste SELEUCIA and CTESIPHON. And SAPOR, the PERSIAN, sent an entreaty, that he would allow him to possess a small portion of his own country, and he could take the remainder; and JULIAN would not agree [to this]. Then the war between the ROMANS and the PERSIANS on the banks of the TIGRIS became more fierce. [64] And whilst JULIAN was riding his horse and was urging on the war, and was boasting in his good luck, suddenly an arrow flew and smote him in his side, and he fell down dead. It is said that he filled his two hands with his blood and cast [it] up towards heaven, saying, 'Thou hast conquered me, O JESUS, the GALILEAN! Now together with divinity Thou hast gotten sovereignty.' And one of the holy men saw in a revelation (or, vision) that one of the forty holy martyrs shot the arrow.

After JULIAN the heathen [came] JOVIANUS the believer. JULIAN being dead the Roman Army suffered exceedingly from hunger, because SAPOR had seized those who brought in supplies of food. Then the ROMANS sought for a king, and they chose JOVIANUS the believer, who was a chiliarch, but he took an oath saying, 'I will not be a king of the heathen'. Then they all cried out, saying, 'We are all Christians' and tears were mingled with gladness. And they set up in [their] midst a cross, and [placed] a crown on the top of it, and having bowed their knees and done homage to the cross they took the crown and set it upon the head of JOVIANUS. And he in his humility went to SAPOR. And when SAPOR said that the ROMANS must give to the PERSIANS [the country] up to the EUPHRATES, the sword which was with them was not drawn again. He gave him NISIBIS only, without labour [toil?], and pacified him. And he made peace for thirty years. And both sides rejoiced and the two camps were mingled together. And he took care also for JULIAN, and took him up with him in a coffin and buried him in TARSUS, even as SOCRATES saith, and afterwards he was carried to CONSTANTINOPLE. And because of this THEMISTIUS, the philosopher, reviled the children of his generation (i.e. his contemporaries), saying, 'It is not a god but people which they glorify and honour'. When JOVIANUS returned from PERSIA he passed through CILICIA, and when he came to

BOSPOROS, to a village the name of which was DASTANIA (DODASTANA), on the border of BYTHINIA and GALATIA, he fell sick of a disease of the kidneys in the season of winter, and there he died.

After JOVIANUS, the brothers VALENTINIANUS and VALENS [reigned] thirteen years. This Emperor came from the country of PANNONIA, from the city of KIBALON [65] (KIBALA?), and he was strong and wise. And he brought his brother VALENS and appointed him king in the East, and when he went to RHOMI he proclaimed his son GRATIANUS 'AUGUSTUS', and made him Consul. And in his eleventh year ARDASHIR, the son of SAPOR, reigned over the PERSIANS four years. At that time PROCOPIUS rebelled against VALENS, and having been captured in CONSTANTINOPLE he was tied between trees and sawn asunder. When VALENS went to EGYPT and arrived at MARCIANOPOLIS, a great earthquake took place, and the sea was convulsed and heaved the small ships up over the wall of the city. And then the sea receded from its place, and the great ships remained high and dry as if they were on the dry land. And the people of the City ran to loot, and the sea came back upon them, and swallowed them up, and they were drowned. And his wife being still alive VALENTINIANUS took another wife (JUSTINA), a most marvellously beautiful woman, and he abolished the law and permitted every man who wished to do so to possess two wives at the same time.

And when he went to make war on the SARMATAYE (SARMATIANS) they were afraid, and they sent ambassadors to sue for peace. And when he saw that they were wretched and contemptible men, he cried out loudly, 'The kingdom of the RHOMAYE is in evil case indeed when such vile and contemptible people as these have the impudence to [make] war'. And as he shouted out these words suddenly the veins of his neck burst asunder, and a flood of blood flowed down from him and he died. And because GRATIANUS his first son was not at hand, the soldiers gathered together and they made king his younger son (who also bore his father's name), which he had by JUSTINA, his second wife whom he had married for her beauty. Then VALENS made GRATIANUS a general and sent him to the war with the GOTHAYE (GOTHS), but he was not successful. And there went forth a vaticination to VALENS [which said], that a man whose name began with the letter TAW (T) should rule after him. And he commanded that every man whose name was THEODORE, and THEODOTUS, and such like names, should be killed.

And at that time there appeared in the air men in the clouds who had the forms of armed soldiers. And there was born in ANTIOCH a child who had a single eye in the space between the places of the eyes, and four hands, and four feet, and a beard. And at this time the ARABS were stirred up on the territory of the RHOMAYE, and a woman who was called 'MU'AWIYAH' ruled over them. Then they made peace with [66] the RHOMAYE and embraced Christianity, and they requested that MOSES the monk should be their bishop, and he became their bishop by the command of VALENS. And the GOTHAYE (GOTHS) and 'IBHERAYE (IBERIANS) went forth to the country of the RHOMAYE and they captured SCYTHIA, and MYSIA, and TARKIS, and MACEDONIA, and ACHAIA, and all ILADA (HELLAS). VALENS in CONSTANTINOPLE withheld himself from the war, because he was afraid of the GOTHAYE and 'IBHERAYE, but all the people cried out, 'Give us arms and we will carry on the war'. And the king was angry and he went forth uttering the threat that 'when he returned he would govern the city with a plough (i.e. he would plough up the city) in return for his disgraces'. And when he went out to war he was defeated and fled to a village. And when the Barbarians surrounded it he hid himself in a round pit and buried himself under the straw; and when the GOTHAYE were unable to find him, they set fire to the whole village, and he also was burned to death.

After VALENS, GRATIANUS, the son of VALENTINIANUS [reigned] one year. This Emperor, having been made in the days of his father AUTOCRATOR in RHOMI, seized the kingdom after VALENS. He was a righteous man, and chaste, and orthodox, and he was not an Arian like his father and uncle. And he associated with him in the kingdom the Great THEODOSIUS who [came] from SPAIN, and was an IBERIAN by race, because THEODOSIUS had shown care for GRATIANUS and had proclaimed him king

before the burning of VALENS. And at that time a certain man called MAXIMUS killed GRATIANUS in RHOMI treacherously, and VALENTINIANUS his younger brother reigned in RHOMI.

After GRATIANUS, THEODOSIUS THE GREAT [reigned] sixteen years, GRATIANUS having been killed, and VALENTINIANUS his brother reigning in RHOMI, THEODOSIUS reigned alone in CONSTANTINOPLE and in all the East. He was a mighty man, and wise, and he was experienced in warfare, and he quickly conquered the Barbarians who were in TARKI (TURKEY). And in the second year of his reign ARDASHIR died, and SAPOR his son succeeded him four years. And in the fifth year of THEODOSIUS, WARHARAN GARMANSHAH reigned over the PERSIANS twelve years. And THEODOSIUS together with VALENTINIANUS went against the tyrant who had killed GRATIANUS and they killed him, and the two of them entered RHOMI in triumph. And when he returned from [67] RHOMI he fell sick in THESSALONICA. And having sought out 'AKHILOS (ASEOLUS?), the bishop of that diocese, and found that he was not an Arian, he was baptized by him and was made whole. And he came to CONSTANTINOPLE and built the Church of ANASTASIA under the direction of the Great Theologian, who was still there. And a son, HONORIUS, was born to THEODOSIUS by Queen FLAKIDA (FLACCILLA?), a woman who was rich in excellences and virtues, for she ministered in person to the sick poor, and she went about visiting [the inmates of] the guest houses of the Churches. And because King THEODOSIUS was sorely vexed by wars with the Barbarians, he laid tribute (taxes?) on the cities. But the people of ANTIOCH would not undertake to pay tribute and in [their] wrath they cast the statue of Queen FLACCILLA (4) which was in their city out into the market place (?), and at that moment she died. And when the king heard [of this] he sent and carried out a horrible slaughter [in the city]. And the blessed MACEDONIUS sent to the king a word of rebuke, saying, 'Why for the sake of a statue of brass which was made in the image of a man hast thou destroyed men who were made in the image of God? It is very easy for us to cast many statues of brass, but thou art not able to fashion even a single hair of [one of] those men whom thou hast made to perish.' And when the king heard the words of the old man he was sorry (or, repented), and he wrote a letter of consolation to the people.

And at that time an uprising (or, revolt) took place in THESSALONICA which was the chief [city] of ITALIA (TITALIA), and the people stoned the governor. And the king was furiously angry, and he commanded the judges, and they killed seven thousand people, the innocent and the guilty alike. And because of this when the king came to MEDIOLANUM, AMBROSE, the holy bishop, met him outside the door of the church, and prevented him [from entering], saying, 'The glory of sovereignty doth not permit thee to understand thy nature. Get thee gone, and increase not thy sin in the name of prayer which will provoke God to wrath.' And the king received the prohibition [to enter] graciously, and he was not released until he had undertaken to make an investigation, which lasted three days, concerning those who were worthy of slaughter. And that when [his] anger had subsided, [68] and the matter being judged with justice, a penalty should be promulgated. And when he went into the church he prayed, not standing upright, but prostrate on the ground, saying, 'My soul hath gone forth into the dust, make me to live according to Thy word' [Psalm cxix. 25].

And in his thirteenth year THEODOSIUS proclaimed his son ARCADIUS king of the East. And two years later EUGENIUS ('AWGIN) and 'ARGUBATOS (ARBUGASTES?) in RHOMI led astray the steward of VALENTINIANUS, and he strangled the king. And when THEODOSIUS heard [of this], he made haste and appointed HONORIUS, his young son, king in the West. And he marched against EUGENIUS the tyrant, and defeated the numerous army of Barbarians who were with him. And the Barbarians seeing that they were defeated cried out and begged for pardon. And the king commanded them to bring the tyrant, and they ran and seized him, and brought him to the king bound in fetters, and he was killed. And 'ARGUBATOS (ARBUGASTES?) he himself strangled. And after these things, when the king returned from

MEDIOLANUM because of the exhaustion caused by the war, he fell sick and died. And in that same year YAZDAGARD, the son of SAPOR [reigned], twenty-one years.

(Continued on Next Page)

(1) It was CONSTANTINE THE GREAT his son who was healed (Bedjan's note 2).

(2) CONSTANTINE married first MENAIRWENA, and after her death FAUSTA, the daughter of MAXIMIANUS; as to the parentage of DIOCLETIANA see Bedjan's note, p. 60.

(3) Bedjan's notes reads, 'The First Synod of Nicea was in the year 636 of the Greeks = A.D. 325.'

(4) Bedjan notes that the Emperor's daughter was called GALLA PLACIDIA.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

VIII

The Roman Emperors (continued).

After THEODOSIUS THE GREAT, ARCADIUS and HONORIUS his sons [reigned]—thirteen years. Whilst ARCADIUS was reigning in CONSTANTINOPLE and the East, HONORIUS, who was nine years old, became king. And in that year, in the month of TAMMUZ (JULY), the UNAYE (i.e. HUNAYE, or HUNS) went forth against the country of the RHOMAYE, and they laid waste, and spoiled SYRIA and CAPPADOCIA. [This took place in] the seven hundred and eighth year of ALEXANDER (= A.D. 397). And ARCADIUS built the great 'AMPOLON (EMBOLOS) which is before the PRAETORIUM, and his wife EUDOXIA set up a pillar of silver by the side of the Quarter of Saint IRENE. And he defeated and killed GAINAS (GAIUS?) who rebelled against him. And when he went to pray in KARKIDHA (CHALCEDON?)—now tens of thousands of the people were gathered together to see him—as soon as he had prayed and gone forth from the temple of Saint ACACIUS, and all the people with him, suddenly the whole temple fell down. And every man believed that the people were saved by the prayer of the king, for he observed the glorious habits of righteousness (i.e. the ascetic life) to such a degree that even under his royal apparel of purple [69] he wore a hair tunic next to his skin.

And after GAINAS (GAIUS?) the rebel had perished, the HUNS crossed the river ESTROS (ISTER), and having captured and laid waste the cities in TARKI (TURKEY), hail fell upon them and killed the greater number of them, and the remainder fled.

And after these things ARCADIUS died and he left as king his son THEODOSIUS, a little boy eight years old. Now HONORIUS had no sons, and as he was alone with them and they were afraid lest some men might act treacherously in respect of him. Therefore when he was dying ARCADIUS made a Will, and made YAZDAGARD, king of the PERSIANS, guardian of his son. When YAZDAGARD received the Will, he gladly took care of THEODOSIUS, and he sent an instructor from his own house for him. And he wrote to the nobles, saying, that if they dealt treacherously with the boy they would have with him a war which would never cease. For this reason Christianity increased among the PERSIANS, and MARUTHA, bishop of MAIPERKAT, acted as intermediary between them. And THEODOSIUS and his sister PULCHERIA were brought up by their uncle HONORIUS.

THEODOSIUS THE LESS, his son, [reigned] forty-two years. At the beginning of his reign 'ALAREKOS (ALARICUS), an African, rebelled, and he collected an army and came to ITALY, and committed many evil deeds, and STILICO, the Eparch, was killed. And HONORIUS the king died in RHOMI. And CONSTANTIUS, the father of VALENTINIANUS, reigned and was killed. And 'IWANNIS, one of the scribes, seized the kingdom. And he sent to THEODOSIUS [asking] him to confirm him in it. And the king having bound the ambassadors in fetters, sent the Strategos ADHARBURIUS against the tyrant. The tyrant, however, defeated him, and he seized the Strategos and bound him in fetters. And again THEODOSIUS sent 'AKAPPORA, the son of ADHARBURIUS, with an army, and by the prayers of the God-fearing king an angel in the form of a shepherd appeared and enabled them to cross the lake of water on foot. And they found

the gates of the city open, and they went in and they brought out the Strategos and they killed 'TWANNIS. Then THEODOSIUS made VALENTINIANUS, [70] the son of his aunt, CAESAR, and sent him to RHOMI with his mother, and subsequently he sent him the royal crown. And VALENTINIANUS (III?) reigned thirty-two years.

And THEODOSIUS fasted and prayed continually, and on the fourth and sixth days of the week he kept the evening fast. And when the bishop of HEBHRON died, the king took his tunic, filthy though it was, and put it on so that he might be blessed thereby. At this time YAZDAGARD, king of the PERSIANS, died, and his son WARHARAN succeeded him for twenty-two years. And he broke the peace, and the PERSIANS took up arms against the RHOMAYE, and the RHOMAYE defeated and carried the PERSIANS away captive. And after these things there was peace, although the persecution of the Christians never ceased during the whole time of WARHARAN.

And after the peace the PERSIANS made bold and went up against RAS'AIN, and they returned therefrom in shame. And they went up a second time and attacked it with great violence, but they were defeated, and the RHOMAYE carried away seven thousand captives from the country of 'ARZAN. These captives Bishop ACACIUS of 'AMID bought and set free, having sold the gold and silver chalices and patens of the churches.

At this time the BURGANZIS people, who lived by the craft of the carpenter, and dwelt in peace—the HUNS having carried them away as captives—believed and were baptized. And straightway three thousand of them destroyed ten thousand HUNS! and they were confirmed in the Faith. And THEODOSIUS sent for VALENTINIANUS, his aunt's son, and brought him to CONSTANTINOPLE, and he gave him his daughter EUDOXIA to wife, and VALENTINIANUS took her and went to RHOMI. And at this time the strife between the kingdoms of the RHOMAYE and the PERSIANS concerning the persecution of the Christians in PERSIA increased. And the king of the PERSIANS ill-treated many merchants, and seized their merchandise, and he cheated the workers in gold who were Christians, and who were employed by him, and would not pay them their full wages. Because of these things the RHOMAYE descended upon ARMENIA and took the people captives. And they laid waste the country and killed the seven generals of the PERSIAN Army; and the remainder of them were drowned in the EUPHRATES, especially the ARABS, whom they had brought to help them. And after these things there was peace and the persecution died down.

But the Barbarians went forth and took captives many of the people of TARKI (TURKEY) and ILLYRICUM. And [71] a comet appeared, a portent in the heavens, and many people said that the end [of the king] was nigh by reason of the portents which were increasing [in number]. And one day, when King THEODOSIUS was riding his horse as usual through the royal city, and was going out into the open country to enjoy a ride. the horse stumbled and fell, and the vertebrae of the king's neck was crushed in, and they put him on a portable bed. And when he saw that his end was near, he called PULCHERIA, his sister, and informed her that MARCIANUS must reign after him. And he also called MARCIANUS and commanded him to administer public affairs and to rule in the fear of God. And after two days he died.

After THEODOSIUS THE LESS, MARCIANUS [reigned] seven years. This Emperor took to wife PULCHERIA, the sister of king THEODOSIUS, who had devoted herself during the whole period of her brother's life to the ascetic practices and to the life of contemplation of those who dwelt in monasteries (1). But she held MARCIANUS in contempt, even though she lived with him openly after the death of THEODOSIUS. And because under the false and lying pretence that she would never consent to have union with a man and defile her chastity, certain bishops, who were respectors of persons (i.e. hypocrites), and who were inclined to believe in the doctrine of the Two Persons [of CHRIST], persuaded her to consent. And they laid an ordinance on all the people that on one Sabbath in the year they should abstain from [eating] flesh on her behalf, and should eat the foods which the monks and the nuns usually ate. Then was PULCHERIA

persuaded, and she denied her covenant, and stripped off her nun's garb. And within two years she assembled the Council in CHALCEDON, she the woman who together with the confession of the Two Natures had also laid the ordinance of the abstinence [from meat on] the Sabbath before the Lord's Fast (i.e. Lent) on those who accepted it. When the orthodox EGYPTIANS who were in EGYPT saw that the [doctrine] of the Two Natures [of CHRIST] had been laid upon them together with the abstinence from meat on that Sabbath, they abstained not only from flesh, but also from all the things which are derived from the flesh of beasts, [72] namely milk, cheese, oil and eggs, and they held [that Sabbath] to be like the other fast days.

And in the sixth year of MARCIANUS, VALENTINIANUS of RHOMI was killed. And from this moment [the city], even like the church, was rent in twain. For it was the law that when he of CONSTANTINOPLE died, the king stood by the consent (or, accord) of the king who was in RHOMI. And similarly when he of RHOMI died, RHOMI stood by the consent of the king who was in CONSTANTINOPLE. And because MARCIANUS stood without the consent of VALENTINIANUS of RHOMI in the choice of PULCHERIA who committed fornication with him, in like manner the RHOMAYE without the consent of MARCIANUS set up a king for themselves, Therefore the writers who were in the East have exercised care only in respect of the kings of CONSTANTINOPLE, and have written down [their names] one after the other only, and they call them 'Kings of the RHOMAYE'. And because MARCIANUS and PULCHERIA reigned in their old age they died without seed.

After MARCIANUS, LEO [reigned] eighteen years. This Emperor was a TARK (TURK) by race, but was a tribune by rank; and he was chosen by the Council and reigned. That year FIRUZ reigned over the PERSIANS after WARHARAN, the son of YAZDAGARD. And he made war with the RHOMAYE and persecuted the Christians. And LEO gave his daughter ARIADNE to ZAYNON (ZENO), and magnified him in the kingdom, and made him Strategos of all the East. And he made BASILISCUS Strategos of TARKI (TURKEY). And he built CALONICUS, and it was called LEONTOPOLIS.

At that time there was a great fire in CONSTANTINOPLE, and the fire raged from sea to sea. The king fled to the passage of MAR MAMA, and lived there for six months. And he built the great harbour of NEON AMBOLON (The New Gate). And he made a law that no man should work on the First Day of the Week, and that no man should play on any instrument of music, but that every man should occupy himself in [his] church, And LEO proclaimed LEONTINUS, his daughter's son, that is to say, the son of ZAYNON, CAESAR, when he was still a child six years old; and he reigned one year during the life of [73] the king. Then king LEO fell ill through a disease of the bowels and died.

After LEO, LEONTINUS. During the one year which he reigned his father ZAYNON himself used to pay homage to him. His mother treated him as if a child and led him into error, saying, 'When thy father is bowing down before thee take the crown which is on thy head place it on his head'. Having done this ZAYNON seized the kingdom, and he made his son LEONTINUS to exercise the chief authority as Consul. After a few days the boy died, and many suspected that his father and his mother had put him to death.

After LEONTINUS, his father ZAYNON [reigned] fifteen years. And when WAIRINA, the wife of LEO THE GREAT, advised (or, persuaded) ZAYNON concerning a certain matter, and he would not accept [her advice], she cast him aside and set up her brother BASILISCUS as king. Then BASILISCUS, who was dwelling in HERAKLEIA, rebelled against ZAYNON, and he was proclaimed king, and he made his son MARCUS CAESAR. Then ZAYNON being afraid of WAIRINA, and fearing lest his murder might be contrived secretly; fled to ISaurIA because he came from that country, and his wife 'ARGANIA, that is 'IRADNI, fled to him secretly. And BASILISCUS and his son MARK reigned two years, and they acted wickedly. For at the beginning he professed to be orthodox, and he made Saint TIMOTHY and the bones of

Saint DIOSCURUS to be brought back to ALEXANDRIA. And he wrote an Encyclical Letter, and cursed the COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON. But at a later period he changed [his policy], and proclaimed it [good].

Now whilst BASILISCUS was laying bare the instability of his mind, ZAYNON was consolidating his power, and he collected an army and came to attack him. Then BASILISCUS sent 'ARMATIS, the captain of his host, to join battle with him. And ZAYNON sent a message to 'ARMATIS secretly, and took an oath to him that he would make his son CAESAR, and 'ARMATIS himself Strategos. Thus 'ARMATIS acted treacherously towards his lord, and joined himself to ZAYNON, and they went to CONSTANTINOPLE. Then BASILISCUS [74] took his wife and his sons and fled to the church. And ZAYNON sent and had the purple apparel of royalty stripped off from him and from his wife and his sons, and he gave them the promise that they should not be murdered. And he sent them to LAMIS, a camp of CAPPADOCIA, to be imprisoned in one of the towers, and being closed in their faces they died miserably. And ZAYNON having established himself in the kingdom fulfilled his oath and made the son of 'ARMATIS CAESAR, and commanded an equestrian display to be carried out; and the two sat together. And ZAYNON promoted 'ARMATIS to the rank of Strategos. Then ZAYNON pondered in his mind and said, 'Now that 'ARMATIS hath waxed strong it is not going too far (i.e. the idea is not too far-fetched) to think that just as he betrayed BASILISCUS, he may also dig a pit for me. Therefore,' he said, 'I have performed that which I swore [to do for him], and now 'ARMATIS, who transgressed (i.e. broke) the oath [of fidelity] which [he swore] to BASILISCUS shall die.' And having slain 'ARMATIS, he shaved his son (i.e. gave him the tonsure) and made him a reader, and afterwards he commanded and he became Metropolitan of HELLESPONTUS that is CYZICUS. And this because he was worthy to wear the royal purple!

And in the ninth year of ZAYNON, BALASH reigned over the PERSIANS four years. And in his eleventh year, after BALASH, KAWAD, the son of FIRUZ, reigned eleven years. And in the days of ZAYNON the SAMARITANS rebelled and set up a certain YUSTOS (JUSTUS) as their king. And he slew many of the Christians, and he went to CAESAREA and burnt the church of PROCOPIUS. And the RHOMAYE of PALESTINE gathered together, and they made war on the SAMARITANS and defeated [them], and they sent the head of their king to ZAYNON. And he made the synagogue of the SAMARITANS into a great church [in honour of] Our Lady (MARINA) (MARIA). And they also burnt the synagogue of the JEWS in ANTIOCH, and many of the JEWS therewith; and they also burnt the bones of their dead which were in the graves. And after these things he fell sick of a disease of the bowels and died.

After ZAYNON SILENTIARI, ANASTASIUS [reigned] twenty-seven years. This Emperor was one of the SILENTIARI, and as soon as he became king he destroyed the children who were studying letters, because he was made a mock of by them. [75] And in his eighth year KAWAD's brother, ZAMASP, rebelled against him and reigned two years. And KAWAD fled and collected an army and came against his brother, and he defeated him and killed him. And he reigned afterwards thirty years.

At this time NICOPOLIS was overthrown, and all the inhabitants thereof, with the exception of the bishop and two of his companions, were buried in the ruins. And a comet appeared for many days, and the locusts came and destroyed [everything], and there was a great famine in BETH NAHRIN (MESOPOTAMIA); and an immense mass of fire also appeared in the northern quarter [of the heavens], and it fumed brilliantly the whole night (Aurora Borealis?).

And after a short time the HUNS went forth from the north-west into the territory of the PERSIANS for the following reason. Now, in the days of ZAYNON the HUNS sent a message to FIRUZ, the king of the PERSIANS, and they told him that the subsidy which he was giving them was insufficient for them, and that the RHOMAYE were giving them double as much. Therefore the PERSIANS must either give as much as the RHOMAYE, or they [the HUNS] would make ready for war. Then FIRUZ lied to them and promised to give

[a larger subsidy], and on this condition the HUN envoys withdrew. And FIRUZ having strengthened his army, slew the HUNS who had been left behind to receive the subsidy, and he gave chase to those who had departed. Then a certain merchant, a GREEK from APAMEA, who was with the HUNS, encouraged them and advised them to offer up incense in the place wherein the oath had been made, and [told them] that God would sweep away the PERSIANS who had lied. And when the HUNS had done this they met the PERSIANS in war, and they slew FIRUZ and laid waste PERSIA, and returned to their own country. Because of this when KAWAD reigned, he held bitter enmity against the RHOMAYE.

And the PERSIANS collected their armies and went forth against the countries of the RHOMAYE, and they captured THEODOSIOPOLIS of ARMENIA, which is 'ARZAN-RUM, but he treated the inhabitants thereof in a merciful fashion; then the governor who was in CONSTANTINOPLE took the city. And in the month of TESHWIN (OCTOBER?) he delivered a fierce attack on 'AMID. And when the winter supervened the PERSIANS suffered sorely, for their garments were reduced to rags (?), and their bows lost their spring through the moisture of the air. And the heads of their battering-rams did not breach the wall, because those who were inside the city bound chains round the wooden portions ('*arbane*') of the platform, [76] and so made them to receive the force of the heads of the battering rams. And they also lowered planks of wood into the ditch and covered them over with earth during the night, so that the PERSIANS might not see. And when about five hundred PERSIANS with their armaments came near, they set planks of wood (ladders?) against the wall so that they might ascend by them. And they covered the 'bridges' with the hides of oxen, and they made a mighty battering ram, and a staging path on which it might be pushed up. Then those who were inside the city poured a filthy liquid which was mixed with resin on the 'mule' (i.e. battering ram) and they made trenches in it (the ground?), and they set fire secretly under the planks of wood which were under the battering ram. And when about six hours [had passed] the PERSIANS were checked and could not pass up over those trenches; and the fire blazed up from below. And the battering ram collapsed, and the PERSIANS were overwhelmed and burnt to death. And the king was put to shame, especially by the foul insults which those who were inside the city cast upon him. And he asked the citizens to give him a little money and [promised] to go away; now if they had only given to him courteous speech he would have gone. They, however, returned answer very contemptuously, saying, 'It is for us to demand from thee the price of the vegetables and forage which thou hast eaten'. When he perceived their arrogance he persisted and, according to what he himself said, that night CHRIST appeared to him in a dream and said unto him, 'After three days I Will hand over the city to thee, because the inhabitants thereof have behaved proudly'.

Now, in the west by the TRIPOGRIN (THREE TOWERS?), there was a watch tower of the monks of the Monastery of JOHN OF THE 'URTAYE, and opposite to this tower, outside, was encamped a certain warden of the marches, KANREK (KANDEK, CANDAULES?) the Lambe, a cunning man. And it happened that one night there was a fog and a violent rainstorm, and a certain man had made a feast for the monks, and he had made them to drink wine and they were drowned in sleep. Then a certain robber chief, a seditious man, and a thief, whose name was KUTRANA, used to go out continually [from the city] and steal from and plunder the possessions of the PERSIANS. And as he went out that night according to custom KANREK saw him and followed him, and he also drew nigh to the wall, to the opening through which KUTRANA (KUTRANGA) used to go in and come out. And the monks did not cry out (i.e. challenge him) and he knew that they were asleep. And the PERSIANS brought ladders and ascended and slew the monks. And when the governor perceived [what had happened] he came with [77] lights, but the PERSIANS easily transfixed the bearers of the lights with their arrows. And when the dawn came the king and his troops set ladders upright [against the walls] and went up.

One day the citizens locked the PERSIANS up in that tower, and they began to destroy the tower from the base thereof so that the PERSIANS might be overwhelmed in the ruins. Then the PERSIANS obtained possession of another tower, and then of another tower, and several others. And they went into the city, and

they opened the gates; and killed eighty thousand people therein. Only the church of the Forty Martyrs [escaped]. This was full of people, and the governor of the ARMENIANS seized it, and persuaded the king, and saved it. Then the king sent the gold, and the silver, and the copper by the river DEKLATH (TIGRIS) to his own country, and of the people who remained they killed one in every ten, because very many of the PERSIANS had been killed. And they dressed LEONTIUS and KURA, the judges, in filthy garments, and they threw the entrails of pigs round their necks, and they mounted them on sows, and men made a proclamation saying, '[Here are] the governors who have not governed well, and who have permitted the king to be disgraced; thus are they disgraced'.

When ANASTASIUS the king heard these things he suffered not a little. He sent five generals against NISIBIS, and they were not able to capture it. And he commanded a city to be built by the side of the mountain as a place of refuge for the Army, and it was built where DARYAWASH (DARIUS) was killed, and for that reason was called 'DARA'. And it was finished in three years with marvellous buildings and it was named 'ANASTASIOPOLIS'. ANASTASIUS also made a statue on a pillar, because the statue of THEODOSIUS fell down during the earthquake when NEO-CAESAREA was overwhelmed, besides the Church of St. GREGORY, the worker of wonders. And the COLOSSUS of RODOS (RHODES) also fell down. And the king sent gold for men to uncover (i.e. dig out) the dead bodies of those who were suffocated that they might be buried.

And VITALIANUS the tyrant rebelled. and the king bound him in fetters and shut him up in prison. And in the twenty-second year of ANASTASIUS, ARMENIA rebelled against the RHOMAYE, and he sent troops against the ARMENIANS and destroyed some of them, and he reduced ARMENIA again to the subjugation of the RHOMAYE. And in the year eight hundred and thirty-one (= A.D. 520) he died in peace.

(Continued on Next Page)

(1) Bedjan's note reads: Here Bar Hebraeus vilifies the bishops, the sons of the Catholic Faith and Saint Pulcheria through the difficulties which he found in the books of his co-religionists. For he was a Jacobite, and he always calls the people of his own party 'orthodox', and sons of the true Chalcedonian Church. This warning is necessary in all this his history.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

VIII

The Roman Emperors (continued).

After ANASTASIUS, JUSTINUS [reigned] nine years. [78] This Emperor [came] from TARKI (TURKEY), from the village of BADRINOS. This man was old and simple. And because his fellow-countrymen the TARKAYE (TURKS) advised him to accept the COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON which was gathered together by the diligence of LEO of the RHOMAYE, because all the countries of ITALY would join with him and one (i.e. united) kingdom would come into being, he accepted the Council. And when the king of the PERSIANS rose up and demanded from JUSTINUS, the king of the RHOMAYE, five hundred and fifty *kantindre* (i.e. talents) of gold, which they had been wont to give for the rations of the army of the PERSIANS, who guarded the gates against the HUNS, he would not give them. And he used to send from time to time his ARABS into the country of the RHOMAYE, and they laid it waste and spoiled it. Therefore MUNDAR, king of the ARABS, went up and captured the whole country of the Frontiers, that is BLIHA and HABURA. And they passed over to 'ARZON and NISIBIS, and they plundered, and spoiled, and killed. And he went up also to EMESA, and APAMEA, and the district of ANTIOCH, and he killed, and spoiled and laid waste, and he chose [for himself] four hundred virgins from among the captives.

At this time there appeared in the country of CILICIA a woman which it is impossible to describe; she was a cubit taller than all the men, and no man knew whence she came. Now, she used to eat food like men, and she used to take one obolus from each lupanar. And suddenly she was no more seen. And the old man JUSTINUS at the end of his days associated with him JUSTINIANUS, his sister's son, and proclaimed him CAESAR. And after three months the old man died.

After JUSTINUS the old man, JUSTINIANUS, his sister's son, [reigned] thirty-eight years. At the beginning of his reign he came down towards the PERSIANS and went to MABBUGH (MENBIJ). When he was told about THEODORA, the daughter of an orthodox priest, he asked for her. But her father did not wish to give his daughter until he made a covenant that he would not force her to accept the COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON. This [Emperor] sent [orders] to BELISARIUS to engage in war with the PERSIANS. And when the Sabbath of the Redeeming Passion was nigh at hand, the Governor of the PERSIANS sent to him, saying, 'Let us honour the Festival, for the sake of the NAZARENES and JEWS who are with me, and for the sake of you Christians'. [79] Now the RHOMAYE would not accept [this proposal]. And at dawn on the First Day of the Week of the Feast of Unleavened Bread they made ready for war. And it was a cold day, and the wind [blew] against the RHOMAYE, and they showed themselves to be weak, and they fled, and many of them were killed, and the rest fell into the EUPHRATES and were drowned. Concerning this JUSTINIANUS, JOHN of 'AMID, of ASIA, relates thus: 'I was [employed] in his business for thirty years, and I never saw him cease from the building of churches'; for he built ninety-six churches, and twelve monasteries and guest-houses. He saith, 'By my hands he built in the countries of ASIA, and CARIA, and PHRYGIA, and LYDIA'.

And in his fourth year KESRU (CHOSROES), the son of KAWAD, reigned forty seven years. And there was peace between the RHOMAYE and the PERSIANS for seven years. And the SAMARITANS who were in

PALESTINE set up a governor over themselves, and they went to NEOPOLIS and killed the bishop and many people, and they plundered and burnt many temples. And the RHOMAYE went up and captured the city, and they slew their governor and the greater number of them. Then DOMENUS in KARTAGENA also rebelled, and BELISARIUS went and captured the tyrant and brought him back in fetters.

And in the eleventh year of JUSTINIANUS the peace between the PERSIANS and the RHOMAYE was dissolved. And a great and terrible comet appeared in the evenings for many days. And in that same year KESRU went up and took ANTIOCH and ALEPPO and APAMEA—a bitter captivity. And the RHOMAYE went down to PERSIA and they took the country of the KARDAWAYE (KURDS?) and the ARZONITES and the ARABS. And KESRU also went up and took CALONICUS and all BETH NAHRIN; and he also went up against EDESSA, and being unable to capture it he took BATNAN and departed. And he also went up against ANTIOCH and captured it, and burnt it, and laid it waste wholly. And the PERSIANS took even the slabs of marble (or, white alabaster) which was on the walls and brought them down to PERSIA. And again the PERSIANS went up and took the whole country of the frontier, and they destroyed CALONICUS and BETH BALASH, and they carried away the bones of MAR BACCHUS the martyr, and the gold which was on the sarcophagus of MAR SARGIS (SERGIUS). And in the year eight hundred and forty-eight (A.D. 537) there was a sign in the sun the like of which had never before appeared. The sun became dark [80] and his darkness lasted for eighteen months. Each day the middle of heaven shone faintly with a shadowy light, and every man decided that [the sun] would never recover its full light. That year the fruits did not ripen and the wine tasted like urine.

Concerning the pestilence which took place in the whole country at this time.

JOHN of ASIA wrote very fully concerning this pestilence which took place in the year eight hundred and fifty-five (= A.D. 544), and ZECHARIAH also wrote. He beginneth first of all with the inside peoples of the South-East, that is to say of INDIA, and of KUSH (ABYSSINIA), and the HAMIRAYE, &c. And he cometh to the upper countries in the West, the peoples of the RHOMAYE, and the ITALIANS, and the GAULS, and the SPANIARDS. And it was heard that men lost their senses, and went mad, and attacked each other, and they went out to the mountains and destroyed themselves. The rod (i.e. stroke) came to the countries of KUSH (ABYSSINIA), which is on the border of EGYPT. And from there it began in EGYPT, and it came down to ALEXANDRIA, and it spread over LYBIA, and PALESTINE, and PHOENICIA, and ARABIA and AFRICA. And it advanced to GALATIA, and CAPPADOCIA, and ARMENIA, and the district of ANTIOCH, and little by little to PERSIAN territories, and to the nations of the east and north. Property was seen abandoned, and it was scattered and dispersed abroad, and there was none to gather it in. The fields were full of crops, and there was none to reap them. There were vineyards, the time for gathering the grapes from which had passed, and there was none to pluck the grapes; for men had come to an end, and scarcely one man of a thousand was left. After three years had run their course, the wrath died down. It is said that when the rod (or, stroke) fell on the royal city, the pestilence began first of all with the poor, and that men carried out [for burial] as many as sixteen thousand dead in one day. After the destitute were dead the Destroyer stretched out his hand over the men who were wealthy (or, rulers) and were renowned (or, famous). Those who escaped instant death fell by the attack of tumours, that is to say swellings in the groin, or, pustules, and deadly evacuations. Also there appeared in the palms of the hands marks like three thick drops of blood, and straightway men died. And when men found that they were unable to bury the dead, they cast the corpses into the sea in heaps.

In the eighteenth year of JUSTINIANUS the Barbarians captured the great city of RHOME in ITALY. [81] And [it is said] that they were not able to keep it because they sat down in the camp which was by the side of it; but they left it ruined and stripped bare. And because it was thus JUSTINIUS and the whole Senate mourned and put on black apparel. And in those days Queen THEODORA died. And at that time the Monastery of MAR SIMON of his pillar which was in the country of ANTIOCH was burned down, and it was completely destroyed. And there was a great disturbance in the churches, especially in CONSTANTINOPLE, because of the introduction of fasting and the Passover.

And in the twenty-third year of JUSTINIANUS, TARSUS in CILICIA was inundated by the river which flowed by it, and LADIKIA was overwhelmed, and seven thousand people died therein. And the sea-coast of PHOENICIA was submerged, TRIPOLI, BERUT, BYBLOS, and TROAS, and the cities of GALILEE. And at this time JOHN PHILOPONOS became known (i.e. flourished) in ALEXANDRIA. And the feeling of ravenous or bovine hunger attacked men. A man would sometimes eat ten pounds of bread together with other vegetables, and would not feel satisfied, but would continue to ask for bread although his belly was full. And in this way he died. After these things a pestilence among the cattle took place, especially in the East, [and it lasted] two years, until the fields became sterile through the absence of oxen. And a severe earthquake took place in CONSTANTINOPLE, in the month of AB (AUGUST), and many houses, and baths, and churches were thrown down, and the wall of the GOLDEN GATE fell down. And the earthquake lasted for forty days.

And in the twenty-seventh year of JUSTINIANUS, MUNDAR BAR-NA'MAN, king of the ARABS, went up to the territory of the RHOMAYE, and he laid waste many countries. And HERATH BAR-GABALA overtook him, and made war upon him and defeated him, and he killed MUNDAR in KENNESHIN. And BAR-HERATH also died in the war, and he was buried in the House of the Martyrs which is there. And in the thirty-first year of JUSTINIANUS a severe earthquake took place, and the two walls of CONSTANTINOPLE, both the inner and the outer, were breached. And the city of RIGIN was so completely swallowed up by the earth that the site thereof could not be identified. And also the purple pillar which [stood] before the palace, and had a statue of the Emperor upon the top of it, was first cast up into the air, and then it turned upside down, and became embedded in the ground into which it sunk to a depth of eight feet. The earth swayed [82] and rocked about like a tree before the wind for ten days. And after these things the armies of the HUNS and the 'ASKLABE (SLAVS) came and encamped about the royal city, and they broke down the outer walls, and plundered and burnt all the colonnades; and they seized everything which they found and departed. And they came again, a second and a third time, and then the RHOMAYE gained the mastery and destroyed them in the war [which followed]. The few of them who escaped never again appeared in the place.

After JUSTINIANUS the Second (sic) JUSTINUS the Third (sic) [reigned] thirteen years. This Emperor was the son of the sister of his predecessor, and he was a TARKAYA (TURK) by race. He [began to] reign, with SOPHIA his wife, in the LATTER TESHIN (NOVEMBER). Although there was no trouble at all in his days, the doers of wickednesses ceased to be because of his strength; his feet (or, legs), however, caused him vexation (or, suffering). Now KESRU, king of the PERSIANS, lived at that time, and at first there was such great peace between them that JUSTINUS in his second year sent gifts of honour to KESRU by the hands of JOHN, the Patriarch, of CALONICUS. But when the PERSIANS began to compel the ARMENIANS to worship fire like the MAGIANS, the ARMENIANS rebelled against the PERSIANS, and took asylum with the RHOMAYE. And thus the peace was broken. And KESRU sent to JUSTINUS, saying, 'It is not seemly for thee to assist a people who have rebelled against their king. If thou wouldst take the people, [do so,] but their land is mine. Let them evacuate my territory.' JUSTINUS replied, 'A Christian people who have fled from the worship of devils and have sought my help I will not deliver over into thy hands. And inasmuch as they are mine their land together with them is mine.' Then KESRU wrote a second time, saying, 'If thou wilt

give up neither the people nor the land, give [at least] the tribute which your kings over ARMENIA at one time used to give'. JUSTINUS replied in still stronger terms, 'I also require from thee the gold which thou didst formerly receive. And how canst thou demand from us the country of the north, seeing that we also demand [from you] NISIBIS, because it belongeth to the RHOMAYE, and it was only given to the PERSIANS conditionally, as it is written in the ancient documents.'

And in his eighth year, he appointed MARCION, the son of his mother's sister, CAESAR, and he sent him with an army of the RHOMAYE against NISIBIS. And when MARCION arrived at the city of DARA [83] he sent some of his troops to the land of the PERSIANS, and they took it and laid it waste and came back. And the Persian Warden of the Marches who was in NISIBIS acted cunningly. He went out to MARCION and made him to delay for four months, with the excuse that the RHOMAYE ought to inform their king that 'we will give back the city of NISIBIS peacefully, and if not, behold, there is war before you'. And under this arrangement the PERSIANS brought victuals to NISIBIS, and they cut down the gardens (or, plantations) which were round about it for the space of a bow shot, and they drove the Christians out of the city. Then the king wrote to MARCION ordering him to encamp round about the city without delay. And when he had done so he threw up mounds about it, and set up engines of war, and built high towers, and with very great trouble he captured the city. Then the king, for a reason which we will explain later, was wroth with MARCION, and he sent ACACIUS, a boorish and severe man to dismiss MARCION, and to put himself in his place. When ACACIUS came he seized MARCION and sent him to DARA. Now when the troops saw this they thought that the king was dead, and that, perhaps, another had by force made himself master of the RHOMAYE; they therefore forsook their tents and fled. And the PERSIANS went out from NISIBIS and plundered their camps.

When KESRU heard that the RHOMAYE had fled he came and seized the various engines for assaulting the city, and all the other armaments of war which the RHOMAYE had abandoned, and he encamped round about the city of DARA. And he made war upon it for six months and was unable to capture it. And he demanded from the inhabitants thereof five talents of gold so that he might depart from them. Now the Count whom he had sent with him (i.e. his envoy) did not inform them [of this]. Then KESRU became furiously angry, and by means of wooden erections the PERSIANS scaled the wall. The RHOMAYE fought for seven days, and did not permit one of the PERSIANS to come down into the city. Then KESRU said unto them, 'Come, let us make peace, for behold a very large number of our men and yours have been killed'. And those wretched men, believing the oath of the PERSIANS, laid down their weapons, and the soldiers of both sides mingled together. And the PERSIANS laid their hands on the RHOMAYE and killed one hundred and fifty thousand souls, and they carried off ninety thousand into captivity. And they collected gold, about two hundred talents. Then KESRU said unto the governors of the RHOMAYE, 'Ye fools, why did ye not give five talents out of this two hundred, and save all these souls?' [84] And the RHOMAYE swore that the Count did not tell them that 'ye demanded gold'. And when KESRU was certain that this was so, he was wroth with the Count and put out his eyes.

And straightway KESRU sent 'ADRAMON, the Warden of the Marches, and he looted and took BETH BALASH, and KENNESHIN and the country of ANTIOCH. And because on a former occasion when the king of PERSIA came to APAMEA the people went forth to meet him, and he entered [the city], and saw the bishop, and did not harm the people, so now on this occasion when the Warden of the Marches came they went out to meet him arrayed in white apparel. And having entered the city with guile he plundered it and burned it. And he sent ninety-two (or, two hundred and ninety-two) thousand [of the people] to PERSIA. On this occasion KESRU selected two thousand virgins from among the captives, and he sent them together with their decorated apparel and ornaments to the TURKS who were in PERSIA. When these virgins arrived at a place which was five stations from the TURKS, and came to a great river, they decided that they preferred death to the destruction of the Faith of their souls and the purity of their bodies. And having grasped each

other with the right hand they asked the Persian guards to withdraw from them so that they might bathe. Now these guards having been commanded to conduct the virgins with gentleness so that their beauty might not be marred, withdrew themselves. Then these chaste virgins having sealed their faces with the Sign of the Cross, cried out the Name of Christ, and cast themselves into that great river and were drowned. When the guards at the sound of their outcry saw that the virgins were drowning, they ran and struggled mightily, but they were not able to save one of them.

And when the king [of the RHOMAYE] heard that these things had taken place, he made ready to go down to the East, and because of the intensity of his cogitations he became mad (?) And ZECHARIAH was sent to KESRU [to arrange] a peace, and [he took] with him six hundred and fifty pounds (*litre*) of gold, for the peace was for one year only. And because his senses came back to him sometimes, and he wept and lamented about himself sorrowfully, the chiefs gave him advice. And he appointed a certain GREEK (IONIAN) scribe, whose name was TIBERIUS, a TARK, administrator of his kingdom, and proclaimed him CAESAR. At this time KESRU became arrogant and puffed up with pride, and he came to ARMENIA, and marched directly to CAPPADOCIA so that he might capture CAESAREA. Then the RHOMAYE overtook (or, pursued) [the PERSIANS] in Mount BAGRUH, [85] and KESRU being thwarted in his purpose pretended that he was going to escape to his own country. And he went forth to SEBASTIA; and he also burned it with fire because the people fled from before him. And the RHOMAYE overtook him, and he forsook his *papelion*, that is to say, his royal tent, and all his treasure and fled. Then the RHOMAYE looted his camp and also his chapel for the worship of fire which they carried away in triumph. Meanwhile KESRU escaped to MELITENE, which he burned. And the RHOMAYE pursued him, and a very large number of his soldiers were drowned at the ford of the river PRATH (EUPHRATES), and only small numbers of them escaped.

And [KESRU] laid down a law that a king should not go forth to war except against a king. For the RHOMAYE had sent [a message] to him, saying. 'We are [only] the servants of a king, and it would be a disgrace to us to go in like thieves and set fire [to places]; how very much more it is [a disgrace] to thee [to do this] who art a king?' After these things, the RHOMAYE relying on their victory unsaddled their horses and they went away to feed. And behold, suddenly, certain SLAVS, that is to say scouts, came and said, 'Behold the PERSIANS and KESRU are coming'. Now the RHOMAYE had set no sentries at all on guard, and wholly unexpectedly the army of the PERSIANS came upon them. And trembling fell upon the RHOMAYE. And they began to flee on foot, and the PERSIANS who pursued them cut them down (?), and they collected the weapons, and bridles and armour which the RHOMAYE cast away [when they] fled.

This is the cause of the anger of JUSTINIANUS against MARCION. At that time there were two parties among the TAYYAYE or ARABS; [that of] MUNDAR BAR-HERATH, who was a Christian and whose soldiers were Christians [and sided] with the RHOMAYE, and [that of] KABOZ, who [sided] with the PERSIANS. KABOZ having come against the Christian ARABS, seized all their flocks and their herds of camels, and departed. MUNDAR collected an army and marched against him and conquered [him], and he returned with vast quantities of rich spoil and camels. And KABOZ attacked him again, and was defeated, and he went to the PERSIANS to bring reinforcements. Then MUNDAR informed king JUSTINUS [of this], and demanded of him gold to give to the troops so that he might stand up against the PERSIANS. Then JUSTINUS determined to kill MUNDAR as if he had been the cause of the PERSIANS invading the land of the RHOMAYE. And he wrote to MARCION whilst he was encamped against NISIBIS, saying, 'Behold, we have written to MUNDAR that he shall come to thee. Watch the moment when he cometh to thee [86] and take his head, and write to us.' And, it is said, that he wrote two letters. The one to MARCION [saying that] MUNDAR was to be killed, and the other to MUNDAR [telling him] to go to MARCION and to hear from him concerning a certain matter which could not be written in a letter. Now the man of law (i.e. the scribe) wrote the two letters at the same time and sealed them. And by mistake he addressed the letter of MARCION to MUNDAR, and the letter of MUNDAR to MARCION, which therefore fell into the hands of MUNDAR.

And MUNDAR was filled with wrath, and he made friends with the TAYYAYE (i.e. ARABS) of KABOZ, and they invaded together BETH RHOMAYE, and seized and burned [the country] as far as ANTIOCH. Now the king JUSTINUS thought that MARCION had informed MUNDAR [about his intention], and because of this he was angry with him and arrested him. And when the mind of King JUSTINUS returned to him, and he saw that the disease of retention of the urine was increasing in him, he summoned TIBERIUS CAESAR and he spake with him many remarkable (or, admirable) words under the guise of admonition and warning, and he said, 'Understand what I have been and what thou art. Honour thy mother who is thy MISTRESS (or, Lady). All those who stand here are thy children. Have good care for the soldiers. Rejoice not in blood, and award not evil for evil. Let not the apparel and the proud rank of royalty lead thee astray as it has led me astray. And behold, though alive I shall be dismissed.' [He spake] these and very many other [words] like unto them. TIBERIUS then cast himself down on his face, and wept and plucked out his hair. And the king commanded and they raised him up. And with his own hands he arrayed him [in royal apparel] and crowned him with the crown. And he lived for nine days after these things, and he died in such great agony, through the retention of urine, and through his disease, that he shrieked and adjured those who were standing [there], saying, 'Bring a sword and kill me'.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

IX

The Second Kingdom of the Greeks.

Here beginneth the Ninth Series, which [beginneth with] the kings of the RHOMAYE and endeth with the kings of the YAWNAYE (Greeks).

After JUSTINUS III (?), TIBERIUS [reigned] three years. Up to this time all the kings had been RHOMAYE, that is to say FRANGAYE (FRANKS), [87] the first of whom was AUGUSTUS and the last JUSTINUS. Although the tongue of the citizens and the men of law (or, scribes) was Greek, the kings and soldiers were FRANKS. But with this TIBERIUS, and onwards, the beginning of the Second Kingdom of the GREEKS (YAWNAYE) took place. This happened six hundred and two years after their First Kingdom had come to an end, the which began with KRONOS, the MACEDONIAN, and ended with PARSOS—thirty-eight kings. And in the year wherein TIBERIUS [began to] reign, that is the eight hundred and nineteenth year of the GREEKS (= A.D. 579), KESRU died. And HORMIZD his son reigned over the PERSIANS twelve years, and he was haughty and arrogant and did not send [to the RHOMAYE], as was the custom of kings, the gift (*sumbolon*) which announced the beginning of [his] kingdom. Thus also was it with TIBERIUS, who having risen [as king] sent to KESRU the gift announcing the fact. And he stirred up war in the country of ARMENIA. Then KIROS (MAURICIUS), the captain of the host of the RHOMAYE, made ready his armies, and when day broke in the east he fell upon him like the fire which hath been kindled in the wood, and destroyed them utterly (or, violently); and the governors and nobles of the PERSIANS he bound with fetters. And the RHOMAYE enjoyed great consolation.

During the four years of the sickness of JUSTINUS, whilst TIBERIUS was governing the State, Queen SOPHIA would not allow the wife of TIBERIUS to enter the royal city. And when JUSTINUS blamed her, saying, 'It is a sinful act of thine. For TIBERIUS is a young man and his body cannot endure chastity, and yet thou keepest his wife from him', SOPHIA said, 'My mind hath not perished like thine that I should give my sovereignty to another whilst I am still alive.' And thus, after JUSTINUS was dead, TIBERIUS wanted to bring his wife [there], and he entreated SOPHIA to give the command for her to come, but even so SOPHIA did not wish [to do so]. Then the Patriarch of the CHALCEDONIANS advised TIBERIUS to divorce his wife, and to take to wife SOPHIA or her daughter. But TIBERIUS was furious with the Patriarch, and he was very stubborn and said, 'I will [readily] divorce the kingdom, but I will not trample on the Law'. And the Patriarch excused his proposal, saying, 'The nobles compelled me to give thee this advice for the peace [88] of the kingdom'. When SOPHIA heard [this] she was afraid, and she gave the command, and the wife of TIBERIUS entered [the city] with great pomp; and she was named HELENA by the crowds as an honourable epithet. And TIBERIUS paid great honour to SOPHIA and her daughter, and he increased their revenues and they dwelt in their palace.

And MUNDAR, the son of a free woman, when he heard that TIBERIUS was reigning, went up to CONSTANTINOPLE. And when the king blamed him because he had delayed in helping the RHOMAYE,

he showed him the letter of JUSTINUS; and when TIBERIUS saw it he marvelled. And he paid MUNDAR a great honour, and gave him many valuable gifts and he departed.

And after these things MAURICIUS, CAESAR of the RHOMAYE, went up to king TIBERIUS, and he made accusations against MUNDAR. And a certain MAGNE, the captain of the SYRIAN army, promised that he would seize him, because he was a friend of his. And when he went to SYRIA he sent a message to MUNDAR, saying, 'I wish thee to come to me so that I may see thy healing [powers], because I am sorely afflicted by the fatigue of the road (or, of travelling); otherwise I would myself come and pay homage to thee'. And MUNDAR trusted in him as a friend and came, and the SYRIAN put him in fetters and sent him to the royal city. Then NA'AMAN, his son, collected troops and began to raid the countries of the RHOMAYE, but he neither killed nor burnt because his father was a prisoner.

Now this accursed man MAGNE wished to destroy NA'AMAN also, and he sent a message to him in which he swore oaths, saying, 'If thou wilt come to me I will set thee in the place of thy father'. And NA'AMAN brought one of the young men and arrayed him in his apparel. And he sent him [to MAGNE] with servants. When MAGNE saw him, he said unto him, 'Art thou NA'AMAN?' And the young man said, 'I am. Behold, I have come according to thy command.' Then MAGNE commanded, 'Behold the enemy of the king; cast on him iron fetters'. Then the young man laughed and said, 'Nay, by CHRIST, I am not NA'AMAN'; And when MAGNE wanted to kill the young man the ARAB said, 'I shall not grieve, for if I had not come I should have been killed by my own king'; and because of this [remark], after [inflicting] tortures [on him], MAGNE dismissed him. And after a short time MAGNE died.

Then NA'AMAN, despising (i.e. risking) his life went up to MAURICIUS, [89] and he was received by him. And he swore to him that whilst he was fighting with the PERSIANS he would set free his father from bondage. And when it was proposed to him that he should associate himself with the followers of the COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, he excused himself and said, 'All the tribes of the TAYYAYE are orthodox, and if I change [my religion] they will kill me'. And when NA'AMAN went out he swore that he would never see willingly again the faces of the RHOMAYE. Now, the RHOMAYE heard this, and they seized him whilst he was on the road and also banished him.

And the kingdom of the ARABS (TAYYAYE) was divided into fifteen divisions. The greater number of them cleaved to the PERSIANS, and some of them to the CHALCEDONIANS. And others cast away [their] weapons, and dwelt in cities and villages in the land of SEN'AR and in 'ATHOR (ASSYRIA), and in SYRIA, and they have preserved [their] orthodoxy until this day, like those in HADITHA, and HITH, and in BETH'ARBAYE, and in KURITHIM which is in the land of EMESA, and in NABK and other places.

At this time a certain astute PERSIAN proclaimed that 'he was the eldest son of KESRU the king, whom the troops of HORMIZD, his younger son, having chosen him to reign over them, his father had pity upon him and, gave him money for food, and sent him away so that he might not be killed'. This man came to the armies of the RHOMAYE that were in ARMENIA and said that he would deliver the kingdom of the PERSIANS to the RHOMAYE, if the king of the RHOMAYE gave an army. Then the RHOMAYE made known [this] to TIBERIUS, and he rejoiced in him greatly. And he sent gold and royal apparel, and commanded that he should come to the royal city with great pomp and ceremony. And when he arrived at CHALCEDON the king sent to him the sword-bearer of the king of the PERSIANS to inquire if he was so or not. And when he saw him and recognized him, he seized him by his hair and cast him forth from the throne, and said, 'Thou impostor! Wouldst thou sit upon a throne and let the nobles stand before thee?' Then that wretched man being afraid of death became a Christian.

At this time when the army of the RHOMAYE was marching to PERSIA with MAURICIUS CAESAR, the barbarian peoples of 'ABHARIS (ABARES) and 'ASKLABHONE (SCYTHIA) and LONGOBARDY, who were subject to the KHAKAN, laid waste the countries of the RHOMAYE. And 'ADRAMON, the Warden of the Marches, arrived at EDESSA, and he burned churches, and monasteries [90] and villages. And they killed all the captives and burned their dead bodies, and through the cloud of smoke, which was so great that the sun itself was obscured, they were enabled to capture the city. And whilst they were assaulting it during three days they heard that the RHOMAYE and the ARABS with MAURICIUS had arrived; and they abandoned [the siege] and marched toward CALONICUS. Then the RHOMAYE overtook them, and killed many of them. And in the fourth year of his reign TIBERIUS fell sick of a disease in the belly and constriction of the bowels. And when he knew that he was dying, he gave his daughter AUGUSTA to wife to MAURICIUS, who was from 'ARABISOS in CAPPADOCIA, and he put the crown of the kingdom upon him; and after three days he died.

After TIBERIUS, MAURICIUS [reigned] twenty years. In the first year of his reign a son was born to him by AUGUSTA, the daughter of TIBERIUS, and he was named 'THEODOSIUS, born on the purple'. And at that time the RHOMAYE rebelled against MAURICIUS, and they set up a governor [called] GARMANOS. And when HORMIZD, king of the PERSIANS, heard [this] he sent promises to them that they would be with him (i.e. support him). They, however, despised him, and came against him for war, and they bound with fetters three thousand Persian slaves and sent them to MAURICIUS. And there was freedom of speech to them, and they returned to the subjugation of the king, and were welcome with gladness, and the king showered gifts and honour on GARMANOS.

And in the fourth year of his reign there broke forth and went out from the EAST a hateful people from 'ABARIS whose hair was plaited, and from the WEST also came the SLAVS and the LONGOBARDS. And they came under the subjugation of the KHAKAN, king of the KAZARAYE, and they captured two cities from the RHOMAYE and many of [their] fortresses. And if it had not been for the great ditch which the king had made outside ADRIANOPLE, they would have set their faces towards CONSTANTINOPLE. Then the RHOMAYE killed the people of 'ANTIO..., and they fell upon 'ASKLABHUNYA and captured it and looted it. When the 'ASKLABHONE heard this they made a great war (i.e. raid) in the country of the RHOMAYE and came back.

At this time there went forth from Inner SCYTHIA three brothers with thirty thousand SCYTHIANS. [91] And they came a journey of two months in the time of winter, for the discovery of water, that is to say [water] from the fords of MOUNT AMON; and they arrived at the river TANIS (DONA?), which goeth out from the lake of MIANTIS and minglenth in the SEA OF PONTOS. And when they arrived at the frontier of the RHOMAYE, one of them whose name was BULGARIS took ten ships and crossed the river TANIS and pitched his camp between the rivers TANIS and DUNBIR (DON and DNEPER?), which also mingles (i.e. flows into) the SEA OF PONTOS. And he sent to MAURICIUS [asking] him to give him land to dwell in, and [said that] he would become an ally of the RHOMAYE. And MAURICIUS gave him Upper and Lower MYSIA, and they dwelt there, and they became a guard (i.e. a buffer garrison) for the RHOMAYE. Now, though they were SCYTHIANS the RHOMAYE call them 'BULGARIANS'. Then these two other brothers came to the country of 'ALAN, which is BAR SALIA, that is to say to the towns of the CASPIAN, which the BULGARIANS and the PANGURIANS call the 'Gate of the Turks'; they were once Christians and are now called 'KAZARAYE' after the name of the eldest brother.

And in the sixth year of MAURICIUS, PRISCUS, the captain of the host of the RHOMAYE, together with a large army went down to PERSIA, and there the RHOMAYE were divided and they would not receive him. Then the king came back and appointed PHILIP, his kinsman through his sister, to be the captain of their host. And when this man came down he exhibited many splendid triumphs. Now the RHOMAYE because

they were accustomed to harsh treatment by PRISCUS began to plot against this man also, and they also thought that they would remove the king and set up another. And when they returned from PERSIA to ANTIOCH, and whilst they were wintering there, a great earthquake took place and the greater part of the city fell down through the tremors of the ground, and the soldiers were scattered round about the city. And the horsemen who had contended against the king came back and became reconciled with PHILIP. And when they had repented they heard that the PERSIANS of NISIBIS had deceived the guards (or, keepers) of MAIPHERKAT with false oaths, and that they had given them the city, and that many of the RHOMAYE had perished therein. Then PHILIP and the RHOMAYE marched quickly from ANTIOCH to MAIPHERKAT and captured it by assault, and slew the PERSIANS [92] who were in it.

And in the eighth year of MAURICIUS the PERSIANS rebelled against HORMIZD, their king, and they seized him by treachery and blinded his eyes, and he died. And ten months later those who had killed him because of the multitude of his evil deeds, inclined towards his son KESRU; and they made him their king [and he reigned] thirty-eight years. Now BAHRAM, the captain of the Persian host, did not favor KESRU, and he and many people rebelled against him vigorously. Then KESRU took refuge with the RHOMAYE, and he sent a message secretly to MAURICIUS saying that he was ready to go to him if it pleased him to grant him permission. When MAURICIUS heard this he rejoiced. And he wrote [to him saying] that he would help him in everything. And KESRU rose up promptly and came to EDESSA. And IWANNIS (JOANNES), a native of RUSAFAYA, received him into his house, and honoured him greatly. And he wrote to MAURICIUS, [saying], 'Like a slave he should be to him', but MAURICIUS replied that he should honour him as a father honoureth his son. And MAURICIUS sent to JOANNES, the captain of the host of the TARKAYE, with twenty thousand soldiers, and ANASTASIUS who took with him 'ARMANAYO (ARMENIANS) and BULGARIANS—twenty thousand. And he sent forty talents of gold for his expenses. And when KESRU received these he marched to his own country. And HORMIZAN the PERSIAN came to him with ten thousand men. Now, when the rebels heard [this] they made ready to fight, and they were defeated and turned their backs in flight, and the captains who were among them were captured and killed, and the rest returned to KESRU. Then KESRU gave many gifts to the RHOMAYE, and he sent great gifts to MAURICIUS and precious stones, and he gave back DARA and RAS'AYN to the RHOMAYE. And KESRU asked MAURICIUS and he gave him MARIA, his daughter, to wife. And bishops went down with her, and the daughter of THEODOSIUS also made a splendid feast, and the Patriarch bound on the wedding crown. And KESRU built three great temples to the God-bearer, to the Apostles, and to SERGIUS the martyr, and the Patriarch of ANTIOCH consecrated them. And Christianity spread throughout PERSIA.

Now MAURICIUS was arrogant in his mind, and he regarded the hosts of the RHOMAYE with contempt, and he would not give them [their] pay. Then they sent a message to him, saying, 'God hath given peace in thy days, but peace will not feed cavalrymen [93] unless they receive their pay. And if because there is no war [at present] thou wilt not give us our pay, behold thou wilt have war with us.' And in this matter also he treated them with contempt, and demanded of PATROS his brother that he would reign over them. PATROS, however, was unwilling, and he fled to MAURICIUS and made the matter known to him. When MAURICIUS heard [this] he was afraid, and he fled and hid himself in CHALCEDON. Now when the army came to the royal city and did not find MAURICIUS, they appointed as their king a common old man called POKA (PHOCAS). And they went out and found MAURICIUS and brought him to the city, and they killed his sons before his face, and then they also killed him.

After MAURICIUS, PHOCAS [reigned] eight years. When KESRU, the king of the PERSIANS, heard that MAURICIUS and his sons had been killed, he and his nobles put on black apparel, and they made a house for weeping in. And whilst making it clear that he would be avenged on the slayers of his kinsman and the doer of his good works, he concocted a plot whereby he might rule over the kingdom of the RHOMAYE. And he made ready an army and sent [it] against DARA and captured it. And he went to TUR 'ABDIN, and [he

fought] against the stone fortress and took it, and he killed the RHOMAYE who were inside it. And thus was it in every place; with the exception of the RHOMAYE they harmed none. Now when the RHOMAYE who were in the citadel heard [this] they abandoned the fortress and fled. And the monks gathered themselves together and went into it, and they sent a message to BASIL the bishop [asking him] if he would permit them to kill the PERSIANS. And in the nine hundred and eighteenth year of the GREEKS (= A.D. 601) the rebellious fortress of MERDA (?) was handed over into the hands of the PERSIANS, and 'AMID also.

And there was a severe winter, and the EUPHRATES was frozen over. And after two years the PERSIANS crossed the EUPHRATES, and seized MABBOGH, and KENNESHIN, and BEROEA and ANTIOCH. And it is said that when KESRU was master of EDESSA he took as a captive the wife of JOANNES of RUSAF, whom he had honoured with such great honour when he received him into his house, and he took her down to PERSIA, and put her to death by tortures. The reason of this was that one day when he was resting in the house of JOANNES he said unto her, 'It is the custom among the PERSIANS that when the king condescends to go into the house of one of his governors, for the mistress of that house to come forth [94] and to pay him honour, and to mix wine for him, even if it be only one cup[ful]'. Now though JOANNES was ashamed and was unwilling to act contrary to the wish of his wife, he inclined towards the matter (i.e. he thought that she might do what the king wanted done). But she did not wish to do so, and she replied, 'In truth we are bound to pay honour to our chief, for he is a great king. But with us SYRIANS it is not the custom for the women to go out to men when they are drinking together. Therefore let not him (the king) blame me because I was too bashful to go out [to pay homage to him]. Then the Calumniator (i.e. the Devil) inflamed the wrath of KESRU, and he said to JOANNES, 'That she did not go forth hath brought contempt upon thee, and what she hath said hath done so also'. This was his opinion; and because of this act he was driven away from his high position, and for this reason he kept his anger against her. And whilst the PERSIANS were laying waste the countries [abroad], PHOCAS, from the inside (i.e. at home) killed the nobles, until he had made an end of all the free-born warriors. Then two powerful patricians, GREGORIUS and HERACLIUS, who were in AFRICA, made a covenant with each other, and they sent their sons together with [their] armies against CONSTANTINOPLE. And when the citizens heard [this] they rejoiced, and they thronged out to meet them, and brought them in with pomp and ceremony. And PHOCAS was killed.

After PHOCAS, HERACLIUS [reigned] thirty-two years. When this emperor [began] to reign he sent ambassadors to KESRU, saying, 'Because PHOCAS killed MAURICIUS your friend we have killed him', and he imagined that by means of flatteries of this kind amity [between them] would come into being. But KESRU would not only not be reconciled, but increased the evil. And in the first year of HERACLIUS he captured ANTIOCH, and one year later BAHAM, the captain of his host, captured CAESAREA of CAPPADOCIA, and he slew tens of thousands of the people, and he seized the whole country, and returned. And in the fourth year of HERACLIUS RUMIZAN, the captain of the host, who was nicknamed 'SHAHRBARAZ', that is to say 'Wild pig', subjugated DARMASUK (DAMASCUS), and one year later he became master of GALILEE and the country of the JORDAN. One year later he captured JERUSALEM and slew ninety thousand men in it. At first they treated the JEWS in a peaceful fashion, and then they carried them off finally to PERSIA. The following year SHAHRBARAZ went to EGYPT and took it, and he opened up ALEXANDRIA, and he subjugated LYBIA as far as the frontier of the KUSHITES (NUBIANS). And in the same year also [95] SHAHIN, the PERSIAN, took CHALCEDON, and he slew all the people thereof. And thus the PERSIANS held all the countries of the RHOMAYE from the coast of the SEA OF PONTOS to the East.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

The Kings of the Arabs.

Here beginneth the Tenth Series, which passeth on from the GREEK (IONIAN) kings to the ARAB kings.

AFTER the twelve years of [the reign of] HERACLIUS, MAHAMAD began to be famous, and, moreover, the Era of the lunar month (1) of the TAYYAYE (ARABS) beginneth with this year, which is the six thousand one hundred and thirtieth year from ADAM, and the nine hundred and thirty-third year of the GREEKS (YAWNAYE), and the six hundred and twenty-fourth year of the Era of our Redeemer.

In the first year of the ARABS, SHAHRBARAZ captured AMCYRA, and after that RHODES.

And in the fourth year of the ARABS, SHAHRBARAZ and KARDIGAN (KARDENGAN) encamped around CONSTANTINOPLE, and their hosts crossed TARKI and pitched their camp on the western quarter of CONSTANTINOPLE, and afflicted it greatly. Then suddenly a period of inactivity took place among them because it was said to KESRU, 'SHAHRBARAZ laugheth at thee, and saith that the victory concerning which thou art boasting thyself is his and not thine'. Therefore KESRU sent KARDIGAN to take the head of SHAHRBARAZ. The envoy was captured by the RHOMAYE. And when HERACLIUS learned [this] he sent secretly to SHAHRBARAZ, and with oaths [concerning his safety] had him brought to him. And when he went in and saw the envoy and the letter, and was certain about the matter, he acted cunningly and altered the letter, to which he added [the order] that 'three hundred nobles were to be killed with SHAHRBARAZ'. And he took the letter, and went out, and read it before KARDIGAN and before the troops. And he said unto KARDIGAN, 'Doth it please thee to do this?' And the chiefs (or, nobles) were filled with wrath, and they scoffed at KESRU. And they made a compact with HERACLIUS, and they also gave him their sons as hostages for the confirmation of the conditions of the peace, [96] and departed on their way. And HERACLIUS sent a message to the KHAKAN, the king of the KAZARAYE, [asking him] to send to him forty thousand soldiers so that he might go against the PERSIANS, and he promised to give him his daughter EUDOXIA to wife.

Now when KESRU heard that SHAHRBARAZ had rebelled, and that HERACLIUS had gone down to his country, his courage became little, and he was greatly depressed. And he collected as many soldiers as he was able, and made RUZBIHAN captain over them. And when the PERSIANS met the RHOMAYE in battle, the PERSIANS were defeated and RUZBIHAN was killed. And when KESRU heard this, he fled from SAKUTHA where he was lying (or, encamped). And HERACLIUS pursued him and captured his treasures and his rich possessions. Then SHIRIN, the son of KESRU, who had been imprisoned by his father, went forth from his place of bondage, and pursued his father KESRU and killed him; and he reigned after him for nine months. When HERACLIUS returned to pass the winter in EDESSA, SHIRIN sent a letter to him and informed him of the slaughter of his father; and he (HERACLIUS) made a covenant of peace with him [and

arranged] that the PERSIANS should evacuate the countries of the RHOMAYE. And SHIRIN died, having reigned for nine months.

And 'ARDASHIR reigned after him for one year and nine months. And SHAHRBARAZ, who was with HERACLIUS, killed this [king], and he himself reigned, and confirmed the covenant with HERACLIUS and the conditions [of peace].

And in the sixth year of the ARABS a portion of the hemisphere of the sun departed, and there was darkness from the month of the FIRST TESHWIN (OCTOBER) till the month of HAZIRAN (JUNE). [It lasted so long] that men used to say that the sphere of the sun would never become whole and perfect again. And the *zanta*, that is to say the sickness of the *shar' afta* tumour, broke out in PALESTINE, and tens of thousands of men died of the disease.

A Cutting

THE WRITERS OF HISTORIES say that when the armies of the TAYYAYE (ARABS) overtook HERACLIUS and occupied the various countries, he gathered together all the bishops, and the chiefs of the priests, and the rest of the satraps, and that he questioned them concerning the matter, saying, 'What kind of a people are these and what are they?' And each one of them made answer in so far as his mind understood the matter, until at length the whole subject had been laid bare before him. And he replied thus, 'I see that these people in their actions, and manners, and Faith (Religion) are like unto an early cloudy dawn, in which there is no absolute darkness, and yet it lacketh light which is perfect and clear'. And they asked him for an explanation of the speech. And he replied, 'Yea, indeed, they are remote [97] from the darkness, inasmuch as they have rejected the worship of idols, and they worship One God. But they lack the perfectly clear light because of their remoteness from the light and because of their imperfect knowledge of our Christian Faith and Orthodox Confession.' And his speech was fair (or, good) in the eyes of the people.

The History of the Confession of Faith of the TAYYAYE which was revealed at this time

MAHAMAD (MUHAMMAD) was a very small child when his father 'ABD ALLAH died, and his uncle ABU TALIB brought him up. And he took to wife a woman who was a widow, whose name was KHADIJAH because she was rich in possessions (i.e. wealthy). And with the wealth of this woman, and with her camels he became a merchant, and he went up from YATHREB his city to PALESTINE. And when he saw the land, that it was fertile and produced good things, he conversed with certain JEWS and he learned from them that God had given them that land of promise because of their belief in One God, and their rejection of the worship of idols. And he also desired this [land] earnestly, and he began to persuade his fellow countrymen about this matter when he was forty years of age. And it was rumoured among the chiefs of MAKKAH (MECCA) that he was introducing among them a foreign Confession (i.e. Religion), and they pursued him and threatened him with killing if he did not cease from this. Then he fled from that place and went to another city, the name of which was YATHREB. And the citizens went forth to meet him, and they received (i.e. welcomed) him, and they promised to help him in everything, and from this [incident] they were called 'ANSAR', that is to say, 'Helpers'. And he taught them the Confession (or, Religion) of One God, and to abandon gods that were useless. And he exhorted them concerning the cleansing of the body and ablutions, because at that period the ARABS were a dirty people. And he formed companies of them, and he sent preachers (or, fighting propagandists) into PALESTINE, and when, as on several occasions when he went with them, they were successful and returned carrying with them riches and goods and possessions, they cleaved unto him with all their hearts. And many other peoples, when they heard of his success and riches, became subject unto him without trouble [on his part]. And when those who cleaved to him increased in

number, he himself did not go up with them to share in the profit, but he sent other men at the head of his caravans whilst he himself dwelt in honour in his city. [98] And to the man who would not accept his Religion he returned answer, not any longer with [words of] persuasion, but with the sword. And those who turned [to him] he permitted [to enjoy] not only fleshly desires, and much copulation with women, both with those who were free and those who were concubines, but [he allowed] a man to divorce his wife whenever he wished and take another. And they were to keep the daily fast for one month only in the year, and he allowed them to eat throughout the night until daybreak.

And he declared that in the world which was to come after the Resurrection, there would be rivers of honey, and milk, and wine, and trees loaded with delectable fruits, and reclining on couches of gold with cushions of coral (?) and topaz (?), and union with women who surpassed the sun in beauty. [These things] he used to say God had prepared for the children of his Religion. And when he had lived ten years and two months, after he had assumed the place of a prophet forsooth, his kingdom extended from one [place] to another, and it increased and expanded, and embraced the greater number of the countries of the RHOMAYE and the whole of the kingdom of the PERSIANS.

And there rose among them philosophers, and mathematicians, and physicians, who surpassed the ancient [sages] in the exactness of their knowledge. The only foundations on which they set up their buildings were Greek houses; the wisdom-buildings (or, science-buildings) which they erected were great by reason of their highly polished diction, and their greatly skilled researches (or, investigations). Thus it hath happened that we, from whom they (i.e. the GREEKS) have acquired wisdom through translators, all of whom are SYRIANS, have been compelled to ask for wisdom from them. But as concerning the books of their Law, that is to say, Canons of marriages, and offerings, and ablutions, and the manner of [saying] prayers, and the amount of alms, and the various kinds of merchandise, and loans, and the division of inheritances, and the liberation of slaves—all these matters they have dilated upon to such a degree that not one of them, even though he has studied [the subject] during the whole period of his life, is able to decide finally questions and answers concerning them in a fitting manner. Moreover, there hath broken forth among them many heresies. Even as they say that he himself (i.e. MUHAMMAD) said, 'My sect (?) is rent into more than seventy parts; one of them is redeemed, and the rest are for the fire'. The one [part] was that which conformed to his actions; and the others [belonged] to those who brought forth new things.

Some of them deal with the subject of the kingdom—like those who adjudicated the first headship (khalifate) after their prophet to 'ALI his uncle's son and his son-in-law, [99] and his sons after him. But others adjudicated it to ABU BAKR, the old man, his father-in-law, and to 'ALI the fourth headship. Some of them deal with the subject of Religion, such as those who say that God—praise be to His goodness!—is a body, and that He reclineth in bodily form in a material chariot which is greater than the heavens and the earth. Others confess that He hath not a bodily form, but is visible to eyes of flesh; the righteous will see him at the Resurrection. And some men say that He speaketh with an everlasting word, which subsisteth in His Being, and that He liveth an everlasting life. But others, who are afraid of the personality [attributed to Him] by the Christians, and are unable to confess that His speech and life are accidental and temporal, are forced to say, 'It is that He speaketh but not with words'. And so also, 'He liveth, but not in life'. And some men say, 'God created the sinner that he might sin and burn in GEHENNA, and the righteous man that he might be proclaimed righteous and enjoy happiness in PARADISE'.

And the question 'Wherefore?' is not to be asked. Man hath not dominion over existence. And others affirm the existence of freedom (i.e. free will) like the Christians. And that we may not go beyond the mark (i.e. outside our subject), we will return to our work. And because this kingdom of the ARABS swept away that of the RHOMAYE from our countries, we will [now] describe in order events as they took place as far as we are able to do so from reading and hearing.

After MAHAMMAD, ABU BAKR [ruled] for two years. This [Khalifah] sent; forth four captains of hosts, [one] to PALESTINE, [one] to EGYPT, [one] to PERSIA, [and one] to ARABIA against the Christian ARABS. The captain who came to PALESTINE marched against CAESAREA. Then SARGI (SERGIUS) PATRICIUS collected from among the RHOMAYE and from among the SHAMRAYE (SAMARITANS) an army of about five thousand foot soldiers. And when the ARABS joined battle with the RHOMAYE they were victorious, and they destroyed first of all the SHAMRAYE. And when PATRICIUS saw that the people who were with him were defeated, he turned his back [in flight]. And the ARABS pursued the RHOMAYE, and they mowed them down as reapers mow the standing crops. Now it happened that SARGI (SERGIUS) fell from his horse, and his servants gathered together and set him on it again. And again he fell, and again they set him on his horse. And again he fell, for the third time. And when his servants wanted to set him on his horse again, he said unto them, 'Save yourselves, and leave ye me that I may die by myself without [100] even you being with me'. And thus the ARABS overtook him and killed him, and they returned with victory. And in a similar manner those captains of hosts who had gone to the other regions returned with victory. And the fear of the ARABS fell upon all kings.

And at that time the PERSIANS evacuated EGYPT and PALESTINE, and all the countries of the RHOMAYE. And SHAHRBARAZ sent HERACLIUS and he took an army with him and he killed KARDIGAN; and then he reigned one year and was killed. And after him BARAM, the daughter of KESRU, reigned for a few months and died. And then her sister ZADIMIDUKHT reigned. And many [others] reigned [after her] in a period of two years. And at this time the natives of EDESSA whom KESRU had carried off into captivity returned from PERSIA. And HERACLIUS transgressed the Law and took MARTINA, his brother's daughter, to wife, and begat by her an illegitimate son HERAKLUNA. At this time, in the month of ILUL (SEPTEMBER), an earthquake took place. And a sign, like unto a spear, appeared in the heavens, and it reached from the south to the north, and it remained there for thirty days. This manifestly made known the victory of the ARABS.

After ABU BAKR, 'OMAR BAR-KHATTAB [ruled] ten years. This Khalifah sent a raiding army to ARABIA, and he took BOSRA (AL-BASRAH). And a year later he sent an army to PERSIA. Since the PERSIANS were divided, some following YAZDAGARD the son of KESRU and others HORMIZD, the ARABS prevailed over them and HORMIZD was killed, and YAZDAGARD reigned. Then HERACLIUS sent an army with THEODORIC his brother against the ARABS. When they had come into the country of ANTIOCH, there was in the village of GAWSITH a certain man who was a Chalcedonian and who lived on a pillar, and he said unto THEODORIC, 'Promise to blot out those who are of the house of SEVERUS, and I will pledge myself to give thee victory'. And THEODORIC replied, 'Apart from thy word it is laid upon me (i.e. it is my duty) to drive out the JACOBITES'. And when they arrived opposite to the ARABS, the RHOMAYE pitched their whole camp in the neighbourhood of the ARABS. And when they set themselves in battle array against the ARABS, they were cut down like old worn-out palm-trees by the ARABS, and the remainder of them fled. Then the ARABS looted the Fossaton (i.e. Camp), and became rich with the gold, and silver, and slaves, and possessions which they found [therein].

And in the fourth year of 'OMAR, [101] BAANIS, captain of the host of the RHOMAYE, and the son of SHAHRBARAZ the PERSIAN also, who when his father was killed took refuge with the RHOMAYE, and the treasurer of the king who was in EDESSA also, collected sixty thousand horsemen. And they came face to face with the ARABS in the country of EMESSA, and the RHOMAYE were defeated and forty thousand of them perished, and the greater number of them were drowned in the river of YARMUKA. Then the son of SHAHRBARAZ, whose life had been saved, sent a message to 'OMAR, saying, 'Give me an army and I will subjugate the PERSIANS for thee'. But the daughters of KESRU, who had been carried off as captives by the ARABS, made known to 'OMAR what SHAHRBARAZ and his son had done to KESRU and his sons, and they warned him that they were men of guile, and said, 'Thou must not be led astray by their words'. And

'OMAR, accepting their words, sent to EMESSA, and hung (or, impaled?) the son of SHAHRBARAZ on a wooden post. And 'OMAR came to DAMASCUS and gave a pledge to the DAMASCENES [as to the safety of their lives] and they opened their gates to the ARABS. From there he sent KHALID with an army to the country of ALEPPO and ANTIOCH, and a great many men perished. And, moreover, when men and women, and youths and maidens were gathered together for the festival in the Monastery of MAR SIMEON STYLITES, the ARABS came upon them and carried them all away into captivity.

And at this time also SA'AD went forth from YATHREB, and he pitched his camp by the side of KUFAR, which is 'AKULA. And YAZDAGARD also sent an army, and the soldiers thereof pitched their camps on the EUPHRATES. And the PERSIANS sent an Arab spy to spy on the ARABS, and when he drew nigh unto them he saw a Ma'daya (i.e., a nomad Arab) who was squatting on the ground and micturating and eating bread. And the spy said unto him in the Saracenic tongue, 'What art thou doing?' And the nomad replied, 'Behold, [I am doing] exactly what thou seest—casting out the old and taking in the new'. And straightway he went back and informed the PERSIANS, saying, 'The people I have seen are barefooted and naked, but they are very brave'. And he repeated to the captain of the host what he had heard, that 'their victory is from God'. And when they had set the battle in array, the PERSIANS were defeated, and they were pursued until [they came] to CTESIPHON, which is on the DEGLATH (TIGRIS). One mighty man of war of the PERSIANS fled from a nomad who pursued him, and he went into a village which was in the neighbourhood, and a peasant ploughman hid him. And when the peasant saw the nomad who was pursuing him, and that he was naked, and had only a reed in his hand, he went in [102] to the PERSIAN and reviled him, saying, 'How is it that thou, who art arrayed in armour and hast in thy possession all the weapons of war, dost flee from a naked man? And why hast thou not turned back and taken his head?' And the PERSIAN said unto the peasant, 'Bring me a *mazara*' (i.e. a wooden instrument of torture used in flogging men). And when the peasant had brought it he made a mark on it like an arrow, and slit it up and said, '[Many] times I have set the mark of an arrow like this on the nomads whom thou hast seen', and he collected all the arrows in his tunic like flies.

And again YAZDAGARD gathered together a second host of men, and he attacked the ARABS on the EUPHRATES; and the ARABS were victorious, and they went to CTESIPHON and carried away the treasures and the people thereof. And again YAZDAGARD for the third time mustered his troops in GALULA, and he attacked the ARABS and was defeated. And he mustered his troops for the fourth time in MOUNT MADAI, and he attacked the ARABS and was broken; these four musterings took place in one year. And YAZDAGARD being in utter despair fled to the frontier of the TURKAYE in the country of SIGISTAN. And having remained there hidden for five years he was killed, and thus was blotted out the kingdom of the PERSIANS which is called 'BETH SASAN'. This kingdom began with 'ARDASHIR, the son of BABAK, in the year five hundred and thirty-eight of the GREEKS, and ended in the year nine hundred and fifty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 227-645). In like manner HERACLIUS in despair marched from ANTIOCH to CONSTANTINOPLE, saying, 'Sozo Suria', that is to say, 'Remain thou in peace, SYRIA'. And his troops began to plunder the native Christians, and those RHOMAYE were far worse than the ARABS, for they carried off everything they found. And HERACLIUS wrote to BETH NAHRIN, and to EGYPT and ARMENIA, and to all the RHOMAYE, saying 'Let not any man in future fight against the ARABS (i.e. cease raiding the ARABS), only let him that is able to keep his watch remain at his post'.

And then 'OMAR went to EGYPT, and KURA, the bishop of ALEXANDRIA, went out to meet him and he undertook to give him every year two hundred thousand dinars, but stipulated that the ARABS must not be allowed to invade EGYPT; and 'OMAR accepted [KURA's undertaking], and did not invade [EGYPT]. And when HERACLIUS heard of this he was offended, as a man who would not, except under strictest compulsion, give gold to the ARABS, and he sent a certain ARMENIAN [called] MANUEL to negotiate the matter. And when the envoys of the ARABS came to take the gold, MANUEL, who had made them encamp

with the army [103] in BABYLONIA [of EGYPT], that is to say, FOSTAT, said unto them, 'I do not drape myself with linen, like KURA, that I may give you gold, but with armour'. And when the envoys had gone back empty to 'OMAR, MANUEL became afraid and left EGYPT and fled, and the ARABS made themselves masters of EGYPT.

And in the fifteenth year of the ARABS (A.D. 636) 'OMAR came to PALESTINE, and SOPHRONIUS, the bishop of JERUSALEM, went forth to meet him. And the bishop received [his] pledge concerning the safety of the whole country. 'OMAR also wrote for him a sigillum (i.e. a Patent of authority, or *farman*?) and also decreed that no JEW should have authority to dwell in JERUSALEM. And when 'OMAR went into JERUSALEM, he commanded, and a MASGID (MOSQUE) for the ARABS to pray in was built on the site of the Temple of SOLOMON. And when the bishop saw that the garments which 'OMAR was wearing were dirty, he pressed him to accept from him a change of raiment and a napkin (i.e. head-cloth); and brought them before him, but 'OMAR did not wish [for them]. This man 'OMAR was wholly upright (or, just) and he was remote from avarice, and although they (the ARABS) were masters of all the treasures of the PERSIANS and the RHOMAYE, he never changed his original manner of attire.

And from there 'OMAR passed through the, cities of SYRIA, and he subjugated them all. And he crossed the EUPHRATES to the east, and the citizens of EDESSA went out to him, and received a word (i.e. pledge) concerning their city. TELLA and DARA, which he did not besiege, he took by storm, and he killed the RHOMAYE who were therein. And in the nineteenth year of the ARABS (A.D. 640) 'OMAR commanded that all the countries of his dominion should be assessed for the poll tax. And in that same year, which was the nine hundred and fifty-first year of the GREEKS, HERACLIUS died, and CONSTANTINUS (III?), his eldest son, reigned four months. MARTINA, his father's wife, killed him by poison, and she made king her young son HERAKLUNA, who was called 'the New DAVID'. And he was displeasing to the Senate, and they swept aside HERAKLUNA and made KUSTANS, the son of the murdered man, king. This man killed his two uncles and MARTINA, the wife of HERACLIUS. Now 'OMAR ruled for twelve years. A certain man who was a decorator, having complained to him concerning his master on [several] occasions, and being neglected by him, smote 'OMAR in his belly with a knife whilst he was praying and he died.

After 'OMAR, 'OTHMAN [ruled] twelve years. This Khalifah began by showing himself avaricious, and he collected gold for himself; and the ARABS gathered together to kill him, but when he promised to behave like the kings [104] who were his predecessors, they allowed him [to live].

This Khalifah sent SA'ID his son to harry the king of the PERSIANS. Then YAZDAGARD, after having hidden himself for five years in SIGISTAN, went forth and came to KUFAH; and SA'ID came to MARW (MERV) after he had subjugated the whole of PERSIA. And YAZDAGARD was afraid, and in order that they might not deliver him up, went forth and hid himself in a mill, and there a certain man, a TURKAYA, killed him.

At this time MU'AWIYAH, the captain of the host of the ARABS, came and encamped against CAESARAEA of PALESTINE, and he invested it by sea and by land. And from the beginning of the FIRST KANON (DECEMBER) to IYAR (MAY) he attacked it fiercely. And although seventy-two engines of war were hurling stones at its wall, no breach was made in it. Then the ARABS dug a hole [under, or, in the wall] and [some of them] entered, and others scaled the wall by means of ladders. And the ARABS remained three days on the wall and were unable to descend into the city. Then, when the ARABS became masters [of the city], seven thousand RHOMAYE who were guarding the city escaped in boats. And MU'AWIYAH captured the riches that were in it, and he laid the inhabitants thereof under tribute. From there the ARABS passed into CILICIA. And they arrived suddenly at 'UKHITA, and made themselves masters of the gates there. And they collected its riches, and they tortured the nobles so that they might show [them] all the goods that were

hidden, and they carried off all the people, men and women and children, into slavery. And they defiled the churches wickedly.

And in the twenty-fifth year of the ARABS, which is the year nine hundred and fifty-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 647), GREGORIUS PATRIK of AFRICA rebelled against KUSTANS. And the ARABS made ready for a raiding expedition and they went to AFRICA, but although they were not a match for the army of PATRIK, they took possession of all the cities on the sea-coast. And GREGORIUS came back and resumed his subjugation to KUSTANS. And MU'AWIYAH divided his troops into two camps. And over the one he made captain one HABIB, a SYRIAN, an evil man, and sent him to ARMENIA in the season of winter. And he went there, and the ARABS carried off the people into captivity, and they killed the men whom they encountered, and burnt the villages and came back. And the other army, which was with MU'AWIYAH, went to the country of CAESARAEA of CAPPADOCIA. And when the ARABS had crossed the mountain passes, they found the villages prosperous, and they plundered them; and they pitched their tents close to CAESARAEA, and fought for ten days, but were not a match for [105] its strength. Then they destroyed the whole district, and left it a waste and desolate place, and returned.

(Continued on Next Page)

(1) The Hijrah began on the 16th day of TAMMUZ (JULY), A.D. 622.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

The Kings of the Arabs (continued).

And after a short time they came against [the city] and fought against it again for many days. And when the people saw that the wrath was great, and that there was no one to save them, they took a pledge [from the ARABS] for [the safety of] their lives, and the nobles went out and made a covenant to pay tribute. And when the ARABS went in and saw the beauty of the buildings and the abundant wealth [therein], they regretted that they had sworn [to respect the city], but they were not able to go back upon their oaths. Then they went to the country of 'AMURIN, and they were unable to capture the city; but the district which was adorned with trees they laid waste.

And in the year nine hundred and sixty of the GREEKS (A.D. 649) MU'AWIYAH collected an army, and he brought one thousand seven hundred ships from ALEXANDRIA, and they went down into the sea and arrived at the island of CYPRUS. And they sent a message to the people of the island that they should [come] and take a pledge as to [the safety of] their lives. And when they would not do this, the armed men went on the island, and they destroyed and looted [the villages]; and also defiled the episcopal house, and then they went away. And after a little while ABU AL-'UR, another captain of the host, went to CYPRUS a second time, and he plundered the whole island; and the ARABS also expelled the men from the caves in the earth. And he camped about the city of LAPATHUS, and he took the gold and the silver which he found therein, but he did not harm the people. because they had taken [from him] a pledge for [the safety of] their lives. And after these things MU'AWIYAH camped about 'ARVAD, which is also an island, and when he had captured it he expelled the people, and ploughed it up so that it might never again be inhabited.

And in the year nine hundred and sixty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 654) ABU AL-'UR and his army sailed round the island of COS, and through the treachery of the bishop thereof captured it; and they plundered and looted and slew the inhabitants, and razed its fortress to the ground. And he went to CRETE and plundered it, and laid waste RHODES. And a great number of men hauled on strong ropes which were tied round the brass COLOSSUS which was in the city and pulled it down. And they weighed from it three thousand loads of Corinthian brass, and they sold it to a certain JEW from EMESA.

And in the year thirty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 657) MU'AWIYAH prepared ships that they might sail against CONSTANTINOPLE. Then two zealous men, together with their followers, came to them, and they burnt the ships of the ARABS and many [106] of the ARABS perished; and the rest swam away on rafts (or, little floats) and fled to the territory of the RHOMAYE. Then MU'AWIYAH was angry, and he sent away ABU AL-'UR with the army. And when they came to the place which is called PHOENICIA he found there king KUSTANS and his brother THEODOSIUS. And whilst they were preparing to make war on the following day, king KUSTANS slept, and he saw in his dream that he was in THESSALONICA. And when he related his dream to an interpreter of dreams, he replied to him, 'Would that thou hadst not slept, O king, and seen this dream. THESSALONICA is to be interpreted: *THIS ALLIO TIN NIKI*, that is, "is allotted the victory to others". And when the king, scorning the interpretation of the dream, set the ships on the sea in the

order of battle the RHOMAYE were defeated. And, moreover, the king himself would have been killed if the son of the trumpeter had not leaped on to the royal ship, and carried the king across to another ship so that he might be saved (or, escape). And he himself remained on the royal ship, and he killed many [men] and was himself killed. And KUSTANS and his brother fled to the royal city. And about twenty thousand dead bodies of the RHOMAYE were found floating about on the waters.

And when the ARABS had again made ready to go up to CONSTANTINOPLE, PTOLEMY went out and gave [them] gold, and concluded peace for a period of three years. Now KUSTANS killed his brother THEODOSIUS, and was on account of this hated by his troops. And he was afraid and went to RHOMI. And as he tarried [there] his troops raged angrily, saying, 'It is not seemly for the king to be in RHOMI, because he is far away from the ARABS'; then KUSTANS came to the island of SICILY. And when he arrived at SYRACUSE, it was pleasing to him to dwell there. And he sent for his sons, but the citizens were unwilling [to let them go], saying, 'We will not permit our kings to go away from us'. Then he made his three sons Autocrators, viz. CONSTANTINE, TIBERIUS, and HERCULES. And he made them to dwell in the royal city whilst he himself was dwelling in SYRACUSE. For he was afraid lest his troops would kill him; now they used to call him the 'Second CAIN'.

Now since 'UTHMAN did not by any means abandon his evil habits, the ARABS gathered together, [107] and they told him that he must live and behave continently like the kings who had preceded him. Then he replied to them, saying, 'Since I am king I am going to do everything I wish [to do]'; and they parted from him raging like panthers (or, wild beasts). And again they gathered together round about him when they were armed, and they cried out, 'Either change thy customs and works or thou shalt die straightway'. Then 'UTHMAN wrote to MU'AWIYAH [ordering him] to send an army to him, but the ARABS made haste, and they rushed upon him with great violence and killed him. Now MU'AWIYAH sent an army with HABIB, and when they arrived in BOSRA and heard that 'UTHMAN had been killed, they left [the city] and returned.

After 'UTHMAN, 'ALI BAR-ABU TALIB [ruled] for five years in YATHREB and BABEL only because SYRIA and EGYPT were with (i.e. in the hands of) MU'AWIYAH. And in the year nine hundred and sixty-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 657), the two parties attacked each other, and many having been destroyed on both sides, MU'AWIYAH returned without having pleased 'ALI. And again they attacked each other, and many were killed among them. Then three men fired with zeal went forth to go and kill the three men because of whom war had fallen on the ARABS, viz. 'ALI, and MU'AWIYAH, and HABIB, and SA'ID, the captain of the host who was in EGYPT. Thereupon the man who went to EGYPT was seized and killed; and thus did it happen to him that went to the camp of MU'AWIYAH; and the third who went to the camp of 'ALI, one pierced him with a spear and killed him. Then the ARABS agreed that the East and the West should belong to MU'AWIYAH, and they transferred the kingdom from YATHREB to the city of DAMASCUS.

After 'ALI, MU'AWIYAH [ruled] nineteen years. For it happened also that in the days of 'OTHMAN for fifteen years MU'AWIYAH governed PALESTINE, and it was thus also during the five years of 'ALI, in all thirty-nine years (19+15+5 years).

In the year nine hundred and seventy-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 666) SHABHOR, captain of the host of the 'ARMANIKO, rebelled against KUSTANS, and he sent to MU'AWIYAH a man whose name was SARGI (SERGIUS), saying, 'Give me help, and I will subjugate for thee the whole of RHOMANIA; (i.e. country of the GREEKS)'. Then when CONSTANTINUS, the son of the king, who was in the royal camp heard these things, he also sent to MU'AWIYAH one ANDREA, a eunuch and his cubicularius, who was renowned for his knowledge of the art [108] of war. And when, as MU'AWIYAH had commanded, SARGI came in first, and ANDREA next, SARGI trembled, and leaped up and stood bowing in homage to ANDREA. Then MU'AWIYAH struck SARGI, saying, 'If this slave terrifieth thee in this wise, how wouldst thou behave (i.e.

what would happen to thee) if thou sawest his master?' And SARGI replied, 'I did this, not through fear, but because it is my habit to pay respect and to use flattery.' Then MU'AWIYAH asked ANDREA, 'Why hast thou come?' And he replied, 'The king sent us so that a rebel might not flatter thee. For if this man showed himself to his master and his benefactor in every way to be one who returneth evil [for good], how much more would he do so to thee?' Then MU'AWIYAH said, 'Ye are all our enemies. The man who multiplieth tribute for us, him will we help.'

And ANDREA replied, 'Even though it be so, still there is the possibility that one enemy may be better than another. Moreover, the slave and the lord are not equal. For the lord freely, and in most excellent fashion, goeth forth to attend to the business of the state, whilst he who liveth under servile and slavish persons [goeth forth] more servilely, and as is fitting for an inferior. Therefore that which my lord [promiseth] to give, even though it happen that it is less than that which a tyrant promiseth, it is meet that thou shouldst believe him and not seek to negotiate [with him] like a merchant.' ANDREA said these words and went out. And on the following day SARGI arrived early. And when ANDREA came SARGI did not stand up before him. And ANDREA said unto him, 'O thou hopeless one, why hast thou not stood up before me?' Then SARGI made bold and he poured out abuse upon ANDREA as if he had been a weak and contemptible man (literally, a woman-like man). And ANDREA threatened SARGI that he would remove from him his testicles. And MU'AWIYAH said to ANDREA, 'If ye will give to us the tribute of all your country, the name of kingdom (or, sovereignty) shall remain to you; and if not get thee gone'. And ANDREA plucked up courage and replied, 'So then the ARABS possess the substance and the GREEKS the shadows? Nevertheless, we have a place of refuge in God.' And he went forth and made his course against MELITENE. And he commanded the guards of the mountain passes to seize SARGI when he was passing. Now MU'AWIYAH had promised SARGI to send an army to him. And when SARGI came back the men in ambush seized him, and brought him to ANDREA. And he commanded and had the testicles of SARGI extracted and placed in his hands, and then ANDREA impaled (or, crucified) him.

Now before the army of the ARABS could reach SHABHOR, he was crushed in the gate of his palace as he was riding through it, and he died. [109] And the ARABS captured all the country as far as CHALCEDON, and they halted there.

And in the year nine hundred and eighty, one of the GREEKS (A.D. 670) CONSTANTINUS commanded that the RHOMAYE should be subject to him and his brothers, TIBERIUS and HERAKLI equally, that the effigies of the three of them should be [stamped] on the darics. And he warned every man not to make any distinction between them. And he went to GALLIA, and to ITALY, and he subjugated all the western nations. Then the ARABS went to AFRICA, and captured about eighty thousand men. A year later they also captured LYCIA and CILICIA. And they went a second time to LYCIA, and three PATRICIANS of the RHOMAYE came against them, and conquered them. And about thirty thousand of the ARABS fell; and those who were left alive went up into ships and were wrecked by storms. Then a certain man, a carpenter of BA'ALBAK, whose name was CALONICUS, compounded an inflammable mixture (i.e. 'Greek fire') and burnt the ships of the ARABS. And from this time the RHOMAYE learned how to make an inflammable mixture with naphtha (or, pitch). Up to this time the ARABS had conquered only, but from this moment they conquered and were conquered.

And CONSTANTINUS also sent men, brigands and outlaws of the RHOMAYE, that is to say LIPORE, who are called 'GARGUMAYE' by the SYRIANS, and they seized the country from MOUNT GALILEE to BLACK MOUNTAIN and all the mountain range of LEBANON, and the ARABS suffered many afflictions at their hands. At length the ARABS gained the upper hand, and some of them they killed and some of them they blinded. Now as a son had been granted to CONSTANTINE, JUSTINIANUS, he dismissed his brethren from [their] sovereignty, and subjugated the governors by means of gifts. LEO, one of the nobles, would not

agree to do so, and the king ordered his tongue and his hands and his feet to be cut off. And when DIMIOS (DIMOS, i.e. the mob?) cleaved to him, and he went about crying out, 'I do not deny the Trinity which is in heaven, and I will not reject the Trinity which is on the earth'; as he continued to cry out these things he suffered the death penalty .

And CONSTANTINE brought his brothers before the princes of the RHOMAYE, and he said unto them, 'O TIBERIUS, and thou HERAKLI, what do ye call me? Your brother, or your king? If ye call me "king" I will call you my brothers. But if ye say unto me "brother", I shall know you as enemies.' And they replied, 'we do not excuse ourselves from speaking [110] of thee as our great, elder brother, but most certainly at no time do we ever speak of thee as our "king" because we reign jointly with thee'. Then the Senate, because their eyes had been blinded by bribery, sided with CONSTANTINUS, and they cast out [the two brothers].

And in the year nine hundred and eighty-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 678), during the third watch of the night, a perfect bow appeared [in the heavens]—when the sun was below the earth (i.e. horizon)—a supernatural occurrence! And the mice [or, rats] multiplied in SYRIA and PHOENICIA, and devoured the grain, and one year later the locust came.

After MU'AWIYAH, YAZID his son [ruled] three years and eight months. This Khalifah collected a great number artizans (*kalagare*), that is to say workmen, and he wished to make the river of water to flow to the place of ablutions (?); but although he laboured greatly, the end overtook him and he ceased to work, and the waters did not flow forth. At this time a great comet appeared for eleven days. And there was a severe winter, and the EUPHRATES was frozen over, and olive groves and vineyards withered, and beasts, and cattle, and birds came to an end. These things took place in the year nine hundred and ninety-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 683).

After YAZID, MU'AWIYAH his son [ruled] for nearly four months. Now when YAZID, the son of MU'AWIYAH, was dead, MUKHTAR, a cunning and treacherous man, and a respecter of persons, rebelled in the country of KUFAH. And those who were in YATHREB set up [as their king] a man whose name was 'ABD ALLAH BAR-ZUBAYR. And those who were in DAMASCUS set up MU'AWIYAH BAR-YAZID, the son of MU'AWIYAH. And when the year nine hundred and ninety-six of the GREEKS began (A.D. 685), on the third day of the month of ILUL (SEPTEMBER), the ARABS fought a fierce battle with each other, and of those who were slain on both sides there fell nearly forty thousand men, on the river KHAZAR, which is in the country of NINEVEH. Therefore, when the youth MU'AWIYAH—who was called 'ABU LAYLA (i.e., 'Father of the Night') because of his timidity, for by this name the ARABS called feeble men because of their resemblance to babies who are afraid in the night—saw the great strife which existed among the ARABS, he gathered them all together, under the excuse of prayer, on the sixth day of the week (Friday), and he dismissed himself (i.e. abdicated) from the kingdom. And he sat in his house for three months and twenty days and died.

After MU'AWIYAH, the son of YAZID, MARWAN, the son of HAKAM, [ruled] four months. This Khalifah came from YATHREB to DAMASCUS in order to make the two parties [of the ARABS] conclude a peace, for he was a wise and understanding man, and he advised them [to do so]. And he wrote three names on three arrows, and placed the arrows in the hands of [111] one who had no knowledge of the business, so that they might appoint king him [whose name] he shot forth first. And they all agreed to this, and the lot of MARWAN went forth. And when he had stood four months he died. And in that year, which was the year nine hundred and ninety-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 686), CONSTANTINE died also, and JUSTINIANUS his son reigned ten years.

After MARWAN, the son of HAKAM, 'ABD ALLAH, the son of ZUBAYR, [ruled] eight years and four months. This Khalifah lived, as we have said, in YATHREB, and in his days a great cleavage among the ARABS took place. In BABEL a man whose name was 'ABD ALLAH rebelled, and in RAS 'AYN another whose name was HUKAB (HUBAB?), and one BURIDHA in NISIBIS, and 'OMAR, the son of SA'ID in DAMASCUS, and one ZUFERA in CIRCESIUM (OSRHOENE). And the disaffected men of the RHOMAYE who were in LEBANON were robbing people everywhere. And when this cleavage had existed among the ARABS for nearly eight years, the DAMASCENES proclaimed 'ABD AL-MALIK, the son of MARWAN, the son of HAKAM, as their king.

After 'ABD ALLAH BAR ZUBAYR, 'ABD ALLAH, the son of MARWAN, [ruled] thirteen years and six months. He was called 'ABHA DIBHABHI' ('Father of Flies') because the exudations of his teeth were bloody, and when he was negligent the flies collected about his mouth. When he was proclaimed king and saw that wars surrounded him on every side, and that he was especially troubled by the marauding bands of the RHOMAYE, he made peace with JUSTINIANUS for ten years. And he made a covenant with JUSTINIANUS that he should expel his bands of robbers, who were twelve thousand in number, from the country of the ARABS. And that he, 'ABD AL-MALIK, in return for this [service] should give to the RHOMAYE each day one thousand darics, and one horse, and one slave; and that CYPRUS should be common property, and that one half of it should pay tribute to the RHOMAYE and the other half of it tribute to the ARABS; and that ARMENIA, and GURZAN, and 'ARZAN, and 'ADHORBIGAN should belong to the RHOMAYE.

And when peace was established 'ABD AL-MALIK made war on BAR ZUBAYR and conquered him. And BAR ZUBAYR fled, and went to YATHREB, and took refuge in the house in which men prayed (i.e. the Mosque). And a certain chief who was called HAGHAGH (or, HAJAJ) pursued him, and he set up engines of war against the building, and knocked down the wall. And he went in and killed BAR ZUBAYR, and came back and [re]built the house.

Then JUSTINIANUS waxing proud, transgressed [his] oaths, [112] and he broke the peace before it was fulfilled, and he sent and made captives the ARABS who were in CYPRUS. Because of this MAHAMMAD, the Amir of the island of KARDU, went to CAPPADOCIA, and the RHOMAYE and the 'ASKLABE (SLAVS) attacked him in battle, and the RHOMAYE were defeated near CESARAEA. And the 'ASKLABE (SLAVS) made friends with the ARABS, and about seven thousand of them went out with them to SYRIA. And they settled them in ANTIOCH and in KUROS, and gave them women and provisions (rations?).

Then JUSTINIANUS, even as he had not kept [his] oath to the ARABS, so he also began to kill the nobles of the RHOMAYE. And because of this they gathered together against him, and they seized him and cut off his nose.

And a man whose name was LEONTIUS reigned in the year one thousand and seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 696). And in that year the Amir of the city of GAZARTA impaled (or, crucified) unjustly the nobles, viz. SIMON BAR NAWLA of HALUGHA, and MARDANSHA, and his son, from NISIBIS. One year later the ARABS began to strike coins, *dinars* (gold), and *zuze* (silver), and *fulse* (copper), with inscriptions only and without effigies (i.e. portraits).

In the year one thousand and ten of the GREEKS (A.D. 699), the captain of the host of CILICIA, whose name was 'APSIMAROS, who is called 'TIBERIUS', came and swept away LEONTIUS from the kingdom, and reigned in his stead, but he did not kill LEONTIUS. This TIBERIUS subjugated again the SLAVS who had rebelled against the RHOMAYE. And he went out to the country of SAMOSATA and slew five thousand ARABS, and he took captives and looted and came back. Then 'ABD AL-MALIK appointed two captains of

the host, viz. MAHAMMAD over BETH NAHRIN, and ASSYRIA, and ARMENIA, and ADHORBIJAN, and his servant HAJAJ over all PERSIA and ARABIA. And when HAJAJ plundered the chiefs of the ARABS mercilessly, MAHAMMAD sent and brought MU'ED, the chief of the Thaglabite ARABS who were Christians, and urged him to become a Muslim. And when he refused to do so he cast him into a miry pit. And then he brought him out again, and flattered him, and when he would not be persuaded by any means whatsoever, he killed MU'ED. And he also collected the chiefs of the ARMENIANS and shut them up in one of the churches of ARMENIA, and then he set the church on fire and burnt them all. And he slew ANASTUS, the son of ANDREA, governor of EDESSA.

Now hitherto the Christian nobles had been managing the public affairs of the kingdom of the ARABS. For DIONYSIUS, Patriarch of TALL MAHRE, saith, that 'ATHANASI (ATHANASIUS), who was called 'Bar Gumaye', was a very intellectual man, [113] who was well trained in the knowledge of books, and was famous in every place. When 'ABD AL-MALIK, the king of the ARABS, heard the report of him, he sent and summoned him [to his court]. And when he saw that he was qualified in every particular, he sent him with 'AZIZ, his brother's son, to EGYPT, and entrusted to him the management of the youth. And he progressed to the point that the whole kingdom of the ARABS was administered by him. And he increased [in power] and became very rich, and he possessed four thousand slaves, and mansions, and villages, and luxurious houses, and gold and silver like stones. And from the revenue of the four hundred guest houses (i.e. inns) which he had in EDESSA, there was built by his command a splendid temple to the God-bearer (i.e. the Virgin MARY). And he also built in the city of FOSTAT, which is in EGYPT, two great temples. And he also built in EDESSA a baptistery, and he placed in it the image of CHRIST which had been sent to ABHGHAR the king. And he made a fountain of water like unto that which AMONINUS ('AMOZINOS) the bishop had made in the old church in EDESSA, and he decorated it with gold and silver, and covered it with brass (or, copper). Then accusations were brought against ATHANASIUS by a certain man, a Chalcedonian Damascene whose name was SARGI (SERGIUS) BAR MANSUR. And when 'ABD AL-'AZIZ, the Amir, died, and ATHANASIUS, went out from EGYPT, SARGI brought a lying charge against him, and said, 'BAR GUMAYE hath stolen the treasures of EGYPT and taken [them] with him'. Now 'ABD AL-MALIK was not angry with ATHANASIUS even because of these words, but he said unto him in a quiet and peaceful manner, 'We should not have held it to be true that all this wealth could belong to the Christians; give us a portion of it'. And this ATHANASIUS agreed to do willingly, and he gave and gave until the king himself said, 'It is sufficient'. And there still remained [to ATHANASIUS] much more.

And in the year ten hundred and fifteen [of the GREEKS] (A.D.704), ABD AL-MALIK dispatched MASLIMA, and he captured MOPSUESTIA. And in that year the ARABS who were in KUFAH and BOSRA rebelled, and they made war on 'ABD AL-MALIK. And in that year also JUSTINIANUS escaped from exile, and he fled to the KHAKAN, the king of the KHAZARAYE, and the KHAN rejoiced in him, and gave him his daughter to wife, and she bore him a son, and he called his name 'TIBERIUS'. And having obtained soldiers from the KHAKAN and from the BULGARIANS, he came against CONSTANTINOPLE, and 'APSIMAROS fled. And JUSTINIANUS reigned again for six years, after the [114] ten years in which he lived in exile. And he killed LEONTIUS and 'APSIMAROS, and many of the nobles, and he made [anew] the administration of the RHOMAYE which had been destroyed by the TARKE. He found six thousand ARAB prisoners and he set them free [to go] to their own country. And he sent a large army to bring his wife and also his son, and all the soldiers perished through storms and tempests at sea.

Now when the KHAKAN heard [these things] he sent and rebuked him, and said, 'It was meet for thee to send a few soldiers only. What didst thou think, That I was holding her back from thee? Nay, life of thy madness! I am not holding her back.' Then JUSTINIANUS was ashamed, and he sent a few soldiers and brought her back with her son.

And in the year ten hundred and seventeen (A.D. 706) the ARABS built the walls of MOPSUESTIA, and placed an army therein, and they made it a garrison post on the frontier of the RHOMAYE. And the king 'ABD AL- MALIK himself went there and there he finished [his life].

After ABD AL-MALIK, the son of MARWAN, WALID his son [ruled] nine years and five months. This Khalifah sent an army with MASLIMA, and they pitched their tents at TUANA ('ADANA ?), a city of CAPPADOCIA, and they fought against it for nine months. And JUSTINIANUS sent an army of the RHOMAYE, and when they engaged with the ARABS the RHOMAYE could not stand, and about forty thousand of them fell. And the ARABS captured the city and looted it. And in the year one thousand and twenty-two of the GREEKS (A. D. 711) MASLIMA captured TURANDA and placed therein a garrison of ARABS. And he also captured many other fortresses. I think that 'ABLASTIN is the BHASIPOLIS (?) which is on the frontier of the RHOMAYE. And in the sixth year of WALID, which is the year ten hundred and twenty-two of the GREEKS, PHILIPICUS rebelled and killed JUSTINIANUS, the king of the RHOMAYE, and TIBERIUS his son, and he himself reigned. And he also drove out the ARMENIANS who were in his dominion, and the ARABS settled them in MELITENE and the district thereof and in 'ARMAN of 'ARBA. And the ARMENIANS became allies of the ARABS, and enemies of the RHOMAYE. This Khalifah [Byzantine emperor] was well versed in outside (i.e. alien or profane) learning, and he wished to disregard the Sixth Synod (or, Council) which affirmed the dogma of MAXIMUS concerning the Two Wills [of CHRIST]. And when he had reigned two years and six months the RHOMAYE swept him aside and blinded his eyes.

(Continued on Next Page)

Bar Hebraeus'

Chronography

X

The Kings of the Arabs (continued).

[115] And ANASTASIUS reigned two years and five months. Now WALID was a hater of the Christians, and in respect of the great church of the GREEKS (YAWNAYE) which was in DAMASCUS, the ARABS took it and gave in its stead the site on which the new church of the God-bearer (i.e. the Virgin MARY) was built; for WALID changed the first site of the church and built a great and famous Masjid (Mosque) there. And he commanded also that the Christian lawyers (i.e. tax-gatherers) should no longer write the public accounts in Greek but in Arabic. And WALID said to SHAM'ALA, the chief of the Christian ARABS of TAGHLIB, 'Inasmuch as thou art chief of the ARABS, thou disgracest all of them when thou dost worship the CROSS. Therefore do what I wish and become a Muslim.' And he replied, 'Because I am chief of all the ARABS of TAGHLIB, I am afraid lest I may become the cause of the destruction of all of them; [for if] I deny CHRIST they will deny [Him also]'. When WALID heard these words he commanded [his slaves], and they dragged him along face downwards and cast him out. And WALID sent him a message in which he swore saying, 'If he really will not agree [to do what I say], I will make him eat his own flesh'. And when SHAM'ALA did not give way, even under this threat, WALID commanded and one cut off a slice from SHAM'ALA'S thigh and roasted it in the fire, and they thrust it into his mouth. And when SHAM'ALA persisted in his refusal even after this, WALID dismissed him, and he continued to live, the wound being visible in his flesh. And WALID also commanded the sorcerers who were in the country of 'AMULA to be killed. And having been bound with fetters, and tied to planks of wood, so that they might not perish too quickly, they were cast into the river. Those who were able to swim they killed, because the ARABS said that they swam by means of their enchantments; and those who were drowning they spared and left [to drown]. And WALID also commanded and all the Christians who were captives in all the churches of SYRIA were killed. And in the year one thousand and twenty-six [of the GREEKS] WALID died (A.D. 715).

After WALID, the son of 'ABD AL-MALIK, the son of MARWAN, SULAIMAN his brother [ruled] for two years and five months. In the beginning of his reign MASLIMA made a raid and captured the fortress which was in the country of GALATIA, and he returned with a great quantity of spoil. And the soldiers of the army which ANASTASIUS sent to the west rebelled, and they killed their captain, and brought [in] THEODOSIUS, and he reigned one year. And ANASTASIUS fled to NICAEA. And in the year one thousand and twenty-six [of the GREEKS, i.e. A.D. 715] MASLIMA subdued the TURKAYE in their own country, and he captured [116] much spoil and returned.

And in the year one thousand and twenty-seven (A.D. 716) MASLIMA went to the country of ASIA. And he captured PERGAMOS and RHODES, and he emptied them of spoil. In that same year SULAIMAN made MASLIMA ready to go against CONSTANTINOPLE. And he collected two hundred thousand soldiers, and five thousand ships which were filled with soldiers and provisions. And he collected twelve thousand artisans, and six thousand camels, and six thousand asses which were loaded with provisions (or, stores), and arms, and the armaments and engines for war. And he appointed over them another captain of the host, viz. 'OMAR BAR-HUBAIRA. And there went with them also thirty thousand warriors who of their own proper

motion and at their own expense set out to fight, that is to say on 'the road of God'; and they were called in their own language 'MUTA-WA'AH' (1). And the ARABS set out (or, went down) in two divisions, the one by sea and the other by land. Now when LEO, the captain of the host of the RHOMAYE, met MASLIMA, the captain of the host of the ARABS, he promised to help them in the opening up (i.e. conquest) of the royal city. And they promised him the kingdom of the RHOMAYE.

Now when THEODOSIUS the king perceived the treachery of LEO, he took his people and shut them up in prison in the city of 'AMURIN. And when LEO heard [this] he came to SULAIMAN the king. Now he himself with twelve thousand [men] had pitched his camp by the city of CHALCEDON in order that he might prevent provisions and food from entering CONSTANTINOPLE. And he took six thousand soldiers, and encamped at 'AMURIN. And the citizens being afraid gave him its population (or, household servants). And he sent away the ARABS and gave to each man twelve *dinars*. And he and the RHOMAYE marched direct to CONSTANTINOPLE. And when he met the hosts of the RHOMAYE he explained to them that by means of treachery he had turned back with the ARABS; and they were very pleased with him, and they made him king over them. And when he went in to CONSTANTINOPLE, THEODOSIUS went out; he had received the tonsure and had become a cleric. And LEO reigned twenty-four years. And with a vain hope he began to hang the ARABS, and to fortify the city with food and provisions and other things.

And when MASLIMA learned that LEO had deceived him (or, led him astray), he crossed the arm of the sea and encamped against CONSTANTINOPLE. And because MASLIMA, [117] with four thousand men, had come last (or, delayed in coming), the BULGARIANS whom LEO had hired rushed upon him and killed many of his men. MASLIMA himself only escaped with the greatest difficulty, and he came to the Great Camp which was pitched on the western side of CONSTANTINOPLE, opposite the Golden Gate. And he made [a mound, or, rampart?] in front of them, between the camp and the city, and a trench behind them opposite to the BULGARIANS. On the right hand and on the left was the sea. And the ARABS were attacked [on land] by the citizens and by the BULGARIANS, and on the sea by the ships of the RHOMAYE. Now it was impossible for less than two thousand men to go and bring food to the ARABS. And the ARABS suffered greater tribulation through those who were outside the city than through the TURKAYE who were inside [it]. And the winter came upon them, and famine, and the BULGARIANS who were killing them. And the ARABS were afflicted so grievously through hunger that they ate the bitumen of the ships. And while MASLIMA was deceiving them by saying, 'Behold, gifts are coming to them from the king', the report of the death of king SULAIMAN came.

After SULAIMAN, 'OMAR, the son of his uncle 'ABD AL-'AZIZ, [ruled] for two years and five months. This Khalifah sent [men] that they might bring him back reports concerning the army [which was fighting] against CONSTANTINOPLE. And MASLIMA wrote lying letters, saying: 'The people are very well, and the city is nearly [ready] to be opened up (i.e. conquered)'. And when 'OMAR learned the truth from the envoy, he sent [the command] to MASLIMA to take the soldiers and to go out. And MASLIMA made the winter his excuse [for not doing so]. And when the rigour of the winter had passed, another envoy came, who told the people that if MASLIMA would not be persuaded to retreat, they themselves were to go forth. And when they did go forth the RHOMAYE killed very many of them on the sea and on dry land.

Then 'OMAR himself sent twenty thousand horsemen to them, and he gave to each man ten *dinars* to be used as subsistence money. And because of the disgrace which came upon the ARABS through their withdrawal from CONSTANTINOPLE, great hatred against the Christians sprang up in the heart of 'OMAR, and he afflicted them severely. And he stopped [the ringing of] their bells [in the churches], and they were not to lift up their voices in prayer, and they were not to put on apparel [which in any way resembled that of] the soldiers, and they were not to use saddles when riding. And in the year one thousand and thirty-four [of the GREEKS] (A.D. 723), in the month of SHEBHAT (FEBRUARY), [118] 'OMAR died.

After 'OMAR, the son of 'ABD AL-'AZIZ, YAZID, the son of his uncle, 'ABD AL-MALIK, [ruled] for four years. There came upon him a rebellion through a certain ARAB from HIRTA whose name was YAZID BAR-MUHALAB, and there were with him all the ARABS of 'AKULA, and of BOSRA, and of all PERSIA. And YAZID, the son of 'ABD AL-MALIK, sent a great army against him, and YAZID, the son of MUHALAB, was defeated near BABYLON and killed. And YAZID commanded and the images (or, pictures) of every living being were obliterated from the temples, and from walls and wooden panels, and from stones and from books. And LEO, king of the RHOMAYE, also acted in this manner. He took down the images of the saints and of the kings from the churches and houses. And for this reason there was an uprising among the RHOMAYE, and many complained openly about the king. And he expelled from his country every man who did not agree with the COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON. And he afflicted the JEWS and baptized many of them, and the rest of them fled to SYRIA.

And at this time a certain man who was a SYRIAN, and whose name was SEVERUS, declared concerning himself that he was CHRIST. And when he was arrested by the governor he said, 'I have been taught to think this by the JEWS'.

And in the year one thousand and thirty-two [of the GREEKS] (A.D. 721) the water in the wells failed so completely that the villagers had to walk as far as seven miles to draw water. And there was a scarcity of crops. After one year the locusts came and destroyed the crops. And after two years there was a pestilence caused by the disease of tumours, especially in BETH NAHRIN. And in the year one thousand and thirty-seven [of the GREEKS = A.D. 726] YAZID died in BALKA, in the country of DAMASCUS.

After YAZID, the son of 'ABD AL-MALIK, HISHAM his brother [ruled] for twelve years and eight months. This Khalifah oppressed men with excessive taxes and levies of money (or, contributions). And he made canals to take off from the EUPHRATES above CALONICUS to water the crops and plantations, and the income [derived] from them was more than all the tribute of his dominions.

And in this year the ARABS camped against NEO CAESARAEA, that is PONTUS, and they destroyed it completely. And the ARABS also invaded the country of the TURKAYE with GIRAH, the captain of the host, and they captured one great city; and he collected a vast amount of spoil and went away.

And in the year one thousand and thirty-eight [of the GREEKS = A.D. 727] the EGYPTIANS rebelled against the ARABS; and an army came against them [119] and many of the EGYPTIANS were killed, and the remainder fled in ships.

And in the year one thousand and thirty-nine [A.D. 728] MASLIMA went again to the country of the TURKAYE, but the ARABS failed and they abandoned their valuables and fled.

And in the year one thousand and forty-two [A.D. 731] the TURKAYE went forth and captured the cities of 'ADHORBIJAN. And MASLIMA marched against them with a great army, and thousands and tens of thousands were killed on both sides. Now the TURKAYE, though holding the cities which they had captured, did not go up against (i.e. attack) the rest of the dominions of the ARABS. And the ARABS made peace with the TURKAYE. And again the ARABS invaded the territories of the RHOMAYE, together with MU'AWIYAH, the son of the king. And they threw down the walls of the city of GANGRA, and then went and encamped against the city of NICAIA. And having fought against it for forty days and dug down the wall thereof, the RHOMAYE who were inside it fled in ships. And the ARABS took the city and destroyed it. And HISHAM commanded, and all the prisoners of the RHOMAYE were killed, because he heard that LEO had killed the ARAB prisoners. And at this time LEO the king took the daughter of the KHAKAN, king of

the KHAZARAYE, to be the wife of his son CONSTANTINE. And when they had baptized her and blessed her, he placed the crown on his son and proclaimed him king.

In the year one thousand and forty-eight (A.D. 737) a certain man whose name was BASHIR, and who was a RHOMAYA by race, pretended to be a Muslim, and he went to HARRAN to a paralytic man whose name was THEOPITUS, and told him, as if he were telling him a secret, that he was 'TIBERIUS, the son of CONSTANTIUS' (CONSTANTINE or JUSTINIANUS), who, it was generally supposed, was already dead. Then the RHOMAYA went and delivered him over to SULAIMAN, the son of HISHAM, and he having seized the man, informed his father HISHAM. And HISHAM rejoicing that, as it were, a son of the king of the RHOMAYE had fallen into his hands, commanded [his servants] to array the man in the purple, and [they did so] and brought him, to him. When this man entered EDESSA he went inside the altar, and took in his hands the Offering from the Table of Life, according to the custom of the kings of the RHOMAYE. And he called upon the JEWS to bring up [his ancestors] for him by enchantments, and he also commanded the chief of the HARRANITES to examine for him a liver and to see whence his family sprung. Finally the miserable man was exposed, and he was killed.

In the year one thousand and fifty-three [of the GREEKS] (A.D. 742) [120] LEO died, and his son CONSTANTINE reigned thirty-four years. And 'ARTABAS, his son-in-law, rebelled against him, and he went to CONSTANTINOPLE and sat down in the palace. Now the king, because he was outside, fled from his ministers and found a refuge among the troops of the ANATOLIANS. And he raised an army from them and came to 'AMURIN of PHRYGIA, and there he wintered. Then 'ARTABAS collected an army and came against him, and 'ARTABAS was defeated and fled. And in the year one thousand and fifty-six [A.D. 745] HISHAM died in RUSFAH of CALONICUS.

After HISHAM, WALID, the son of YAZID, the son of 'ABD AL-MALIK, [ruled] for one year and three months. This Khalifah behaved wickedly to the children of the house of HISHAM and plundered their palaces. He commanded and the tongue of the Patriarch of CHALCEDON in SYRIA was cut out. And the ARABS hated him greatly because he drank wine and fermented liquors; and he used to do other wicked things. And therefore the people gave him the nickname of 'PASIK', that is to say 'riotous liver'. Therefore 'ABBAS, the son of WALID, the uncle of WALID, the son of YAZID, rose up against him, and wished to reign. But the ARABS did not wish for him, because he was the son of a concubine, and they made his brother YAZID, son of WALID, king in DAMASCUS. And he sent an army and they overtook WALID, the son of YAZID, in the desert, and they cut off his head and fixed it on a spear, and they hung up by the side of it a wine pot and took him into DAMASCUS.

After WALID, the son of YAZID, YAZID, the son of WALID, [ruled] for two months. A great schism fell upon the ARABS, and in every quarter a man rose up who did not agree with his companion. In the ISLAND (GAZRTA, i.e. GAZIRAH) BASTAM rose up; in MAWSIL, SA'ID, the son of HUDAIL, in WASIT, 'ABD ALLAH, the son of 'OMAR the king, in ARMENIA, MARWAN, in KHORASAN, the son of SARIG, and in AFRICA, ABU HUDAIL. And two months after YAZID began to reign an ulcer broke out in his body and he died.

After YAZID, the son of WALID, IBRAHIM his brother. This was a man whom it was pleasant to meet, and his natural disposition was good. [121] Two months after he reigned, he abdicated from sovereignty in DAMASCUS, and hid himself. And his place was not known for five years, when he was found in a grave of the ARABS, [lying] among a miscellaneous crowd of ARABS who had been killed.

After IBRAHIM, MARWAN, son of WALID, son of MAHAMMAD, son of MARWAN, son of HAKAM, [ruled]. This Khalifah was called 'HAMAR GAZARTA', i.e. 'Wild Ass of the Island', because he loved the

flower of the crocus, which is called 'flower of the ass'. And during the whole of his time he ruled on the island of KARDU. Now he went forth from ARMENIA, and engaged in battle with SULAIMAN on the banks of the EUPHRATES, and twelve thousand of his men were killed, and he fled to RUSAFAH. And MARWAN came to DAMASCUS, and reigned therein two months. And he carried off the royal treasures, which formed loads for three thousand camels. And he came and pitched his camp in EMESA, and after four months they took the city; and he dug down the wall thereof, and he pounded the sculptures into dust with hammers. And he also dug down the wall of BA'ALBAK, and came to HARRAN. And he came down toward 'ATHOR (ASSYRIA), and to the country of PARTHIA, that is to say 'ESFAHAN.

Then ABU AL-'ABBAS, that is 'ABD ALLAH, the son of MAHAMMAD, the son of 'ALI, the son of 'ABD-ALLAH, the son of 'ABBAS, the uncle of the Prophet of the Muslims, and a mighty army of the men of KHORASAN pitched their tents on the ZABHA, the river which is in ASSYRIA. And MARWAN came and engaged in battle with the army of ABU AL-'ABBAS, and MARWAN was defeated, and he was despoiled of seven hundred camel loads of gold and *zuze* (i.e. silver money). And he and his son and his son-in-law came in disgrace to HARRAN. And they loaded his treasures on three thousand camels, and he went to ASCALON, which is on the sea coast. And ABU AL-'ABBAS pursued MARWAN and he fled to SIWANI (SYENE, ASWAN), a city which is on the frontier of the NUBIANS; and when he camped on the banks of the NILE he was overtaken and killed.

At this time there went forth from CONSTANTINOPLE 'ASHKIRASH, the captain of the host of the 'ARMANIKO, and he came against MELITENE, and looted the whole country. And CONSTANTINE the king, having conquered ARTABAS the tyrant, divided the kingdom. And a son was born to him by the daughter of the KHAKAN, and he was called LEONE (LEO). And the countries of the RHOMAYE were at peace with each other, because the ARABS were occupied in making war upon each other.

After MARWAN, ABU AL-'ABBAS [ruled] four years [122] and eight months. This Khalifah, having killed MARWAN, reigned alone throughout all the dominion of the ARABS. He removed the kingdom from DAMASCUS and transferred it to BABYLON. And by him the Khalifate of BAGHDAD was transmitted to those whose sovereignty an end hath been put in our days by the HUNS and MONGOLS.

It is said that one day when this ABU AL-'ABBAS was encamped on a place in the region of the west, suddenly a mighty tumult burst forth on his camp, and all the people, the king himself included, ran to see what wonderful thing [had happened]. And having gone they saw eight men who had risen from graves, some as far as their breasts, and some of them as far as their thighs, and some of them as far as their knees; and some of them had their beards dyed according to the custom which the ARABS observe, and many identified them. And when the people drew nigh to talk to them, the dead men vouchsafed never a word. And whilst [the people] were wondering [at the sight], the king commanded them to depart [from the men in the graves] for that day, and not to go near them, as he expected that, peradventure, speech might be given to them [later]. And on the following day when the people went they found [the men in the graves] in the condition of living beings who had no speech. Then [the king] commanded, and they were buried a second time.

And in the year one thousand and sixty-three [of the GREEKS] (A.D. 752) the wife of CONSTANTINE the king, who was the daughter of KHAKAN, died; and he remained without a wife for three years, according to the law of Christian kings. Then certain crafty men, under the guise of affection, wishing to eject him from the kingdom, advised him to take [another] wife. But he, knowing full well their craftiness, said, 'I cleave to your advice, but I am not forgetting the law of the RHOMAYE; and, moreover, I think that it is not seemly for a king to be the slave of desire (or, lust). But if ye are certain that it is right, make my son king instead of me, and I will bow to your will.' And having placed the crown upon him, he administered the affairs of the kingdom, because he was wise and timid as concerning enemies. And in that same year he went and pitched

his camp at MELITENE. And he heaped up mounds against it, and broke down a portion of the wall thereof, and finally he gave a pledge to the ARABS who were inside it, and he spared them. And he carried away into captivity the people of CLAUDIA, and all the villages of 'ARMAN DHE-'ARBA'. And in that year died [123] ABU AL-'ABBAS 'ABD ALLAH.

After ABU AL-'ABBAS, his brother 'ABU JA'AFAR MANSUR [ruled] twenty-two years. And in the year in which 'ABU JA'AFAR [began to] reign, that is to say, the year one thousand and sixty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 755), and the year one hundred and thirty-five of the ARABS, CONSTANTINE, king of the RHOMAYE, went forth against KALONIKALA (KALIKALA?), which is 'ARZN-AR-RUM, And he captured it and left it a ruin. And he placed a garrison in the fortress of KAMAK. When 'ABD ALLAH, the son of 'ALI, heard of the death of 'ABU AL-'ABBAS, he began to make a circuit through the cities and he made himself king in them. And 'ABU JA'AFAR sent [an army] against 'ABU MUSLIM, the captain of the host, and defeated him. Then 'ABU MUSLIM, the captain of the host, himself rebelled against 'ABU JA'AFAR, and he journeyed about through the cities that he might seize the kingdom (or, grasp sovereignty). Then 'ABU JA'AFAR sent to him a man whose name was 'ISA, and he cajoled him and brought him [to him], and at the moment when he was entering his presence 'ABU JA'AFAR made a sign and he was killed. And the kingdom of the ARABS was established for him. And he commanded and MELITENE was [re]built as it was formerly, and he placed a garrison therein. And he also built KALONIKOLA and placed a garrison therein.

And in the year one thousand and seventy-one (A.D. 760) the ARABS subjugated AFRICA. And at this time the country of TABARISTAN was subjugated by the ARABS. It is bounded on the north by the CASPIAN SEA, and on the east by GURGAN, on the south by MEDIA and a portion of PARTHIA, and on the west by DILUM (or, DILAM). In it are five walled cities, and it aboundeth in mountains, and forests, and meadows, and streams of water. The passes thereto are difficult [to traverse]. Its length from east to west is forty parasangs, and its breadth from north to south is twenty parasangs.

And in the year one thousand and seventy-three of the GREEKS (A.D. 762), 'ABU JA'AFAR built a city on the river DEKLATH (TIGRIS) above CTESIPHON, and he called it 'BAGHDAD', after the name of an image (or, idol) which was in that place, and he dwelt therein. And after one year MAHAMMAD, one of the sons of 'ALI, the kinsman of their Prophet and the son of his uncle, rebelled, and the whole of Arabdom was drawn to follow him. And 'ISA, the captain of the host, went against him, and slew him in YATHREB, in the month of RAMADAN during their fast. And IBRAHIM his brother in BOSRA also rebelled, and he also was killed.

And in this same year the KHAZARAYE went forth and made captives fifty thousand souls [124] from GURZANIA. And at the same time the country of KHABUL in the Indian quarter of the world was subjugated by the ARABS. And 'ABU JA'AFAR imposed taxes on all the nations, and he doubled the tribute of the Christians.

And in the year one thousand and sixty-six [of the GREEKS] (A.D. 765) there was an exceedingly severe earthquake in the country of KHORASAN, and one mountain departed from its place [a distance of] about three miles, and because it was [formed] of earth it was shattered in pieces.

And in the year one thousand and eighty [A.D. 769] the MAGIANS who were in PERSIA rebelled against the ARABS, and they set up a chief for themselves. And an army of the ARABS went against them, and the ARABS were defeated. And again the MAGIANS became strong enough to establish a kingdom for themselves, and an exceedingly strong army of ARABS went against them, and the MAGIANS were defeated, and about forty thousand of them fell and their chief was killed. And in that same year the ARABS

went up in wrath against the Valley of GERMANIKI, which is MAR'ASH, because they heard that [their] spies (or, scouts) had been enslaved by the RHOMAYE. And they carried off the people of the country into captivity, and took them away and settled them in the land of RAMLEH. Thus also they did with the natives of SAMOSATA.

And at this time the Barbarians who were natives of AFRICA rebelled, and they killed the ARABS and the PERSIANS. And YAZID, the captain of the host, went against them and defeated them, and about thirty thousand of the Barbarians fell. And in the year one thousand and eighty [of the GREEKS] (A.D. 769) a certain woman was discovered in the country of the BUKHARAYE who had never taken food, and she had never sucked at the breast, and she never had any need of drink. And MAHDI, the son of the king, heard of her, and he sent and had her brought to BAGHDAD. And they verified the story, and it was found to be in truth a fact which was outside [the course] of nature. And in the year one thousand and eighty-three (A.D. 772) ABU JA'AFAR built a city by the side of CALONICUS, and he called it 'RAPEKAH', and no man had ever seen such handicraft as was displayed on the gates thereof. As for these gates: 'when I, the feeble one, was performing the duties of a pastor in BEROA, they brought to ALEPPO two huge double gates [made] wholly of iron, and they fastened them on the gate of KENNESHIN, and two smaller double gates, but they did not succeed in setting them up. For immediately after the MONGOLS captured ALEPPO and they destroyed its walls and smashed its gates.

And in the year one thousand and eighty-three [A.D. 772] 'ABU JA'AFAR marched from BABYLON to BETH NAHRIN and SYRIA, and he oppressed [125] men with very heavy taxes, and he gathered together all the silver and gold into his treasure-house. And the children of men, being afflicted in this wise, used to dig up the graves, [thinking] that perhaps they might find some of trinkets (or, ornaments) which had been buried with the dead. And at the same time the RHOMAYE used to dig in the city of NICOMEDIA, and they found a cave wherein was laid the mummified body of NICOMEDIUS (?), who built it, and with it were ornaments of gold, and red jacinths which sparkled in the dark. And when CONSTANTINE the king perceived [what was being done] he showed great magnanimity, and he did not take anything whatsoever from that place, 'For', said he, 'it is a disgraceful thing for the living to be in need of anything from the dead'. And not this only, for he sent workmen and they blocked up the place strongly, and heaped up a mighty mound of dust and stones above it. At this time a pestilence broke out in SYRIA and 'ATHOR (ASSYRIA), and there came a famine of excruciating severity. It was not caused by the lack of grain (or, wheat), but it arose because not a single *zuza* (i.e. a coin of about the value of a piastre) remained with any man. The price of an ox or a donkey was one *zuza*; the price of ten measures of wine was one *zuza*; the price of five bushels of wheat was one *zuza*; and the price of youths and maidens was five *zuza* each. After thirty years of these tribulations 'ABU JA'AFAR died in the Ka'ba (?), and the whole world was delivered from tribulation. Twenty-five days before his death, CONSTANTINE, king of the RHOMAYE, died, and LEO his son reigned five years.

(Continued on Next Page)

Footnotes

(1) i.e. 'those who exceed what is obligatory on them in fighting or warring against unbelievers or the like'. Lane, quoted by Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, col. 2034.

Bar Hebraeus'

Chronography

X

The Kings of the Arabs (continued).

[125] At this time GIWARGIS (GEORGE), the son of BOKHT-ISHO', the ELAMITE, was pre-eminent in the art of healing. The Khalifah MANSUR sent and brought this man from ELAM to BAGHDAD, that he might heal him of a disease of the stomach with which he was afflicted. And when he went in before MANSUR he burst out into prayers for the Khalifah in the PERSIAN and ARABIC languages, in highly polished speech. And the Khalifah marvelled at him, and made him sit down, and he spoke to him concerning his sickness. And the physician promised him healing, but by degrees (i.e., slowly), which actually came to pass. And it is related that one day GEORGE went into the presence of the Khalifah—now it was the festival of the Nativity—and the Khalifah said unto him, 'What dost thou eat?' And the physician replied, 'All good things according as our Lord pleaseth'. And the Khalifah said unto him, 'I hear that thou hast not got a wife'. And the physician said, 'Yea, I have—one, an aged and feeble old woman who is not able to stand on her legs'. [126] And the Khalifah waited until the physician had gone out, and then he commanded SALIM, his chief eunuch, to choose out three of the most beautiful of the RHOMAYE maidens, and to take them to the house of the physician with three thousand dinars. And he did so. And when SALIM took the maidens GEORGE was not at hand in the house. And when he came [back] and saw them he was angry with his disciple, and he said to him, 'O disciple of SATAN, why hast thou brought these in to me?' 'Is it that thou wouldst made an old man of me?' And he sent and called the eunuch, and sent the maidens back with him. And when the Khalifah heard this he said to GEORGE, 'Why didst thou send back the maidens?' And GEORGE replied, 'Live for ever! We Christians do not have more than one wife. And as long as our one wife is alive our Law preventeth us from taking another.' And this [speech] pleased the Khalifah greatly, and he commanded that GEORGE should visit his women and his daughters without let or hindrance. And the honour of GEORGE was greatly increased with the Khalifah and he loved him like his soul. Such is the fruit of chastity, my brethren.

After 'ABU JA'AFAR, his son MAHDI [ruled] ten years. This Khalifah opened his father's treasures, and scattered the riches of his father as with a fan. He did not squander it only on his troops, but also on the women who were his concubines, for he was luxurious by nature, and loved dainty foods and baked meats. And he was addicted to [the study of] auguries, and divinations and forecasts of fate, and he collected books of sorcery. Therefore king LEO sent to him the 'Book of Jannes and Jambres' which containeth the whole system of the magic and sorcery of the EGYPTIANS, and [an account of] everything which they did against MOSES THE GREAT. And in the beginning of his reign he set free all the Christian prisoners, and LEO also set free the ARAB prisoners which he had with him; MAHDI, however, pulled down the churches which had been built in the time of the ARABS, and he destroyed the church of the CHALCEDONIANS which was in ALEPPO. And he set up a persecution of the MANINAYE (MANICHEANS), and he overthrew the place which is called PADANA RABBETHA (i.e. the GREAT PALACE), which was full of MANICHEANS. And many ARABS were entrapped by this heresy and were killed. And also eight men of rank and wealth belonging to BETH GUMAYE were caught (or, snared) by the wickedness, and after many tribulations three died in prison, and five were saved.

At this time THEOPHILA, the son of TAOMA, of EDESSA, became famous; he was a skilled astronomer [127] who cleaved to the heresy of the MARONITES. He had (i.e., he had written) a wonderful book on Chronology in SYRIAC, although he reviled and abused orthodox folk. And he had turned the two books of 'OMAIROS (HOMERUS) on ILION from the GREEK into SYRIAC. He had been in the service of MAHDI the Khalifah, and he had been raised by him to very high honour because of his superiority in this craft of astrology. It is related that one day the Khalifah wished to pay a visit to one of his cities, and he had his household with him. And the wife of the Khalifah sent a message to THEOPHILA saying, 'Thou hast advised the king to set out on a journey, and thou hast made for us the fatigue and weariness of the road for the which we had no necessity. Therefore I wish to God that He will speedily make an end of thee and remove thee from the earth, so that we may rest ourselves and may repose ourselves, being free from thee.' And THEOPHILA replied to the handmaiden who had come to him on this embassy, 'Get thee back and say to thy mistress, "It is not I who have advised the Khalifah to make the journey, but he is setting out in accordance with his own wish. And as for the curse with which thou hast cursed me, viz. the wishing that God will hasten my death, this fate hath already gone forth from God, and it will assuredly take place, and I shall die quickly (or, immediately). But do not imagine that my death will take place because thy prayer hath been accepted, for that will only happen in order that the wish of Him who created me may be fulfilled. And as for thee, O Queen, I tell thee to make ready a large quantity of dust, and when thou hearest that I am dead, do thou heap the whole of that dust on thy head." And when the Queen heard these [words] she trembled greatly, and she waited anxiously [to see] what would be the outcome of this speech. And after a few days THEOPHILA did die, and alter twenty days MAHDI the Khalifah died also, and what THEOPHILA had stated actually came to pass.

And in the year one thousand and ninety of the GREEKS (A.D. 779) MAHDI came to ALEPPO, and the TANUKAYE who lived in tents round about ALEPPO went forth to meet him; and they were riding ARAB horses, and were decked out with ornaments. Then it was said to him; 'All these are Christians'. And he boiled with anger and compelled them to become Muslims, and about five thousand men became Muslims, but the women were saved [from this]. And among them a certain venerable man testified, and his name was [128] LAIT. And after these things MAHDI marched to the territory of the RHOMAYE, and he pitched his camp on the river PURAMON, in the country of 'ARBISOS. And his son HARON captured the fortress of SIMALOS, and he plundered it and went forth.

And in the year one thousand and ninety-two [A.D. 781] the ARABS carried away from EPHESUS about seven thousand people; and about four thousand of the ARABS died. Then LEO the king sent an army, and he carried away the people who were orthodox SYRIANS, and he baptized them in TARKI. And it is said that this king LEO hated icons, and cleaved to the orthodox like his father. And in that year LEO died, and CONSTANTINE his son [reigned] twenty-two years, for he was a minor when he [began to] reign. His mother EIRENE used to govern and she was proclaimed with him. In the year one thousand and ninety-four (A.D. 783) MAHDI sent his son HARON against the royal city. And the RHOMAYE made a cunning plan and they shut in the ARABS on the river SAGARIS, the mountain being on one side and the river on the other. And the ARABS being in tribulation sued for a peace (or, truce) for three years. And EIRENE, according to a woman's custom, agreed, and the ARABS went forth. And after one year 'ALI sought to renew (or, rebuild) the city.

After MAHDI his son MUSA [ruled] one year and one and a half months. Before this king reigned, that is to say, in the year one thousand and ninety five of the GREEKS (A.D. 784), the flying locust came and destroyed the crops, and deposited seed (i.e. laid eggs). And the young locusts came forth and attacked and climbed up the walls and partitions of houses, which they entered through the openings (i.e. windows) and doorways. And the water-skins, and the beds, and the tables, and the utensils were filled with them. When the locust entered a house from the southern quarter, it went out on the northern side. And in addition to the

green herbs and trees it devoured also woollen garments and the clothes of men. And when it had finished [devouring] the whole district of EDESSA and SERUGH it passed over to the west. And three years after this severe tribulation there came a famine on the land. And in the year one thousand and ninety-seven (A.D. 786) the RHOMAYE went forth and destroyed HADETH, which had been recently built by the ARABS, and they laid waste and swept away its wall entirely. And in that year MUSA died, in the month of TAMMUZ (JULY).

After MUSA, HARON RASHID, his brother, [ruled] twenty-three years and two months. This Khalifah sent 'ABD AL-MALIK, and he pulled down [129] the great church of KHISHUM (CESSUNIA) and the fifteen 'temples' that were in it. And he transported the stones thereof on two thousand wagons to HADETH, which the RHOMAYE had destroyed, and he rebuilt the city. And the ARABS went into the territory of the RHOMAYE and to the sea coast, and captured great spoil.

And in the year eleven hundred (A.D. 789) WALID went forth from the heresy of the HARURAYE (i.e. the Free-will ARABS) and he collected five thousand men and came to NISIBIS. He killed the Amir, and plundered the merchants, and took from every Christian five *zuze*. And having defeated the army of 'ABD AL-MALIK, he slew the ARABS, and made the roads to be deserted by travellers. YAZID with an army attacked him and killed him.

And in the following year HARON went up from BAGHDAD and came to CALONICUS, to dwell therein. And he made it great with buildings, and he planted many paradises therein. And he brought thereto one river (or, canal) from the EUPHRATES, and he brought another from SERUGH. He bought the waters of the villages of SERUGH from their owners, and dug a new canal for them. In the year eleven hundred and four (A.D. 793) the KAISAYE fought with the YAMNAYE in EMESA and many were killed. And 'ABD AL-MALIK carried off great spoil from the country of the RHOMAYE. And his son 'ABD AR-RAHMAN captured the fortress of RABSAH in CAPPADOOCIA, and four hundred men died of thirst therein, and then they surrendered it.

At this time CONSTANTINE the king wished to blind the eyes of 'ALPIDI, the PATRIKI of SICILY, because he was committing adultery with his mother; and 'ALPIDI fled to the ARABS. And the king commanded and he also made the nobles swear that his mother should never again be called 'Queen'. Then 'ALPIDI took forty thousand soldiers of the ARABS, and SULAIMAN, the Amir, and they went to the country which is called SAMISUN. And the winter overtook them and four thousand of them died, and because of their tribulation they took refuge with the RHOMAYE, who treated them with humanity and did the ARABS no harm. And they departed in the LATTER KANUN (JANUARY), the feet of very many of them having been made rotten by the frost (or, snow).

And MAR DIONYSIUS, Patriarch of TELL MAHRE, saith, 'I saw about four hundred of these men in EDESSA'. And subsequently CONSTANTINE was reconciled with his mother EIRENE, and commanded that she should [again] be proclaimed (or, addressed as) 'Queen'. [130] And she was so proclaimed in every place except by the Armenian nobles, who refused to do so because of the oaths which they had sworn; and the tyrant king killed them.

And in the year eleven hundred and eight (A.D. 797) HARON RASHID passed over into EDESSA. And the Muslims brought accusations against the Christians, saying, 'The king of the RHOMAYE cometh every year secretly and prayeth in their churches'. And having investigated the story and found the Muslims to be liars, the Muslims were expelled and also beaten. And at this time certain of the BENAI GUMAYE in EDESSA, having squandered all their possessions, dug through the walls of the houses [of their neighbours] and found treasure. And because the ARABS are of a luxurious disposition, they devoted themselves to riotous living with horses and hunting dogs. And when the report of them reached HARON the king, he imprisoned them in

CALONICUS. And he sent his own eunuch and he seized every object which was royal property which they had sold. Among the things were objects which were like serpents, and scorpions of silver which were filled with elixirs (or, perfumes), and these had been scattered broadcast ignorantly. The eunuch seized their mother, an aged woman, and their free-born women, and he took from them what remained, that is jewel cases of gold and silver, and valuable jewellery, and money of the RHOMAYE, and secured them. And the sister of these men, who was a virgin, he shut up in the house of a certain man of CHALCEDON, in an upper chamber of a house four stories high, and he set PERSIANS to keep guard over her. During the night she, hearing the sound of feet, thought that one of the PERSIANS had come to her chamber to rape her, and she hid her face in a napkin, and then threw herself out of the window, and she died the following day. And fear fell upon that eunuch, and the king himself was sorry for the maiden, and he released her brothers and gave them back one-fifth of what was their own property. And MAR DIONYSIUS, because he derived his information from the history of IWNNIS (JOANNES) of RUSAF, thoroughly believed in the truth of this story, and he saith, 'The house in which the treasure was found belonged to IWANNIS (JOANNES), and it was given as a daughter's dowry to those of the house of the GUMAYE. And the wife of IWANNIS (JOANNES) buried the treasure, KESRU (CHOSROES) having commanded that she should go down among the captives.'

Now CONSTANTINE the king trampled the Law under foot, and took a [second] woman to wife whilst his own wife was alive; and he also took the daughters of the nobles and debauched them. [131] And when he went to TARKI in the war with the BULGARAYE, there also he led a drunken and riotous life. Therefore the nobles came to an understanding with his mother, and when he returned she treated his eyes with *kohl*, and he became blind and she reigned by herself. And she made 'AITIS the eunuch her second in command, and chief of the Patricians. And when the ARABS invaded the territory of the RHOMAYE, 'AITIS defeated them; and when the ARABS invaded it one year later 'AITIS was defeated; and the ARABS invaded it again and were victorious. Then the RHOMAYE wished to make NICEPHORUS, the Logothete, a CAPPADOCIAN, their king. When EIRENE heard [this] she commanded [her servants] to treat his eyes with *kohl*; and 'AITIS the eunuch hid him. Then NICETA the Patrician and the Patriarch took counsel with the Senate, and it pleased them all to make NICEPHORUS king. And he reigned in the year eleven hundred and fourteen [of the GREEKS = A.D. 803], and he was held in honour by Queen EIRENE and by 'AITIS the eunuch. They, however, arranged for his murder by the hands of certain monks. And when the plot was revealed EIRENE was sent into exile to ATHENS, where she became a nun. And 'AITIS paid [his] debt for crime, according to what he had done. And the king did not harm the monks.

At this time when HARON RASHID was occupied with the building of ZOBATRA, the city which is in LESSER ARMENIA by the side of MELITENE, SATUREKIOS (SATURECIUS), the captain of the host of the RHOMAYE, went to the country of the PELOPONNESUS, which had belonged to the ARABS for a very long time, and they subjugated it and established a garrison therein, and he returned, bringing back an immense number of captives of the people of the ARABS, and sheep and horses and camels.

And it is said that CABBALA, an ARAB, was king of the Christian ARABS. Now he was made a Muslim by the hands of 'OMAR the son of KHATTAB. [Once] when he was present with 'OMAR in the Masjid (Mosque) in YATHREB, a man in the crowd who was called FAZARAH trod on him. And CABBALA turned and smote him and broke his nose. And when FAZARAYA (sic) complained 'OMAR said to CABBALA, 'Either make friends with him or hand over to him thy nose that he may break it'. And CABBALA replied, 'How can a king like myself [do this]? Is he to permit an inferior to strike him?' And 'OMAR said, 'Although thou art more honourable than he is in the kingdom, yet thou art only equal with him in Islam'. And CABBALA said, 'Leave me until the morning, so that I may ponder on one of the two things which thou hast said to me'. And in the night [132] CABBALA and his companions rose up and fled to CAPPADOCIA, and they became Christians again. And from him was descended this NICEPHORUS who

reigned. He was a strong, bold man, and gifted with understanding, and he fasted and prayed regularly. And it was because of this character that 'ALPIDI, the Rebel, said unto 'ABD AL-MALIK, the captain of the host of the ARABS, 'If NICEPHOR is reigning, cast off from thyself this dainty apparel and gird thyself about with armour and prepare thyself for war'.

And immediately NICEPHOR began to reign he sent letters to HARON and incited him [to war], and they made ready for war. And during the two months whilst they were encamped, NICEPHOR and HARON, by means of envoys and dispatches, were conversing and listening to each other. And ultimately they came to an agreement and they sent gifts to each other, and each returned to his own country.

At this time a man of the tribe of KORAISH, and a Muslim, whose name was RUHI, lived in a house which was near a church, and during the time of prayer he used to vex the priest by casting at him pellets made of mud. And one day whilst he was looking at the priest through a window (?) at the time of the Sacrifice (i.e. the Eucharist), he saw in the middle of the paten which was on the Table of Life a lamb which was broken in pieces; but when he went down to the priest he saw broken bread [only]. And he went up again to the window, and looked, and saw the lamb again. Then he believed, and left his house and went to the church and was baptized.

And when the report of the man reached HARON, he sent and had him brought to him, and he coaxed him with gracious words to return [to Islam], but RUHI refused to do so. And HARON threw fetters on him, and shut him up in prison for two years, and then, as RUHI remained unshaken, HARON commanded that his head should be cut off with the sword, and hung up on the wall of RAPEKA. And many people saw the light which rested on the head, and a certain Christian from the country of PERSIA took it down and carried it to his city.

At this time there came to HARON a certain RHOMAYE whose name was TAOMA, the son of MUAAMAR, and he said that he was the son of CONSTANTINE the king. Now although HARON was not convinced by him, yet he held him in honour like the son of a king.

And in the year eleven hundred and fifteen (A.D. 804), whilst HARON was in PERSIA, a mighty army of the RHOMAYE went forth and seized the region of MOPSUESTIA and 'ANAZARBA; and the ARABS overtook them and reversed the captivity. And when HARON heard [this] he came to the city of CALONICUS, and in the month of NISAN (APRIL) captured HERACLEIA; and NICEPHOR went out to make war upon him. But when he saw the great army of the RHOMAYE he sued for peace, and he gave [to them] all the prisoners [133] of the RHOMAYE that were in his dominions. And when NICEPHOR agreed to the peace, HARON gave him even the tents in which he was living, and their decorated hangings and furniture. And in that same year HARON built a city higher up than CALONICUS, and he called it 'HERACLEIA' after the name of the wife which he took from the house of the HERACLEIANS. And NICEPHOR also, being undisturbed by the ARABS, built 'ANKURA (ANCYRA) and other places in the place of TUANA and HERACLEIA which the ARABS had taken in his time.

And in the year eleven hundred and nineteen (A.D. 808) the famine waxed strong even among the wild beasts, and they dragged the dead up out of their graves and devoured them, and they boldly attacked the living. And the women and children who went out seeking for green herbs to eat were also devoured by the wild beasts.

Then HARON, wishing to go down to PERSIA against a certain rebel, made his son MAHAMMAD king in BAGHDAD, and he made KASIM, another son, king in SYRIA. MAMUN he took down with him to KHORASAN, and he endowed him with ten million pieces of silver instead of the kingdom. And when

HARON arrived at the city of TUS (MASHAD), and had killed the rebel, he died there in the year eleven hundred and twenty (A.D. 809), and at this time BOKHT-ISHO' the son of GEORGE, the Elamite physician, became known (i.e. famous). And when the Khalifah HARON RASHID fell sick he sent and brought him from ELAM. And when the physician entered the presence he blessed the king in Persian and Arabic. And the king laughed, and summoned the other physicians that they might debate about his illness with him. And 'ISA ABU KURAISH, the physician, said, 'My lord the king, have mercy upon us. There is among us no man who is able to converse with this man, for he is a mine of words, and he and his father and [the men] of his race are philosophers.' And the Khalifah commanded secretly one of his eunuchs to bring there the urine of some beast so that he might test therewith [the knowledge of] BOKHT-ISHO', and see whether he could distinguish what it was or not. And when the eunuch brought the urine, and BOKHT-ISHO' had looked at it, he said, 'This is not the urine of a man'. And the physician ['ISA ABU] KURAISH contradicted him flatly and said, 'Thou liest. It is the urine of one of the free women of the king.' And BOKHT-ISHO' asserted with great vehemence [what it was], and said to him, 'I tell thee, O honourable old man, never did a man produce such urine as this. Look at the colour of it, and the substance and the smell, if thou hast any understanding.' And the ['ISA ABU] KURAISH said, 'What did the creature from which these waters came eat?' And BOKHT-ISHO' replied, [134] 'Good fresh barley (or, grain) which was undamaged'. And the Khalifah laughed, and he commanded [his servants to give him] apparel and much gold.

And after him arose his son GABRIEL, the son of BOKHT-ISHO', the son of GIWARGIS, the son of BOKHT-ISHO'. And he also was pre-eminent in the craft of the physician, and he ministered to HARON RASHID. And it is related that one day one of the handmaidens who was beloved by the Khalifah had injured herself, and when she lifted her hand up it became rigid like a piece of wood, and she was unable to bend it. And the physicians laboured with a great array of ointments and bandages which they made for her, and they did not benefit her in the slightest degree. Then the Khalifah summoned GABRIEL and repeated to him her story. And GABRIEL said, 'I have here with me the means of healing her if thou wilt make her to come out here before the crowd of people, and I may do to her what I wish, and thou wilt not be angry with me'. And the Khalifah agreed, and had her brought out. And as soon as GABRIEL saw her he ran to meet her, and he gripped her by the lower parts of her body as if he wished to uncover her shame. And by reason of her great shamefacedness, the body of the maiden became hot (i.e. she blushed) and broke into a sweat, and her members relaxed, and she stretched out her hand, which was hanging down above her, to her lower limbs, and took hold of them, covering them with her hand. And straightway GABRIEL left her and he said to the Khalifah, 'Behold she is now healed'. And the young woman herself stretched out her hand to the right and to the left. And the Khalifah, and all those who were there, marvelled, and he commanded and [his servants] gave GABRIEL five hundred thousand pieces of white money.

And when he stood up the Khalifah asked him about the cause [of the maiden's sickness], and GABRIEL said, 'A certain delicate (or, refined) chyme (i.e. humour, or, juice) was poured into the members of this maiden at the time of copulation. And because the motion of copulation suddenly ceaseth and becometh quiescent, that chyme is bound up in the pores of the tendons which move the hand. And it doth not dissolve itself except through the fiery heat which is evolved by movement which is violent.' Now the salary (or, income) of GABRIEL for one year was nine hundred thousand dinars. And when RASHID died GABRIEL ministered to AMIN his son. And when AMIN was killed he ministered to MAMON his brother. At first MAMON was angry with him and stripped him of all his possessions, and then he became reconciled with him and gave back to him everything which he had taken from him. And he loved him and honoured him.

A certain man of the NESTORIANS who went to EGYPT saith concerning this GABRIEL, 'The JACOBITES make a mock of NESTORIUS in EGYPT, and they heave stones on his grave, and say that rain never falleth upon it, [135] and that it is burnt up by wrath'. And this NESTORIAN took a letter from the Khalifah to the Governor of EGYPT [asking him] to send to him the bones of NESTORIUS in a coffin to

BAGHDAD, as he wished to bury them in the church of KHOKE. One of the NESTORIAN monks, wishing to remove disgrace from the people of his district, and show that it was not [the grave of] NESTORIUS which was mocked at and stoned by the JACOBITES, said, 'One of the holy Apostles said unto me in a dream of the night, "This is a mistake. The bones of NESTORIUS are not there, and, moreover, no man knoweth his grave."' And in this wise GABRIEL the physician delayed in bringing the bones from EGYPT.

After HARON RASHID, MAHAMMAD AMIN, his son, [ruled] four years and seven months. This Khalifah stopped the building of HERACLEIA, which his father was building, and he took up the treasures from CALONICUS to BAGHDAD, and also the silver (money) of the people which MAMON, his brother, who reigned in KHORASAN, [had collected].

In the year eleven hundred and twenty-one (A.D. 810) AMIN and MAMON began to quarrel with each other, and the beginning of the evil lay with AMIN. For he was a lascivious man and luxurious, and a riotous liver, and he did not give to his brother the money which his father had granted to him; moreover, he held his brother in the greatest antipathy, and he sent men to follow him about in a crafty manner, so that he might seize him. And MAMON, knowing his guile, did not come. Then many rebels appeared. [Among them] a man whose name was 'OMAR, who, because of the murders which he had committed in SAMOSATA, was shut up in prison in CALONICUS. He killed the warder of the prison, and fled to SAMOSATA. He killed the Amir through whom he was put in prison. He robbed the merchants. He collected a gang and began to waylay travellers, and to kill and rob in PALESTINE. And he destroyed the army which came against him with SULAIMAN, the captain of the host. And another rebel who was in ARMENIA, whose name was NASIR, came to 'OMAR, and he made a bond with him, and they began to destroy the world. Then AMIN sent 'ALI, the captain of the host, with thirty thousand men against his brother MAMON, and MAMON sent TAHIR, the captain of the host, with four thousand men. And they met each other on the river of BALKH, and 'ALI was defeated, and the greater number of his troops were drowned in the river.

(Continued on Next Page)

Bar Hebraeus'

Chronography

X

The Kings of the Arabs (continued).

And in the year eleven hundred and twenty-two (A.D. 811) NICEPHOR, king [136] of the RHOMAYE, went against the BULGARAYE, and he captured their royal city, and 'opened' it and destroyed it. And they killed many people, and they also laid out their children upon the ground, and crushed them to death under heavy waggons. And in that year NICEPHOR was killed by a certain RHOMAYA.

And in the year eleven hundred and twenty-three (A.D. 812) NASIR and 'AMAR (sic) the rebels met together, and they passed over into GAZARTA. And they killed without mercy those who were with them, and they plundered and robbed, and they committed fornication with men's wives, and with virgins, and also idle men. And having encamped against HARRAN and taken it, the ARABS who were in EDESSA wrote to the rebels, saying, that if they would send some one who would destroy the ciborium of the church of the Christians, they would give [them] all their gold for the benefit of their church. And because 'ABU JA'AFAR had already overthrown the wall of EDESSA, the citizens of EDESSA were greatly afraid. And they decreed a fast, and they kept vigils and [prayed] prayers. Then God put it into the heart of the old man YAHYAH, the son of SA'ID, and he departed and went to NASIR and 'AMAR (sic) the rebels, and he advised them to go away. And they accepted the counsel of the old man, and they took the five thousand *zuze* which the men of EDESSA gave them and departed. And in [this] year, on the fourteenth day of the month of 'IYAR (MAY), there was a total eclipse of the sun for two hours, and the stars became visible, and men lighted lamps. Then the sun showed itself for about one hour in the west.

And in the year eleven hundred and twenty-four (A.D. 813) those rebels captured the TARSEKYANE, and the BETH ZABIRAYE, and the BAMARAYE, and they found in a small monastery which was outside the village of HADIS a blessed man, an ascetic. And they demanded from him everything which he had with him, both his own property and that which belonged to others; and when he cast them out they burnt him and his dwelling-place (or, cell). And 'AMAR went to SAMOSATA, and he [re]built its fortress and dwelt therein. And NASIR went to SERUGH and he made it to produce tribute for him. And whilst these things were being done among the ARABS, things like unto them were being done among the RHOMAYE. For NICEPHOR having been killed, his son STAWRIKI reigned. And after five months the BULGARAYE came against the royal city, and they caused STAWRIKI to be smitten on his body and he died. And MICHAEL, his daughter's husband, reigned one year. And some say that his sister PROCOPIA blinded him so that MICHAEL, her husband, might reign. And again the BULGARAYE went in, [137] but he did not wish to go out and fight with them. Then zeal laid hold upon LEO the Patrician, and he went forth and made war on the BULGARAYE and defeated them; and he killed their king. And he went and seized MICHAEL, and he shaved his head and placed him in a monastery, and he castrated his sons. And he himself reigned seven years and a half. And he made peace with the BULGARAYE, and gave to them the salt marsh about which they were fighting.

And in the year eleven hundred and twenty-five (A.D. 814) NASIR seized RISH KIPA, and SERUGH and KHISHUM, and he built three walls for KHISHUM. And ABU SHAIKH built the wall of EDESSA at the expense of the citizens of EDESSA. Then 'ABD ALLAH, the son of HISHAM, seized HARRAN, and 'AMAR took TELLA, and HUBIB took RISH 'AINA, and 'ABD ALLAH [took] MARDE, and 'ABBAS [took] KUROS (SRU?), and 'OTHMAN [took] KENNESHIN, and ANTIOCH, and APAMEA. And THABITH set up two gates in the mountain pass of CILICIA, and he established guards, so that the district of CILICIA might be a haven of safety to those who were being persecuted and to the poor. And HUSAIN, the captain of the host, meditating rebellion against king AMIN, said to the PERSIANS, 'AMIN is an ally of the ARABS, and a hater of the PERSIANS'. And he made a company of them (i.e. the PERSIANS), and they went against AMIN, and they cast fetters of iron on him and shut him up in prison. And HUSAIN went out and sat on the Bridge of BAGHDAD, and he summoned his troops to submit to MAMON. Then from the prison AMIN sent gifts to HUSAIN so that his life and properties only might be given to him. Then HUSAIN, and the PERSIANS, though it was grievous unto them, released him and set him upon his throne. And he swore to HUSAIN that he would not impute to him folly, and he also gave to him his ring. Now HUSAIN did not believe him, but fled to HARTAMA, the captain of the host of MAMON. And NASIR the rebel collected all the ARABS who worshipped wooden idols, and they came to CALONICUS, and they camped in the churches of the Christians, and forced them to bear the burden of the expenses. And they afflicted RAPEKAH with war. And CYRIACUS the Patriarch and THEODOSIUS of EDESSA were in the city, and through the famine they ate bread made of rice and vegetables. And afterwards they made a peace which was no peace, since the 'AKULLAYE made themselves masters of CALONICUS and the PERSIANS of RAPEKAH.

And in that same year when MAMON saw that many were in doubt about AMIN [138] his brother, he sent the captains of the host HARTAMA and TAHIR to BAGHDAD. And the men of BAGHDAD were divided into two parties, and schism fell on the whole city. And they used to go into the treasuries of the kings and steal the gold and apparel, and they robbed each other, and became accustomed to plundering. And because there were no stones in BAGHDAD, they began to smash up the pillars of the churches and to hurl [the pieces] from the engines of war. And when AMIN saw these things he sent HARTAMA to swear to him concerning his life and property, and he swore to him. Now when TAHIR heard this he was wroth, and he set watchers and they overtook AMIN in the night when he was fleeing on a raft (or, float). But AMIN threw himself into the river and he swam away and escaped, and hid himself in the house of a peasant. And being found there he was killed, and his head was stuck upon a spear, and was taken round about through BAGHDAD on the First Day of the Week, on the fifth day of the month MUHARRAM, in the year one hundred and ninety-eight of the HAGARAYE (or, Muslims, A.D. 813).

After AMIN, MAMON his brother [ruled] twenty years and a half. This Khalifah sent and had HARTAMA, the captain of the host, brought to him in KHORASAN—now it was he who had sworn to AMIN—and he killed him. And the companions of HARTAMA burned with fury, and they went to BALANI (BALANASH?), and killed the man who had killed him. And MAMON commanded and he impaled them.

Then NASIR collected the KAISAYE (i.e. wood-worshippers?), and he went against the TANUKAYE who were encamped on the river KAWWAIK in ALEPPO. And they made war on them for ten days. And the TANUKAYE were unequal to them, and they marched away by night, both men and women, to KENNESHIN. And the KAISAYE and the men of ALEPPO went and captured their great warehouses which were full of rich [stuffs] and all kinds of merchandise. And as a little while before they had been stripped naked of their Faith, so now they went forth from their riches bare and naked.

And after these things TAHIR, the captain of the host of MAMON, arrived with four thousand PERSIANS at CALONICUS, and he chased the rebels. And he increased the tribute and gifts to be paid, even more than the

rebels, and he treated the men of SERUGH and EDESSA so evilly that his companions gathered together to kill him, because he withheld from them their proper share. And when he perceived this, he cast himself down from the wall and fled to CALONICUS. And in the morning, when his comrades perceived this, they were afraid lest NASIR should overtake them, and they also fled. [139] And the citizens of EDESSA were freed from heavy taxes.

Then NASIR descended on the PERSIANS who were partizans of TAHIR, and fifty by fifty, and hundred by hundred [his men] seized them and slaughtered them as if they had been sheep. And the rebels NASIR and 'AMAR went up against EDESSA to plunder it, and they made cruel war upon it. And the PERSIANS and the citizens went up on the wall and fought, and even the women carried up stones for the fight, and water for the fighting men to drink. And those who were unable to go up [on the walls] bowed themselves in prayer, and of these 'I was one', saith the Patriarch MAR DIONYSIUS of TALL MAHRE. 'And the Lord spared [us], and smote 'AMAR, and the rebels departed.'

And when the men of BAGHDAD saw the strength of the rebels, and as MAMON was far away, they brought his uncle, that is to say IBRAHIM, the son of MAHDI, and made him king. Then HASAN, the captain of the host of MAMON, who had gone away to AKULA from the disturbance, made ready for war with the men of BAGHDAD. And TAHIR, who received the rebels into his house in CALONICUS, gave gifts to some of them, and made others rulers over districts. He made IBRAHIM, the KORAISHITE, governor in HARRAN. Whilst this man was walking about in his upper chamber in HARRAN, he saw some new buildings. And when he asked the ARABS who were round about him [what they were], they said unto him, 'They are the churches which the Christians have built in thy days, and therefore the Muslims are offended with thee'. Then he was wroth and he commanded the demolition of the new churches. And before the sun set they had rooted up the altar of our great church which is in HARRAN, and that of the God-bearer which is in KUBA, and a small portion of the temple of MAR GEORGE, and other temples of the churches of the CHALCEDONIANS, and the NESTORIANS, and the JEWS. And during the night, when he was sleeping, God made him tremble in a dream, and in the morning he summoned the Christians and told them to build up what had been overthrown. And in a few days they rebuilt everything which had been damaged. And this IBRAHIM permitted the heathen of HARRAN to perform their mysteries openly, and at length they arrived at such a pitch of boldness that they decked out an ox in costly apparel, and gave him a crown of flowers, and they hung little bells on his horns, and they walked him round about the bazars whilst [men sang] songs and [played] pipes; and in this manner they offered him up as a sacrifice to their gods.

TAHIR made 'ABD AL-'ALA governor in EDESSA, and he oppressed the people cruelly with taxation. And when [140] the people of EDESSA complained to him about what they suffered from those who were quartered in their houses, he replied, 'In the time of the RHOMAYE ye enjoyed yourselves in this land, whilst our fathers were wandering about in arid deserts and pasturing camels in the cold which shrivelled their bodies and heat which burnt them up. And now that we have made this land habitable by our sword, why do ye find it difficult to deliver it over to us?' Thereupon the citizens of EDESSA went out sad and sorry. And TAHIR built the wall between CALONICUS and RAPEKAH, and made himself strong. And he devoted himself to the reading and explanation and conversation of the philosophers.

And in the year eleven hundred and thirty (A.D. 819) MAMON came from KHORASAN to BAGHDAD, and IBRAHIM his uncle fled and hid himself, and the men of BAGHDAD greeted their lord peacefully. And in the year eleven hundred and thirty-two (A.D. 821) MAMON sent TAHIR to KHORASAN to govern it, and he magnified 'ABD ALLAH his son, and appointed him in his father's place. Then NASIR the rebel became strong (or, prevailed) and he sold the fortress of BETH BALASH. And he collected his troops and came down to HANI, the river which is near CALONICUS. And when 'ISA came out, the people of the bazars being with him, NASIR killed them all and plundered and took possession of the villages.

Then MAMON sent against him SHABIB, a mighty man of war, and seven thousand chosen PERSIANS, and they met (i.e. attacked) NASIR, and the ARABS who were with him turned their backs (i.e. fled). And the PERSIANS began to rob the poor shopkeepers, and they ate and drank and boasted themselves as if they had defeated the rebel. Then NASIR came back upon them, and the PERSIANS were broken through fear. When SHABIB saw that he had failed, he wished to depart secretly by night to ANTIOCH. NASIR perceived [this] and pursued him, and he cut off about three thousand of the PERSIANS who were with him and captured all of them. And SHABIB, together with a few men, fled to BAGHDAD. And NASIR came and laid an ambush in the villages that were on the river SAGUR, that is to say the SHOGRA which is by MABBOGH. And when all the men went forth to their work, they fell upon them and killed both men and women. And many of the peasants and the poor folk having gone up to the monastery of BORIM, he set fire to it, and some of them were burned to death. And of those who cast themselves down and fell and were dashed to pieces, he cut off the heads and carried them with him to SEROGH.

When MAMON heard these things he sent 'ABD ALLAH, [141] the son of TAHIR, with twenty thousand men, and he attacked BALASH, and he made fierce war upon it, and breached the wall. And he went in and seized the rebels who were partisans of NASIR, and he cast fetters on them and sent them to BAGHDAD. Then NASIR on the borders of SERUGH slew both the Christians and the PERSIANS.

In the year eleven hundred and thirty-three (A.D. 822) LEO recovered his strength and killed many of the nobles. And the RHOMAYE pondered in their minds about him and decided to kill him, and to appoint MICHAEL, the captain of the host, [in his stead]. And when LEO perceived this he sent and seized MICHAEL. And he made ready to crucify him on the Friday of the Crucifixion, but his wife entreated that he should not be killed on that day. Then LEO (MICHAEL?) sent to the governors (or, nobles), saying, 'If ye do not save me, I will make it known that all of you are participators in the treachery'. And the nobles being thus coerced leaped upon the king as he was standing at the altar praying, and they killed him. And they brought out MICHAEL and made him king.

When this man had reigned four years, THEKLA his wife died, and he sent and brought out from the nunnery the grand-daughter of CONSTANTINE and took her to wife. And when she bore to him a son, being a grand-daughter of EIRENE, the queen, she was very anxious to bring the boy up [free] from the influence of the JEWS, but she only schemed and killed her own son. For the priest of this MICHAEL was a JEW, and he believed and was baptized.

At this time MAMON called THAOMA, the man who had declared that he himself was the son of CONSTANTINE the king, and sent him with an army against CONSTANTINOPLE. And he came and pitched his tent by [that city] and afflicted it for six months. And being urged to do so, MICHAEL, the king, promised the Arab prisoners that he would send them back, if they would fight against THAOMA. And when the RHOMAYE went forth with the ARABS they broke the army which was with THAOMA. He, however, fled to a fortress, but he was captured, and his hands and feet were cut off, and he was impaled on a spear. Now MICHAEL went back on his promise, and did not release the Arab prisoners.

And in the year eleven hundred and thirty-five (A.D. 824), in the month of TESHWIN, (OCTOBER), TAHIR encamped against KHISHOM, and he set up there engines of war which could hurl stones each large enough to form an ass's load. Now KHISHUM had five walls and [an outer] wall. Then NASIR commanded that the Christian women [142] should go up [on the walls] carrying their children, and should weep and entreat [the attackers] that they might not be stoned with stones. Now BAR-TAHIR, being a compassionate man, commanded that they should not cast stones into the city, but should smite the wall only. Then NASIR opened the gate of the city, and he sent his three sons, and two hundred loads of fine flour, and three hundred loads of barley, and five hundred sheep, and ten mules, and ten slaves, and three concubines, and three

eunuchs, and said, 'In the morning I myself will come'. Then BAR-TAHIR commanded the young men and said 'Get ye in to your kinsfolk so that they may not be anxious'; and in the morning NASIR went forth, and he walked from a distance on foot. And he drew nigh, and bowed low, and kissed the foot and the hand of BAR-TAHIR. Then BAR-TAHIR also came down, and the two of them sat down together, and they talked to each other secret (i.e. privately). Then BAR-TAHIR commanded NASIR, and he stood up, and entered the city, pretending that after twenty days he would go to BAR-TAHIR at CALONICUS. And BAR-TAHIR in his simplicity believed him. And taking with him MANSUR, the son of NASIR, he marched to SAMOSATA, and seized the rebel who was there. And NASIR began to build up and to fortify KHISHUM. And he sent a message to BAR-TAHIR, saying. 'I have prepared myself for war with thee, and as for my son MANSUR, do not only shut him up in prison in BAGHDAD, but roast him in the fire and eat [him].

Then in the month of AB (AUGUST), BAR-TAHIR again pitched his tent by KHISHUM, and he waged fierce war against it. And NASIR did not let any man weep for the dead. And when the fighting waxed fierce, and the outer wall had been breached, NASIR again made the Christian women to go up on the top of the wall carrying their children and weeping. And BAR-TAHIR had compassion on them, and he stopped the fighting. And the troops built houses for the winter and sat down there. And the famine waxed severe in the city until the head of a donkey was sold for ten *zuze*. Then NASIR was smitten with sorrow, and he went out confidently to BAR-TAHIR, and he and his companions, mounted on mules, were carried to BAGHDAD. And this deliverance from rebels took place in the month of 'ADHAR (MARCH), in the year eleven hundred and thirty-six (A.D. 825).

And in the same year about thirty thousand men of BASRA sat (i.e. embarked) in ships, and sailed against the men of BAHRAIN, who were robbing the ships which came from [143] INDIA and CHINA and PERSIA. And when they arrived at the country of BAHRAIN they fell into the depth of the sea (i.e. they were carried out to sea), because they did not know where the entrances (i.e. ports) were. And the men of BAHRAIN went out against them in small boats (or, on rafts), and they sunk all the men of BOSRA.

And at that time MAMON shut up in prison four KURAISHITE chiefs who were plotting a rebellion against him. They had banded themselves secretly with certain men who were to set fire to the bazar of the citadel, and when the king went out to the place where the fire was, they were to kill him. And when MAMON became acquainted with the plot, he sent by night and killed the KURAISHITES, and in the morning he hung their bodies on wooden posts. And he also seized his uncle IBRAHIM, and when he saw that he was an old man he permitted him to live. This man learnt the art of playing the lyre, and he used to buy young men and maidens and sell [them] and live.

And at this time the two rebels, SARI and GAURI, seized EGYPT, and they collected gold as [if it was as common as] stones. And having died, their sons became [governors]: 'UBAID, the son of SARI, over FOSTAT and the southern side, and 'AHMAD, the son of GAURI, over the northern quarter.

And in the year eleven hundred and thirty-seven (A.D. 826) BAR-TAHIR came to 'ARISH, and 'AHMAD went out and received from him a word (i.e. pledge) for the safety of the property of his father GAURI, who, when he was dying, said, 'I am revered by the country in proportion to the [amount of] gold which I bring into it!' 'UBAID, however, resisted (or, rebelled), because the number of his troops was eighty thousand. Then BAR-TAHIR encamped against FOSTAT in the month of NISAN (APRIL), and he blocked up the roads which brought in food by sea (i.e. the river NILE) and by land. Then 'UBAID begged for a word (i.e. pledge) concerning his life and property, and he went forth to BAR-TAHIR, and they made peace and ate and drank together. And in the year eleven hundred and thirty-eight (A.D. 827) BAR-TAHIR encamped against ALEXANDRIA, for the sons of ANDALOS had taken it, and they had expelled the Christians and the JEWS and sat down in their houses. And after nine months, during which he had afflicted the ALEXANDRIANS

with war and hunger, he subjugated them. Fifty (or I five?) of their population he sent to CALONICUS and the rest departed to their own country. And he subjugated AFRICA also, and appointed two of their own righteous men to be their chiefs.

And in the year eleven hundred and forty (A.D. 829) MICHAEL, the king of the RHOMAYE, died, and THEOPHILUS his son reigned [in his stead]. Now four years before the death of his father [144] the crown had been put on his head. For from the time when THEKLA, his [MICHAEL's] wife, died, and he took another [woman], he neither placed the crown [on his head] nor sat upon the royal throne, for no twice-married man can reign over the RHOMAYE. Now as for the second wife whom he took from a nunnery, when he died she again shaved her head and went into a nunnery.

At this time the KORDANAYE people, who were Muslims, rebelled against the ARABS, because there had appeared to them a king, the [long-]expected MAHDI. This man threw a covering over his face, and he called himself 'CHRIST' and the 'HOLY GHOST'. And crowds of people gathered together about him, and he fortified a camp in the mountains of the country of the KARDEWAYE. And even MAMON trembled before him, and he sent HASAN, the captain of the host, against him, and HASAN captured him in TUR 'ABDIN, whilst he was plundering the monastery of KARTAMIN. And the KORDANAYE were broken, and the MARDI fled to the country of ISAAC BAR-'AHUD, the ARMENIAN. And ISAAC caught him and cut off his head.

Then the KORDANAYE gathered together again, and they encamped against the fortress of ISAAC, whilst he was making ready outside it. And those who were in the fortress trembled greatly. Then when the monk, the brother of ISAAC'S wife, saw that the KORDANAYE were about to enter the fortress, he took a spear, and cast himself from the wall, and made his way straight to the chief of the KORDANAYE, and drove the spear into him and killed him; and he went [back] into the fortress in peace (i.e. unharmed). And when the night came those who were inside the fortress had no other hope left except in weeping and making humble prayers to God that He would deliver them. And that pious woman, the wife of ISAAC, passed the whole night in casting her son, who was sucking, before the Lord, weeping and tearful. And at the time of dawn ISAAC arrived with his valiant troops. And the KORDANAYE, who had turned their backs to flee, were impeded (or, stopped) by the snow. And in this wise the greater number of them were destroyed and slain, and the few who escaped set up a chief [called] 'HARON', and 'ALI killed him. And after him [arose] BABEK, a cattle keeper. And many of them fled to THEOPHILUS, king of the RHOMAYE. And the BULGARAYE also were subject to him. And he collected the BULGARAYE and went forth and encamped against ZUBATRA, and 'opened' it. And he killed the men who were therein, and he carried off the wives and virgins, and he burnt the town and returned. And the ARABS built it up again.

And after one year 'AMANU'IL the Patrician rebelled [145] against THEOPHILA, and he came to MAMON and incited him to invade the territory of the RHOMAYE. And MAMON invaded it in the month of HAZIRAN (JUNE) and captured four fortresses in CAPPADOCIA. And in the month of 'IYAR (MAY), in the year eleven hundred and forty-two (A.D. 831), he again invaded it and pitched his camp by the fortress of LOLON (LULWAH?), but he was unable to master it. And after one year, when the inhabitants thereof had been sore afflicted with hunger, they surrendered 'UJAIR. And 'AMANU'IL the Patrician abandoned the ARABS and turned to THEOPHILUS. Then MAMON was wroth, and he swore that he would go in and trample upon (or, crush) the RHOMAYE. And when THEOPHILUS heard [this] he was afraid, and he sent a message to MAMON concerning peace, and saying that he would pay tribute. And MAMON replied, 'I will make peace on the following condition, that is to say that ye proclaim me your king. And as for the amount of the tribute, whether it be large or whether it be small, I shall not complain.' when THEOPHILUS heard these things he held his peace, and did not reply further.

And MAMON went to CILICIA. And there came to him a certain impostor who said that he was 'of the stock of kings'. And MAMON received him, and he commanded JOB, the Patriarch of the CHALCEDONIANS, and he prayed over him, and he made him a king, and bound the crown on him. And when he had lived in the camp of the RHOMAYE for two years, and none of them had come to him, he became a Muslim through 'ABU-ESHAK, the son of MAMON. And the bishops gathered together to the Patriarch JOB who had appointed him, and they excommunicated him.

And in the year eleven hundred and forty-three (A.D. 832) MAMON went against EGYPT, and with him was MAR DIONYSIUS the Patriarch. And he found that the NILE was frozen over—a thing which had never before been heard of. And in the month of 'TYAR (MAY) MAMON invaded the territory of the RHOMAYE, and he had with him his two sons MU'TASIM and 'ABBAS. And he gathered together workmen for the [re]building of TUANA, which had been destroyed by the ARABS, and there he fell sick and died on the fourth day of the week (Wednesday), on the eighth day of the fourth month of the two hundred and eighteenth year of the HAGARAYE (ARABS), and he was buried at TARSUS in CILICIA (A.D. 833).

After MAMON, MU'TASIM his son [ruled] eight years and eight months. When MAMON died there was a violent dispute among the ARABS for three days, as to which of his two sons was to reign. And when they were all assembled suddenly the curtain of the door was raised, and 'ABBAS went out and said, 'The kingdom belongs to MU'TASIM, therefore [146] pray ye for the preservation of his life'; and then peace came on the camp. And having burnt the building of TUANA, and the entrances of the building, and the passage, MU'TASIM went down to BAGHDAD, and the nobles went out to meet him, although they were displeased with him because of his severity.

And when he was firmly established in the kingdom, he began to build magnificent buildings for his abode, and he constructed lakes of water and paradises for his pleasure. He was very luxurious in his personal habits, and he devoted himself to the drinking of wine. And when he saw the ZUTAYE pirates who infested the bays (or, gulfs) which the rivers of the EUPHRATES and TIGRIS were eroding in the shores, whom the soldiers were unable to cope with because they fought in small boats (or, on floats), he sent for the EGYPTIANS whom he had brought back as captives, and who were accustomed [to fighting] in the water, for they could dive like fish. And they smote the ZUTAYE with spears suddenly (or, unexpectedly), and they split asunder. And thus the ZUTAYE were defeated, and they and their kinsfolk were seized, and they perished in prison in BAGHDAD.

At this time there appeared a huge fish in the SEA OF BAHRAIN, and he was about a mile long. He had troubled the sea for three months, and those who dived for pearls were unable to descend into the sea. Then God sent a small fish, and it entered his ear and killed him. And he was washed about by the waves and cast up out [of the water]. The fire could not cook his flesh, but [the people] dried him in the sun and pounded [his flesh] and ate [him]. And at this time they brought to 'ABD ALLAH BAR-TAHIR, the governor of KHORASAN, a youth who had been brought forth by his mother that year; and he had arrived at the stature of a man, and the hair of puberty had sprouted. A matter which was unnatural!

(Continued on Next Page)

Bar Hebraeus'

Chronography

X

The Kings of the Arabs (continued).

And in the year eleven hundred and forty-six (A.D. 835) there was a flood of the river ZUBATRA by night, and it undermined the wall and invaded the houses; and three thousand of the people were drowned in their houses. And there was also a flood of the river TIGRIS and it destroyed houses in BAGHDAD.

And in the same year a command went forth, and at the dawn of the Sunday of the Resurrection the MAHGRAYE (Muslims) destroyed the temples of MAR GEORGE of KHOKE and MAR AHUDEMEH, under the pretence that they had been recently built. And OMAR, governor, of MELITENE, made a raid into the territory of the RHOMAYE, and THEOPHILA the king met him. At first the RHOMAYE defeated the ARABS, but subsequently the ARABS gained the upper hand and the RHOMAYE fled. And the ARABS entered the fortified camp (*fosaton*) of the king, and looted [147] even his bed and his apparel.

And in the year eleven hundred and forty-seven (A.D. 836) MU'TASIM sent a message to the king of the NEBADIS, that is to say the NUBIANS, [ordering him] to send tribute according to ancient use and wont, and [telling him] that if he did not send [it] he would dispatch an army against him. And when the envoy arrived he found that the king of the NUBIANS was dead, and that a young man whose name was GIWARGI (GEORGE), who on his mother's side was descended from the royal stock, had risen up, and that his father ZECHARIAH was administering [the kingdom]. Then when ZECHARIAH saw that the ARABS were powerful, he said to the envoy, 'It is true that it is our duty to give tribute annually, viz. three hundred and sixty Moorish slaves, and baboons who can walk about and have been taught to imitate the ways and actions of men, and ostriches, that is to say, giraffes (?), and bones (i.e. tusks) of elephants, and thongs of panther skins. But it was the duty of the kings of the ARABS to send us tribute, such as a *kur* of wheat and rich apparel, and that there should be to us a man who collecteth contributions from the NUBIANS who dwell in the country of the ARABS. Now inasmuch as they (i.e. the ARABS) have cut off [their tribute], we also have cut off [ours]. But because we have heard of the goodness of your king, and the greatness of his family, we will not make conversation with an ambassador, but our new king shall go in person to do homage to him.' Then the envoy quickly sent a message and informed MU'TASIM. And he replied, 'Let him come'. And he commanded the prefects of EGYPT to go to meet him as far as the city of SIWANI (ASWAN, SYENE), which was on the frontier, and that when he came to FOSTAT he would give him as many camels as sufficed for his baggage, and thirty *dinars* each day for his expenses. And in this wise did GIWARGI (GEORGE) travel in the countries of the ARABS. He was mounted on a camel with a saddle, and above him was a canopy (i.e. umbrella) covered with rich stuff which shaded him, and on his head was fixed a cross of gold, and in one hand was a staff (or, sceptre). And young NUBIANS marched on his right hand and on his left. And a bishop rode in front of him holding in his hands the redeeming Cross; and there were horsemen and slaves round about him riding horses.

And when GEORGE came down to BAGHDAD, he rode through the bazars, and alighted at one of the royal palaces. Then a certain NUBIAN, who used to collect the contribution (or, tax) of the NUBIANS who dwelt

in the country of the ARABS, and who had rebelled against the king of the NUBIANS, and had embraced Islam, uttered calumnies concerning GIWARGI (GEORGE), saying, 'This man GIWARGI (GEORGE) is not the son of a king, but is an impostor'. [148] And for this reason MU'TASIM left GIWARGI (GEORGE) in BAGHDAD, from the month of SHEBHAT (FEBRUARY) until the month of AB (AUGUST)—until he had sent to EGYPT and made inquiries. And when he was convinced that that rebel had spoken lies, and that GIWARGI (GEORGE) was in truth a king, he sent to fetch him and made his troops to go to meet him; and when GIWARGI (GEORGE) had entered [his presence] he made him to sit down before him and welcomed him cordially. And he gave him abundant gifts, and sent him back again to his own country with honours.

And MAR DIONYSIUS, the Patriarch, saith, 'I was in BAGHDAD at that time, and after I had gone up to MU'TASIM in the new city which he had built between the two rivers, the EUPHRATES and the TIGRIS, he sent me, together with SULAIMAN his physician, to go and meet the king of the NUBIANS. And when I had gone together with certain bishops and believing men, I saw an intelligent young man about twenty years old. And he informed me through an interpreter about his orthodoxy, and how much he abhorred any mingling with heretics. And on the First Day of the Week I offered up the Offering, and I made him to partake of It and his people. For they had with them the sacred vessels and the treasured objects [used during the celebration] of the Mysteries.' At this time BABEK, the KHAWARAZMITE, who had rebelled against the ARABS in PERSIA, and had killed tens of thousands of them, suffered defeat. NASIR, the captain of his host, fled with many of his partisans to THEOPHILA and became Christians.

And in the year eleven hundred and forty-eight (A.D. 837) THEOPHILA again went forth to ZUBATRA, and he destroyed mercilessly ARABS, CHRISTIANS, and JEWS alike. And he passed over into the country of MELITENE, and spoiled and burned, and went and encamped against SAMOSATA. And some of the RABI'AYE ARABS, and some of the people of MELITENE, gathered together, and they went against the RHOMAYE. And the ARABS were defeated, and four thousand of them fell, And THEOPHILA came back to attack the men of MELITENE, and he threatened that if they did not surrender he would do to them as he had done [to those] in ZUBATRA. Then the judges and the nobles went forth to him, and they presented gifts to him, and they brought out the captive RHOMAYE who were in MELITENE, and he struck his camp and departed, When BABEK, the Khawarazmite rebel, saw that his party was powerless, he loaded up his money [on beasts] and fled together with four hundred of his men to the territory of the RHOMAYE, And when he arrived in ARMENIA a certain nobleman whose name was ESTAPHANA flattered him and took him into his house [149] ostensibly to pay him honour, but he cast fetters of iron on him. And when MU'TASIM heard [this] he sent 'APSHIN, the captain of his host, with gifts for ESTAPHANA, and they took BABEK and killed him. For this man had destroyed more than one hundred thousand of the soldiers of the ARABS.

And in the year eleven hundred forty-nine (A.D. 838) MU'TASIM went to the country of the RHOMAYE from the fortress of TARSOS with twenty thousand men; and he sent 'APSHIN, the captain of his host, with thirty thousand men by another side. And when MU'TASIM arrived at NICAEA, he found it empty, and he pulled down its wall. And from there he came to ANCYRA; and there, too, he found no one, because the people had fled to the great city of 'AMURIN, and he pulled down the wall of ANCYRA.

Then THEOPHILA came against 'APSHIN, and he destroyed about three thousand of the ARABS. And God, praise be to His goodness! straightway sent a violent rainstorm. And when THEOPHILA withdrew himself to one side with two thousand [men], the rest of the RHOMAYE thought that the king had been killed, and they fled to CONSTANTINOPLE. And when the rain stopped and the atmosphere became clear, the numerous troops of the ARABS surrounded the two thousand men of THEOPHILA, but they were unable to do them any harm until they had brought engines of war so that they might hurl stones on them, And the RHOMAYE leaped out, killing and being killed, and they broke through the ranks of the ARABS and went out. And because the evening overtook them, the RHOMAYE kindled lights, during the night round about their camp,

and they marched hurriedly to 'AMURIN. And forthwith there came an envoy from the mother of THEOPHILUS who said, 'The RHOMAYE who have come have reported that thou art killed, and they wish to appoint [another] king; haste thee, come'.

Then THEOPHILA set in motion the army of 'AMURIN, and he commanded and its gates were shut and he left it as on the edge of a razor; and he went to CONSTANTINOPLE and killed the nobles who wished to appoint a king. Then MU'TASIM, not being pleased with his entrance, was sorry and said, 'We have not done well in coming in here'; and he set his face to go forth. Then 'AHMAD, a confidant of his, said, 'It is not seemly for a king like thyself to go out in an empty manner. Behold, the city of 'AMURIN is not far from us, let us go and take it'. And having come against it MU'TASIM raised up [150] mounds round about it. And whilst those who were outside [the wall] were stoning those who were inside [it], those who were inside were slaying those who came near the wall with the blocks of stone which they were detaching from it. And the three-footed stands covered with hides did not in the least degree benefit the men who were digging holes (or, trenches) under the wall. In three days, on the two sides, thousands died. Then, when those outside the wall saw a damaged part of the wall, they collected engines of war in front of it and in two days they breached it. And those who were inside collected about the rent in the wall, and they added to the number of the slain among those who were outside the wall, and they were unable to go in. Now the RHOMAYE demanded to be allowed to go out to him, and THEOPHILA permitted them [to do so]. And the bishop and three nobles went out, and they asked permission to evacuate the city and to depart. But MU'TASIM hardened his heart, because very many of his men had been killed, and he would not accept [their entreaty].

And when they turned back to go in [to the city], one of the nobles whose name was BODIN turned to MU'TASIM and received a word (i.e. pledge) concerning those who belonged to him, and he said, 'I will hand over the city easily'. And the king of the ARABS gave him ten thousand darics. And when BODIN went in he restrained the warriors who were inside fighting, saying, 'Ye have killed enough ARABS by the breach in the wall. We are captured. Therefore, hold your hands. Peradventure he will show mercy upon us.' And in this wise the ARABS entered the city. And they seized 'AETIS the Patrician, and EUPARKA, and BODIN who betrayed the city, and they destroyed heaps, heaps [of the people]. And the command went forth that the ARABS should kill no more, but should make captives among the population, and then loot the city. And when they had enslaved the people and looted [the houses] they set fire to the city. There were very many churches, and nunneries (or, monasteries) in the city, and one thousand virgins went out in captivity, besides those who were killed.

And when the captives were assembled together, the king saw that the crowd was very large, and the king commanded and four thousand of the people were killed. And when the soldiers began to tear the boys and girls from their mothers, an outcry from the mothers rose up. When the king heard this he was indignant, and he rose up in a fury and leaped on a horse, and with his own hand he killed three men who were in the hands of the slaves who met him. And forthwith they gathered together the mass of captives, and some of them MU'TASIM gave to the captains of the troops, and some to the TURKAYE his slaves, and some they sold to merchants. When a whole house (i.e. family) was sold the sons were not separated from [their] fathers. And the ARABS [151] wondered about that terrible breach in the wall more than the RHOMAYE, because they said that it was written with them (i.e. in their books) that when 'AMURIN was opened up by them (i.e. conquered) their kingdom would end.

And whilst MU'TASIM was occupied with the destruction of 'AMURIN, 'ABBAS BAR-MAMON his brother, and 'UJAIP, the captain of the host, concocted a plan to kill him. And their treachery was revealed by a certain scribe, a Nestorian physician. And the king bound them in fetters, and mounted them on camels, and he marched away from 'AMURIN. Then 'ABBAS died of thirst on the road at MABBUH. And MU'TASIM

wrote to the countries that 'ABBAS BAR-MAMON was to be held accursed, because he wished to hand over to the RHOMAYE the whole camp of the ARABS.

And when THEOPHILA saw what the ARABS had done in 'AMURIN, he blamed himself because it was he who was the first to begin [the war] with the destruction of ZUBATRA. And he sent gifts and presents to MU'TASIM with BASILIOS, the noble of KARSHENA and a letter of affection, and he asked 'AETIS the Patncian, who was a prisoner with the ARABS, to give it himself to the Arab prisoners. And he wrote another letter [full] of threats and abuse, that BASILIOS might give to MU'TASIM if he did not wish for peace. And when MU'TASIM received the letter of peace he asked them to give him together with the [other] Arab prisoners NASIR the KURD, and 'AMANU'IL the Patrician, who had come to the ARABS and had fled promptly. And when BASILIOS replied, 'It is impossible', he said to him, 'Very well then, prepare for war'. Then BASILIOS gave him the letter of threats. And when it had been read to him MU'TASIM was furious, and he sent back the gifts of THEOPHILA by the envoy.

And he sent [an order] to 'ABU SA'ID to make raids in one direction, and to BASHIR, the Satrap, and the sons of the desert, to do the same in another direction. And whilst BASHIR was raiding, NASIR and the KURDS overtook him and delivered the captives. Then came 'ABU SA'ID, and the ARABS gained the upper hand, and they killed NASIR and many of the KURDAYE. And they collected many heads and salted them, and they brought them out to the desert. And when the women of the desert went forth to meet their husbands who had returned ostensibly with victory, and to delight themselves over the heads of the KURDAYE, they recognized that most of the heads were the heads of their own husbands, and that they were the heads of KURDAYE who, before they (the KURDAYE) were defeated, had been killed by the ARABS. And their joy was turned to grief. [152] Then MU'TASIM rejoiced that NASIR was killed, and he gave to BASHIR a *hamnikha* (i.e. torque) of gold for his neck.

And in the year eleven hundred and fifty-one (A.D. 840), on the sixth [day] of the month of NISAN (APRIL), a red sign appeared in the north[ern sky]. And there were violent rains and a flood, which wrought great havoc in HARRAN. And in the month of HAZIRAN (JUNE) there was a terrible earthquake in 'ARZAN-AL-RUM, and eighteen towers fell down from the wall, and about two hundred souls died. And in the month of TAMMUZ (JULY) fire fell both in BAGHDAD and in BASRA, at the same hour and on the same day, and more than five thousand shops were burnt in BAGHDAD. And on the same day a city in KHORASAN was overturned, and it buried its inhabitants, and it became a mound of dust. And a day later a part of the mound split off and there came forth from it a man and a donkey alive. And on the fourteenth day of the month of ILUL (SEPTEMBER) there appeared in the east[ern sky] the similitude of a cloud, and it moved on towards the north, until [it came to] the west. And the upper side of it was red like blood, and its lower parts were like a figure of the moon, and thus the light shone the whole night on material objects, and walls, both large and small, and houses. And at this time the RHOMAYE came by sea to the harbour of ANTIOCH, and they robbed the merchants, and enslaved the population. And MU'TASIM commanded, and a fort was built inside the harbour.

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And in the year eleven hundred and fifty-two (A.D. 841) 'ABU SA'ID went into the territory of the RHOMAYE, and captured prisoners. And having come out [again] the RHOMAYE in CILICIA overtook him, and they sent back the captives. And they went in again and came forth in shame.

And the RHOMAYE came and took captives in HADETH, and MAR'ASH, and the country of MELITENE. At this time THEOPHILA sent gifts to MU'TASIM and asked for an exchange for the Arab prisoners. And MU'TASIM acceptd the gifts, and gave him gifts twofold, and said, 'Our Law doth not justify our comparing the Muslim with a RHOMAYE. Nevertheless, if thou wilt give me the ARABS, and wilt ask nothing in exchange for them, we are able to bestow upon you double their number, and we will in everything [given] outdo you.' And the envoys of the RHOMAYE went back with fifty camel loads of costly gifts. And there was peace.

And in the year eleven hundred and fifty-three (A.D. 842), a certain man whose name was TAMIM, and who was nicknamed 'ABU HARAB', rebelled. And thirty thousand starving and naked folk cleaved to him, [153] and he himself used to cover his nakedness with a woman's skirt. And he made a pretence of being jealous for the Law which was being trodden under foot, but he also began to plunder and to kill. And he went up to JERUSALEM and wanted to burn the churches, but much gold was given to him by the Patriarch and he departed. And RAGA, the captain of the host, came against him, and killed eight thousand of his people; and they captured one thousand and 'ABU HARAB, who was wounded, and RAGA sent them to MU'TASIM.

And at that time MUSHE, the chief of the KURDAYE (KURDS), rebelled in the country of KARDU. Now the PERSIANS came and attacked him in the time of winter, and the KURDAYE destroyed about fifteen thousand of the PERSIANS, because the rebel KURDAYE used to rush out from their tents, being rested and refreshed, whilst the PERSIANS were prostrated by the cold, and their fingers and toes were frostbitten. And at that time there came a severe famine and a terrible pestilence, and there was tribulation through the heaviness of the imposts (or, forced contributions), and through the rebels. For the men of DARA and NISIBIS and AMEDIA used to come out in bands and plunder, and the PERSIANS attacked them and destroyed them. And because they did not kill the Christians, many ARABS saved themselves by [using] the Sign of the Cross.

And in the year eleven hundred and fifty-four (A.D. 843) MU'TASIM died. And he freed at his death eight thousand slaves who had been purchased with silver. And he left forty thousand horses for the cavalry, and twenty thousand baggage mules, and thirty thousand slaves for the stables. And in those days also died THEOPHILA, king of the RHOMAYE.

After MU'TASIM, WATHEK his son [ruled] five years and nine months. This Khalifah afflicted the lawyers of his dominion with severe tortures, and he took from them many tens of thousands of *dinars*. And in the year in which WATHEK began to reign, which is the year eleven hundred and fifty-five (A.D. 844), MICHAEL, the son of THEOPHILA, [began] to reign over the RHOMAYE, being a child three years old. And his mother THEODORA administered the kingdom, and 'AMANU'IL, the captain of the host, was over all the troops. And the RHOMAYE sent an ambassador to the ARABS on the subject of peace, and the exchange of prisoners. And when the ambassador of the RHOMAYE came, WATHEK the king received him gladly, and he did not speak arrogant words like his father, who said, 'We do not admit that the Christians are of equal value with the ARABS when [weighed in] the balance for exchange', [154] but straightway he wished to exchange man for man. Now the ambassador of the RHOMAYE was not at first pleased [with this view], and he said, 'All the Arab prisoners which we have are soldiers whom we have made prisoners during the wars, whilst as regards the Christian prisoners that are with you, the greater number of them are soldiers which ye have captured in the villages, and old men, and old women, and very young boys, and girls. How can we possibly give soul for soul?' And when they had contended in this wise for days, finally the ambassador agreed to exchange one for one. And because the number of the Arab prisoners amounted to four thousand three hundred and sixty-two souls, and the number of the Christians was fewer, WATHEK the king sent and collected from all his boundaries slaves, both male and female, which he bought from their owners. And since even by this means the [full] number was not made up, he drove out from his palace the handmaidens which he had chosen from the RHOMAYE, and sent them with his ambassadors. And the ARABS and the RHOMAYE were gathered together on the river of SILAWKIA, which is on the frontier of TARSOS, and the liberation [of the prisoners] took place. And it is said that WATHEK commanded his ambassadors, saying, 'As concerning all the ARABS whom ye redeem among the prisoners—first of all ask each man, "Is the Word of God create or uncreate?" He who saith "uncreate" redeem, and he [who saith] "create" leave in the hands of the RHOMAYE.' Now WATHEK died through the disease of 'collection of the water' (i.e. retention of urine). For the physicians [tried] to heal him by means of the red-hot furnace, and when he received no benefit from this treatment, he commanded and they heated it more than the rule of the physician [allowed], and he came down and lingered in it, and they brought him out from there a dead man.

Up to this point the kings of the ARABS cared exceedingly for conquests (or, victories) and glorious deeds of valour, but from now and onwards they devoted themselves to unclean and impure habits of life, and they gave themselves up to drunkenness. This WATHEK was a lascivious, luxurious, and riotous liver. As the price of a certain singing woman one hundred thousand gold *dinars*, and the satrapy of EGYPT was demanded by her owner; and if he had not been prevented by his treasurers, who could not find the money, he would have given the gold and satrapy. Finally WATHEK took the woman for ten thousand gold [*dinars*].

(Continued on Next Page)

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

The Kings of the Arabs (continued).

After WATHEK, MUTAWAKKIL his brother [ruled] fourteen years and nine months. He began to reign in the year two hundred and thirty-one [155] of the ARABS (A.D. 845). This Khalifah was a hater of the Christians, and he afflicted them [by ordering] them to bind *pukurie* (i.e. bandlets) of wool round their heads; and none of them was to appear outside [his house] without a belt and girdle. And if any man among them had a slave, he was to sew two strips of cloth of different colours on his tunic from the front and from behind. And the new churches were to be pulled down. And if they should happen to have a spacious church, even though it was ancient, one part of it was to be made into a Masjid (Mosque). And they were not to lift up crosses during their feasts of Hosanna. In a similar manner he laid these same commands, and many others which were like unto them, upon the JEWS also. And he also swept away the tomb of HUSAYN BAR-'ALI, who was descended from the daughter of their Prophet, and he pulled down also the other houses which were round about it. And he drove a plough through the site and sowed seed there, saying, 'The site of the tomb shall be wholly obliterated'.

And in his days a man appeared in NISABHOR who declared himself to be a prophet, and he composed a book of words which, he said, 'the angel GABRIEL had said to him', and many folk cleaved to him. And when he was seized and beaten he confessed his lying pretension.

And in his third year MUTAWAKKIL made his three sons governors of provinces. MUNTASER was over AFRICA, and EGYPT, and BETH NAHRIN, and 'ATHOR, and HABURA, and CIRCESIUM, and TEKBIT, and the south, and the country of SHEBHA, and SABHA as far as the frontier of INDIA and SHAHARZUR, and ISFAHAN, and KUM, and KASHAN, and KAZWIN, and all the mountains of PERSIA. And MU'TAZ, his second son, he made ruler over KHORASAN, and TABARISTAN, and RAI, and ARMENIA, and ADHORBIJAN; and he was also over the reckoning (i.e. account) of the revenue of the whole of the dominion of the ARABS generally (i.e. Minister of Finance). And MUWAYYAD, his third son, he made to rule over DAMASCUS, and EMESA, and the land of the JORDAN, and PALESTINE.

And in the year two hundred and thirty-seven [of the ARABS = A.D. 851], when BAKRAT BAR-'ASHUT, Patrician of ARMENIA, came to YUSEF BAR-MAHAMMAD, the captain of the host of the ARABS, concerning peace, he seized him and sent him in fetters to BAGHDAD. Then the troops of the RHOMAYE and the ARMENIANS gathered together to attack TARON, the city wherein YUSEF was; and when he went forth to fight he and all the warriors who were with him were killed. And as for the rest of the people of the ARABS who were not [156] combatants, the ARMENIANS having stripped them bare, left them naked and uncovered, and the greater number of them became frostbitten and died. And afterwards BOGHA, the great captain of the host of the ARABS, came and enslaved ARMENIA, and he killed many there. And after a little BOGHA went against ZAIRAK, the TURKAYA, who had rebelled in TIFLIS, and he killed the rebel on the river KUR, which floweth through the middle of TIFLIS, and he set the city on fire, and burned therein about fifty thousand men. And because all its buildings were made of cedar wood, which burns up quickly and is

quickly extinguished, the burning of them did not take as long as if they had been made of oak, and in one day they extinguished the fire again. And the men of EMESA also rebelled against the governor of the city, and they killed him.

At this time the ARABS, seeing that it was a woman who ruled the country of the RHOMAYE, regarded them with contempt and broke the peace. Then THEODORA the queen sent an army of the RHOMAYE, and it marched against CILICIA in the year eleven hundred and seventy-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 861), and it enslaved the whole country of 'ANAZARBA.

When MUTAWAKKIL heard [this], he sent NASHIF, the eunuch, to her on an embassy concerning peace and the redemption of prisoners. And the queen replied, 'We will make peace, but where are you to obtain the twenty thousand Christian prisoners which presumably ye will give to redeem the ARABS who are with me?' Thereupon, even as it really happened, the eunuch flattering her with words, she set free eight thousand and twelve thousand, and said, 'These were baptized and were Christians, and it is impossible for us to give them'. And it is said that when NASHIF took these and went forth, THEODORA killed them all because she saw that they were inclined to a going forth, though they had believed and were baptized. And others say that NIKOLA, her eunuch, killed them without the queen's command.

And in this year a people of the HABASHAYE (ABYSSINIANS), who are called 'BOJAYE' (BEJA), went forth, and they killed all the ARABS who were working in the gold-mines, and in the mines of precious stones which are on the frontiers of EGYPT and the BOJAYE. And the captain of the host of the ARABS, whose name was 'ANBASAH, attacked them with twenty thousand horsemen and foot-soldiers. [157] And they loaded their beasts with provisions in abundance and water, because they had before them a journey of three days through an arid desert wherein there was neither water nor habitation. And because the BOJAYE fight upon camels, and because their camels are easily frightened by any strange sight or sound, 'ANBASAH commanded his soldiers and they hung little bells on the necks of their animals. And the ARABS attacked the BOJAYE and broke them and killed many of them, and their king was again subjugated to the ARABS, and he began to give each year four hundred [full-weight?] *mithkals*, according to custom.

At this time BOKHT-ISHO', BAR-GABRIEL BAR~BOKHT-ISHO' BAR-GIWARGIS BAR-BOKHT-ISHO', the ELAMITE, was famous in medicine. He attended the Khalifah MUTAWAKKIL, and he was magnified by him so greatly that he became his counterpart in apparel, and honour, and abundance of possessions and riches, and slaves and handmaidens. He was so wholly beloved by the Khalifah that one day when he went in to the Khalifah, and sat with him on the royal throne, in the usual manner, he was wearing a physician's gown made of Roman silk. And a small portion of the sewing of the lower part of it was torn, and when the Khalifah began to talk to him he tore the sewing away bit by bit down to the feet. Now they were discussing together the history of demoniacs and mad men, and the Khalifah asked the physician, 'How dost thou know when a demoniac needeth to be bound in chains?' BOKHT-ISHO'—now he knew well what the Khalifah had done to his gown—said to him, "When the demoniac arrives at the stage that he teareth open the seam of his physician's gown down to the feet; then we know that [the demoniac] needeth chains'. And MUTAWAKKIL laughed until he fell on his back, and he commanded rich apparel to be brought for the physician, and he arrayed him in it.

Now although the Khalifah loved him so greatly, eventually he became jealous of him and robbed him of all his possessions after that famous banquet which the physician made in his honour. At this banquet he prepared five thousand tables. On each table there were a roast lamb, and two cocks, and two young doves, and three terra-cotta (faience?) drinking cups, and a dish of sweetmeats, and an adequate supply of bread cakes made of fine flour, and sweet cakes, and perfumes, and an abundant supply of snow [158]—now it was the season of summer—and it was brought there from the mountains of 'ATHOR (ASSYRIA). It is said that

after everything else had been taken away from him, the wood and charcoal and wine which remained in his house were bought by a certain nobleman whose name was HUSAIN BAR-MUKELED for six thousand *dinars*, and he sold them again for twelve thousand.

Now this BOKHT-ISHO' BAR-GABHRIL held himself to be above the Laws of the Church. He consorted with two women at the same time, and they conceived and brought forth two sons, the one [called] GABRIEL and the other JOHN—who became Metropolitan of MAWSIL. From this time onward he did not prosper. Formerly he used to sit in an ebony carriage and drive (?) from the palace of the Khalifah to his own house, and there were about one thousand men in his service. From sunset until midnight he amused himself with lewd debaucheries. And at midnight he stood up and prayed, being surrounded with black eunuchs, whom he honoured. After prayer he sat upon his couch and read the Gospel until it was day. Then he mounted an animal and went to the service of the Khalifah. It is said that the expenses nightly for wax candles, oil, and perfumes amounted to five hundred *dinars*. And after he'd been reduced to poverty he left two sons and three daughters, and he wandered about in various countries.

And in the year eleven hundred and seventy-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 865), which is the year two hundred and forty-five of the ARABS (= A.D. 865), an ambassador was sent by MICHAEL, king of the RHOMAYE—now he was an old man whose name was 'ATROPHILOS—to MUTAWAKKIL, king of the ARABS. And with him he had seventy-seven men from among the Arab prisoners, whom he had brought as gifts to MUTAWAKKIL. And he was received with honour and there was peace. And in that year there was a severe earthquake in the province of ANTIOCH, and it destroyed fifteen hundred large buildings and ninety towers of the wall of the city. And frightful and terrifying sounds were heard from inside the earth, and in all the cities of SYRIA the quakings destroyed many places, viz. [LATAKIA, JABALAH], LAODICEA (?). All the inhabitants of JABALAH perished.

And in the year two hundred and forty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 865) MUTAWAKKIL sent an ambassador [called] NASIR BAR-'AZHAR to MICHAEL the king, and with him were one thousand [159] testicle bags of the musk animal, and rich apparel, and a large quantity of crocus, and many other kinds of produce. And he was received with honour, and two thousand ARABS who had been taken prisoners were given to him, among them being twenty women and ten youths. NASIR himself said, 'During all the time I have been in CONSTANTINOPLE I have never seen a king who could talk whilst listening to my words through interpreters, but he only said "yes" with his head. His cousin (?) spoke instead of him because he was as yet a youth. And when many of the ARABS were baptized, the king of the RHOMAYE commanded that they should all go as far as the frontier which is between us and the ARABS. And he who chose Christianity, and came back from it there, we would receive as a true believer. NASIR saith, 'Two jewellers who were very highly skilled, and were TARKE of the AFRICANS, and many others from the region of the frontiers came back, and they did not wish to come with us'.

And in the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven (A-D. 866), which is the year two hundred and forty-seven of the ARABS, MUNTASER, the son of MUTAWAKKIL, conspired secretly with certain slaves of the TURKAYE, and they rushed in on his father when he was drunk and killed him.

After MUTAWAKKIL, MONTASER his son [ruled] six months. When this Khalifah succeeded, he oppressed his two brothers MU'TAZ and MUWAYAD, and threatened them with murder if they did not relinquish their claims to the kingdom, and transfer them to him and his sons, this being the opposite to that which their father MOTAWAKKIL had ordained, namely, that each of them should reign after his fellow prince]. And under urgent pressure they wrote a deed in which they testified that they themselves of their own accord, and as free men who of their good will, had severed their connexion with the kingdom, and that MUNTASER their brother had the power to appoint his son king after him. Thus the murder of his father not

being sufficient for him, he must act fraudulently in respect of his [two] brothers. He died of the disease of angina pectoris (or, suffocation) when he was twenty-five years old. And it is said that before he died he saw himself as it were in a dream ascending a ladder, and when he arrived at the twenty-fifth rung of the ladder it was said to him, 'Stop; this is thine end'.

After MUNTASER, MUSTA'IN, the son of MU'TASIM, [ruled] three years and three months. When MUNTASER died the nobles took counsel [160] with each other, and they did not wish to make king either of his brothers because they all were associated with the treacherous murder of their father. Then the nobles fetched MUSTA'IN, the son of MU'TASIM, the brother of MAMON, and they swore fealty to him and made him king.

And in the year eleven hundred and eighty of the GREEKS (A.D. 869), which is the year two hundred and forty-nine of the ARABS, 'UMAR, the captain of the host of the ARABS, was sent with troops to invade the country of the RHOMAYE, and they met the armies of the RHOMAYE in the plain of HASYA, which is on the frontier of MELITENE, and the RHOMAYE killed 'UMAR and two thousand ARABS. And when 'ALI BAR-YAHYAH, the captain of the host [of the ARABS], heard [this], he likewise collected a very large army from MAIPERKAT and ARMENIA and went and attacked the RHOMAYE, and he also was killed. When the men of BAGHDAD and of SAMARA heard that these two mighty warriors had been killed, and that TURKAYE slaves were ruling over the kingdom of the ARABS, and were putting to death whom they pleased, and keeping alive whom they pleased, and were making kings a great crowd of people gathered together. And with them were a mob of men from the bazars and cut-throats and robbers, and they went to the gate of the prison and smashed it, and they brought out the evil-doers, and they were all united by a common bond of interest. And they cut the bridge over the TIGRIS, and they went into the Treasury and plundered it, and they burnt the documents (i.e. books and registers) of the scribes in the fire. And they also looted the two monasteries of the Christians, viz. that of BESHER (or, BASHAR) and that of ABRAHAM, the sons of 'AHRON. Then the TURKAYE slaves mounted horses (?) and killed many of the cut-throats and robbers and others; and wrath subsided.

After MUSTA'IN, MU'TAZ BAR-MUTAWAKKIL [ruled] four years and seven months. In the year two hundred and fifty-one [of the ARABS], when MUSTA'IN went down from SAMARA to BAGHDAD, the TURKAYE gathered together and brought out MU'TAZ and MUWAYAD, the sons of MUTAWAKKIL, from prison; and they swore oaths of fidelity to MU'TAZ and made him king. And they swore also to MUWAYAD his brother that he should reign after him. Now the men of BAGHDAD sided with MUSTA'IN, and the men of SAMARA with MUTAWAKKIL; and a great schism fell among the ARABS. In the year eleven hundred and seventy-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 863), MICHAEL, king of the RHOMAYE, died, having reigned twenty-five years. And because he had no son [161] a man whose name was BASIL reigned after him for five years. Now MU'TAZ had no love for his brother MUWAYAD. And he broke the oaths and the covenants which he had made with him, and he shut him up in prison and scourged him with stripes until he wrote a deed which annulled his claim [to the kingdom]. And even when he had done this MU'TAZ did not let him alone, but whilst he was in prison he sent and ordered him to be dressed in a tunic made of the skins of mangy foxes, which was very heating. And he commanded [his servants], and they thrust his brother's head inside the skin tunic, and they tied his hands and his feet together, and then sewed up the tunic round him and left him in it until he died. And then he had him taken out, and he brought a judge and credible witnesses, and they seeing that there was no mark of a blow or of a knife on his body, and no sign of strangulation on his neck, testified that he had died a natural death. And so also in the case of MUSTA'IN, who had freed himself [from any claim to the kingdom], MU'TAZ sent TURKAYE and they cut off his head and brought it to him. It is said that when they brought the head to MU'TAZ, he was reciting verses of poetry, and he said, 'Set ye it down for the moment until I have finished the verses which I am perusing, and then I will look at it'. And,

moreover, MU'TAZ having slain both his brother and the man who had abdicated the kingdom, placed his confidence in his own ability [to rule]. And he neglected the TURKAYE, and did not give them their pay.

And in the year two hundred and fifty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 867?), the TURKAYE armed with their weapons gathered together at his gate and demanded from him their pay and rations. He sent to his mother [telling her] to give him what he could give them. She replied, 'There is nothing'. Then the soldiers went in to him, and they spat in his face, and smote him on his cheek, and they constrained him until he wrote a deed of abdication from the kingdom. Then, bound in fetters, they thrust him into a small chamber, and they blocked up the front of it and left him for days until he died; and then they brought him out and buried him. As he had done [to others], so was it done to him.

After MU'TAZ, MUHTADI, the son of WATHEK, [ruled] eleven months and twenty days. They say that this Khalifah did not undertake to rule until they had brought MU'TAZ alive before him, and he had confessed by word of mouth that he had abdicated voluntarily.

At this time there came forth a certain rebel whose name was 'ALI, and he declared concerning himself that he was descended from 'ALI, the uncle of their Prophet. And a great number of people from the CUSHITES and ARABS gathered about him, and they were called KARMATAYE, from the name [162] of the village of their chief 'ALI. And they shed much blood of the ARABS and they ruled over all the cities of the South, and over portions of SYRIA and SEN'AR (SENNAAAR) for many years.

And MOHTADI drove out the singing men and singing women from SURMANRAI, wherein their kings at that time used to live; and he smashed the instruments of music. And he killed the lions, and panthers, and dogs with which the kings his predecessors used to sport. And the TURKAYE slaves rose up against him also and they killed him. For he fled from before them riding on a horse, and he was crying out, 'O men, help your king'; and no man answered him. And when he went into a certain house the TURKAYE went in after him. He fled from one roof to another, and in this manner he was overtaken (or, caught) and was killed in the year two hundred and fifty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 868).

At this time HUNAIN, the son of ISAAC, an excellent physician, became known (or, famous). His father was a pharmacist from the city of HIRTA. HUNAIN greatly desired to learn (i.e. study) medicine, and he went to BAGHDAD and began to read the Collection (i.e. Epitome) of ALEXANDER on JOHN, the physician, the son of MASAWIYAH. And one day in answering JOHN back, JOHN became angry, and drove him away, and said to him, 'What connexion is there between thee and medicine? It would be far better for a man of thy sort to be selling beans by the wayside.' And the young man HUNAIN was sad, and he went out weeping. And he went to the country of the RHOMAYE, and he lived there until he had learned the writing and literature of the GREEKS accurately. And he was able to translate books from Greek into Syriac, and from Syriac into the Saracenic tongue (i.e. Arabic). And he went back again to BAGHDAD in the garb of a GREEK, and he went to GABRIEL, the chief of the physicians, the son of BOKHT-ISHO'. And when GABRIEL had tested HUNAIN'S knowledge, he honoured him greatly, and he named him 'RABBAN HUNAIN'. And he said unto those who were present, 'If this young man liveth he will not leave any reputation to SARGIS (SERGIUS) of RAS'AIN'. And the report of him came to JOHN, who had driven him away, and one carried him to him, and JOHN asked his pardon. And thus his excellence (or, goodness) increased from day to day. And he began to expound the various branches of science, [and did so] until he died in the month of the FIRST KANON (DECEMBER), in the year eleven hundred and eighty-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 876), which is the year two hundred and sixty of the ARABS (A.D. 873). And he left two sons, ISAAC and DAVID. And ISAAC also expounded many books. [163] Twenty-five books of HUNAIN are extant, besides those which he translated from Greek into Syriac and Arabic. And he had a nephew, [the son of a sister,] whose name was HUBAISH, the son of HASAN of the stretched-out hand. And he was a

marvellous expounder of medical books. And through the luck (or, good fortune) of HUNAIN, many of the books which HUBAISH interpreted have, when come across by people of slight knowledge, been thought by them to have been written by HUNAIN, and that the scribe made a mistake in [reading] the letters of the name, and therefore erased [the name of] HUBAISH, and wrote HUNAIN. And for this reason the books which remain (i.e. are extant) under the name of HUBAISH are very few, and of the remainder many are written in the name of HUNAIN.

After MUHTADI, MU'TAMED, the son of MUTAWAKKIL, [ruled] twenty and three years. This Khalifah was occupied the whole of his time with that rebel ['ALI] who went forth in the South. And in the year two hundred and sixty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 878) the RHOMAYE took from the ARABS the fortress of LOLWAH (LULWAN?). And after one year BAR-RASHID, the captain of the host of the ARABS, collected four thousand horsemen, and went to the country of the RHOMAYE. And the Patricians of the RHOMAYE, viz. him of SILAWKYA, and him of TUANA, and him of KARSHENA, and others, surrounded the army of the ARABS. Then the ARABS, despairing of being able to save their lives, got down from their horses, and hamstrung all of them. And they knelt down on their knees, and began to shoot their arrows into the RHOMAYE. But their shooting in no wise benefited them, on the contrary, for the RHOMAYE rushed on the ARABS, and some of them they killed, and some of them they made prisoners, among these being BAR-RASHID, their leader.

And in the year two hundred and seventy of the ARABS (A.D. 883), MUWAFAC, the captain of the host of the ARABS, collected a numerous army and went to attack the rebel who was in the South; some [went] in ships and some [marched] by land. And after a very fierce battle the ARABS were a match for the army of the rebel and they defeated him, and they killed him in the region of the rivers of BABYLON. For this man 'ALI said that he was not only descended from the Prophet of the ARABS, but that he was announced by the Prophet. 'And', he said, 'one day when he was dwelling in the desert a cloud overshadowed him, and there was a peal of thunder. And a voice came out from that thunder, saying: Go to the city of BASRAH and thou shalt conquer', and in fact he conquered and took the city, and he had three captains of the host, [164] but the crowning point of his sovereignty did not supervene.

And in the year eleven hundred and ninety-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 883), BASIL, king of the RHOMAYE, died, and LEO his son reigned after him thirteen years. This Khalifah trampled on the Law, and he forsook his wife and took another [woman], and this [woman] he also left and took another; and he also took a fourth [woman]. And he had two wives at the same time.

And in the year two hundred and seventy-one of the ARABS (A.D. 884?), the brigands of BAGHDAD laid their hands on the monastery which is behind the river 'ISA, and they plundered its possessions, and destroyed a portion of its walls. Then HUSAIN, the son of ISHMAEL, put an end to their violence, and he crowned (i.e. rebuilt) what they had destroyed. And one year later the ARABS of TARSOS pulled down the new buildings of the great church which was therein. And a violent earthquake took place, and it threw down the Great Mosque which was in EGYPT, and many large houses (or, palaces). And there was a pestilence in that country, and one thousand biers of the dead were counted in one day. And there was also poverty (i.e. scarcity of food) in BAGHDAD.

And in the year twelve hundred of the GREEKS (A.D. 889), a mound on the bank of the river of Basra, a city below BAGHDAD, split open, and seven dead people who were lying in coffins of stone of the colour of *meshna* were discovered. Their bodies and their funerary wrappings were in a good state of preservation, and the odour of musk exhaled from their bodies. And their ears, and noses, and lips, and hair, and eyebrows were well preserved, and their eyes had the appearance of having been treated with *kohl* (stibium). And on the side

of one young man among them was the mark of a spear-thrust. And on their coffins were inscriptions in pagan priestly characters, and no man was able to read them.

At this time MAHAMMAD, the son of ZACHARIAH the physician, became known (or, famous). This man when thirty years old went from RAY, his native city which is in PERSIA, to BAGHDAD, and he lodged in a house (*khan?*) where strangers were received; and he devoted himself to learning, and he surpassed his contemporaries [in learning]. He composed many books on medicine and *Chimya* (alchemy). And [he wrote] that great book of his which he showed whilst he was making an exemplar for himself; and after his death the governor of the country gave much gold to his sister, and he took duly assigned portions [thereof]. And his disciples instructed him, and for this reason he did not possess the disposition (or, manner) which was right.

(Continued on Next Page)

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

The Kings of the Arabs (continued).

The History of those who are called Nusiraye

[165] and who are in PHOENICIA, because many have wished to know who the NUSIRAYE were.

In the year twelve hundred and two of the GREEKS (A.D. 891), an old man appeared in the country of 'AKULA, in a village which is called 'NASARIAH' (NASRANAH). He multiplied fastings and prayers, and pretended that he had adopted the life of voluntary poverty, and many of the natives of the country cleaved to him. And he chose for himself twelve men according to the number of the Twelve Apostles, and he commanded them to teach men a strange doctrine. And when the report of him was heard by the governor of the country, he sent [men] and seized him, and shut him up in one of the chambers of his palace, and he swore that at daybreak on the following day he would crucify him. And that night the governor drank wine and became drunk, and when [the slaves] made ready for him to sleep, he asked [them] for the key of the little chamber in which the old man was locked up, and they placed it under his pillows. Now the handmaiden who used to sleep with the governor, knowing that the old man constantly fasted and prayed, was sorry for him. And when she saw that her lord had sunk into deep slumber, she took the key and went out and let the old man escape, and then shut (i.e. locked) the door again, and put the key back again in its place. When the governor woke up he took the key and opened the door, and did not find the old man in the chamber; and he was amazed. Now the young woman was afraid to make it known that she had opened [the door] and let [the old man] escape, and thus the rumour flew abroad that he had gone out through locked doors. After a little time the old man saw two of his disciples who were living in countries that were far from [his] village, and he came to them and assured them that it was 'the angels who had brought him out and placed him in the desert'. And he wrote a Book of Faith and gave [it] to them: in order that they might teach men therefrom. Now he wrote thus: 'I, so-and-so, who am thought to be the son of 'OTHMAN, am from the village the name of which is "NASARIAH". CHRIST, who is that JESUS, appeared to me in a dream. He is the WORD, He is the DIRECTOR, He is 'AHMAD BAR-MAHAMMAD BAR-HANIFIAH, of the sons of 'ALI, and He is the angel [166] GABRIEL. And He said unto me, Thou art he who readeth (or, calleth). Thou art the very Truth (or, Faith). Thou art the camel which keepeth (i.e. nurseth) anger against the unbelievers. Thou art the beast who carrieth the weight of the believers. Thou art the Spirit. Thou art JOHN, the son of ZECHARIAH.

'Proclaim, therefore, to the children of men that they shall introduce four genuflexions towards JERUSALEM into their prayers, two before the sun riseth and two before he setteth. Each time they bow they shall say these three sentences: God is exalted to everything. God is higher than everything. God is greater than everything. On the second day (MONDAY) and on the sixth day (FRIDAY) of each week no man shall perform any labour whatsoever. Two days in the year they shall fast. And they shall not multiply ablutions of the excretory members. Spiritous liquor they shall not drink, but they may drink as much wine as they wish. Flesh of the wild beast only they shall not eat.' And having delivered to them this disjointed and contemptible doctrine he

departed from them to PALESTINE; and he preached and taught the villagers and men of the desert and made disciples among them. And from that place he disappeared, and until the present day his place hath never been known.

And in the year eleven hundred and ninety-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 887) ANDREA 'ESTAPHRIKI went forth with a large army to the country of the ARABS, and NAZMAN, the eunuch, the captain of the host of the ARABS, engaged him in battle, and the RHOMAYE were defeated, and the ARABS carried off the crosses of gold and silver which were on the heads of their spears.

And in the year two hundred and seventy-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 892) MU'TAMED commanded that neither actors (i.e. strolling players) nor astrologers, nor men who use enchantments, should sit by the roadside. And he made those who sold books to swear that they would not sell books of philosophy, or books of investigations (or, experiments), or discussions on Confessions (i.e. Religions). And that year, having drunk overmuch wine and becoming drunk, he collapsed and died.

After MU'TAMED, MU'TASED, the son of MUWAFK, [ruled] nine years and nine months. He reigned in the year two hundred and seventy-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 892). And in the year two hundred and eighty of the ARABS (A.D. 893), ESMA'IL, the son of AHMAD, the captain of the host of the ARABS, invaded the countries of the HUNS, and he bound in fetters their king and his wife, and he looted his city. And he brought out about ten thousand TURKAYE prisoners, and flocks of sheep and goats and much cattle. And in this year there was a terrible earthquake, [167] and a great city in OUTER INDIA fell down, and one hundred and fifty thousand men were dragged out from under the dust of the houses which had been thrown down, and were buried.

And in the year twelve hundred and seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 896), LEO, king of the RHOMAYE., fell sick of a disease of the bowels and died, and his son ALEXANDER reigned after him one year. And because he had turned aside his heart from the fear of God, and had given himself over to sorcerers and magicians, he was smitten by the rod of righteousness and died. And after him his brother CONSTANTINUS reigned four years. And at the beginning of his kingdom SIMIAN, the chief of the BULGARIANS and SCLAVS, came against CONSTANTINOPLE, and he destroyed many villages. And he afflicted the city also, and he made against it a great ditch [which reached] from BELAKERNE to the gate which is called 'Golden'. And the king of the RHOMAYE sent [a dispatch] to him, saying, 'Since we are all Christians, and the children of one baptism, why do such dissensions as these exist between us?' And as SIMION refused to be propitiated (or, reconciled), king CONSTANTINUS collected the Arab prisoners who were in CONSTANTINOPLE, and he promised them that if they would help the RHOMAYE to victory [over] the BULGARIANS he would set them free. And having sworn to the king oaths [that they would do so], weapons of war were given to them. And the RHOMAYE went forth with the ARABS with one purpose, and they defeated the SCLAVS, and killed many of them, and the rest fled. The king (CONSTANTINUS), however, went back on his promise, and he took away from the ARABS their weapons, and threw iron fetters on them again, and scattered them throughout his provinces, for he was afraid lest they should set up a chief for themselves. The history of the blessed MAR MICHAEL, which dealeth with the war of the RHOMAYE with the ARABS, [testifieth] to this, and he introduceth it in the Arabic manuscripts [which describe] the war with the SCLAVS, and it is correct. For during the war with the ARABS the RHOMAYE would never have believed it [safe] to release the Arab prisoners from their bonds, and to put weapons of war into their hands.

And in this year the ARABS were gathered together against a certain youth of 'ABU JALEB, a Christian and a physician of the king, and they testified concerning him that he had blasphemed their Prophet, and they wished to kill him. Now when king MU'TASED heard [this], he said, 'The ARABS are liars " and he sent [168] soldiers and rescued the youth.

Concerning this year the astrologers had predicted that there would be heavy rains, and that the rivers would spill over (i.e. would flood the country), and that BAGHDAD would be destroyed and perish. Nevertheless, from New Year's Day until the end of the year, not one drop of rain fell on the earth, and the fountains (i.e. wells) ran dry, and thus the astrologers were put to shame.

At this time 'ABU AL-HASAN TABITH, one of the heathen of HARRAN, became known (or, famous); he was the son of KURAH, the son of MARWAN, the son of KIURA, the son of ABRAHAM, the son of KIURA, the son of MARINOS, the son of SOLOMON. Originally he was a money-changer in the bazar of HARRAN. Then he occupied himself in a marvellous degree with philosophy, and he was adequately acquainted with three languages—Greek, Syriac, and Arabic. He composed in Arabic about one hundred and fifty books on logic; and mathematics, and astrology, and medicine. And in Syriac he compiled about sixteen books, the greater number of which we have seen and possess, viz. a Book on the Laws and Canons of the heathen; a Book on the Burial of the Dead; a Book on the certainty of the Confession (i.e. Faith) of the heathen; a Book on Purity and Impurity; a Book on the Animals which are suitable for offering up as Sacrifices; a Book on the Times of Prayer; a Book on the Readings which are suitable for each of the Seven Stars in Prayers; a Book on Repentance and Supplication; a Book of Music; a Book on the Chronology of the ancient kings who were CHALDEANS; a Book on the Confession (i.e. Faith) of the SABAYE (SABAENS); a Book on the division of the days of the week according to the Seven Stars; a Book on the renown (or, purity) of his Race, and on his Ancestors, and from whom they were descended; a Book on the Laws of HERMES and his Prayers which the heathen pray; a Book on the statement 'two straight lines being extended diminishingly from two straight angles, meet together'; and another Book on Metre. And in one of his dissertations praising HARRAN and heathenism he spake thus: 'Although many have been subjugated to error by means of torture; our fathers, by the hand of God, have endured and spoken valiantly, and this blessed city hath never been defiled with the error of NAZARETH. And we are [169] the heirs, and transmitters to our heirs, of heathenism, which is honoured gloriously in this world. Lucky is he who beareth the burden with a sure hope for the sake of heathenism. Who hath made the world to be inhabited and flooded it with cities except the good men and kings of heathenism? Who hath constructed harbours and [conserved] the rivers? Who hath made manifest the hidden sciences? On whom hath dawned the divinity which giveth divinations and teacheth the knowledge of future events except the wise men of the heathen? It is they who have pointed out all these things, and have made to arise the healing (or, medicine) of souls, and have made to shine forth their redemption, and it is they also who have made to arise the medicine for bodies, And they have filled the world with the correctness (or, stability) of modes of life, and with the wisdom which is the head (or, beginning) of excellence. Without these [products] of heathenism the world would be an empty and a needy place, and it would have been enveloped in sheer want and misery.'

These things we have quoted from the words of this man so that we may make manifest his great ability in [writing] the Syriac language; and his discourses in Greek and Arabic were even more elegant.

And in the year two hundred and eighty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 898) a baleful wind blew in the quarter of KUFAH, and 'UKAMTA was overwhelmed. And torrential rain came, and there were mighty peals of thunder, and terrific flashes of lightning, and black and white stones fell from the air. Now it was the night of the First day of the Week. And hail came in BASRA, and one hailstone weighed one hundred and fifty *zuze*. And marauding bands of the ARABS fell upon many of the ships of the RHOMAYE. and they burned them all together with their crews. It is said that there were three thousand souls in them.

And in the year two hundred and eighty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 900), WASIF the eunuch, the captain of the host of the ARABS in the country of CILICIA, rebelled, and he made preparations that he himself might escape by sea. And because of this MU'TASED commanded, and [they] burned all the ships of the ARABS. And because the ARABS of TARSOS used to make raids with those ships, this [command of the Khalifah]

helped the Christians greatly. And one year later a severe pestilence broke out in the cities of 'ADHORBIJAN, and it became so terrible that the living were unable to bury the dead, because those who were on the road to death travelled very speedily.

And in this year MAHAMMAD, the captain of the host of the ARABS, invaded the country of the RHOMAYE, and he pillaged certain villages, and he took prisoners one hundred fighting men, and sixty ecclesiastics, priests, and deacons, [170] and crosses, and the furnishings of the temples. Then the RHOMAYE gathered together and there went forth a mighty army by sea and by land, and they came as far as KHISHUM; and they took captive more than fifteen thousand men, and women, and children of the ARABS. And they took with them to the country of the RHOMAYE the greater number of the Christians with a forceful hand, [saying] 'lest the ARABS should come and kill them'.

And in the year two hundred and eighty-nine (A.D. 901) of the ARABS MU'TASED died, and the nobles sent for his son MUKTAFI, who was in the city of CALINICUS, and they had him brought.

After MU'TASED, MUKTAFI, his son, [ruled] six years and nine months. Immediately after this Khalifah came and reigned, he blocked up the caves which his father had dug in the earth, and he imprisoned the evil-doers in them. This Khalifah had a son whose name was JA'FAR, and he was marvellously well skilled in Astrology, and he surpassed all those who were before him in his knowledge. One day one of the eunuchs approached him, and with him was an '*astrolomon* (astrolabe). And he said unto him, 'Observe the "rising" of this child which hath just been born in the house'. And when he had scrutinized the rising, he said, 'This child hath no intelligence. And after forty and three days he will take his food in his hand and eat.' And he said to me, 'In truth, what is it?' And the eunuch said, 'In truth I have brought to thee the rising of the child of a cat' (i.e. a kitten).

And in this year, which is the year twelve hundred and thirteen of the GREEKS (A.D. 902), in the middle of the summer northern winds were blowing in the city of EMESA. And there was bitter cold, and the waters froze, and men put on cloaks and began to warm themselves at fires—a matter most marvellous.

And in the year twelve hundred and eighteen of the GREEKS (A.D. 907), BASIL, the eunuch, was sent as an envoy to MUKTAFI, the king of the ARABS, concerning the exchange of prisoners. And he brought with him ten persons from among the prisoners of the ARABS [as] presents, and he was received with honour. And after one year an exchange was effected, and three thousand ARABS, men and women, were exchanged, and were saved from fetters. And in this year, which is the year two hundred and eighty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 901), MUKTAFI died and his brother reigned.

After MUKTAFI, MUKTADER his brother [ruled] twenty-seven years. He was thirteen [171] years of age when [he began] to reign. Now inasmuch as he was not fully developed in mind and stature, the nobles regretted that they had made him king. Now one of them, ABBAS, was greatly concerned that such was the case, and he assembled the nobles and went in to MU'TASED, the son of MU'TAZ, and they swore oaths of fealty to him. And they sent [an order] to MUKTADER, and his mother, and his eunuch, to go forth from the palace. Then MUNES, the chief eunuch, was filled with anger, and he gathered together the rest of the eunuchs and the TURKAYE slaves. And they armed themselves and rushed in suddenly on the nobles who were assembled with MU'TAZ, and they killed 'ABBAS and some of the nobles, and the others they made prisoners. And they brought the son of MU'TAZ to the palace, and during the night they strangled him and buried him in the building. And in this manner the kingdom of MUKTADER stood firm.

And in the year twelve hundred and twenty of the GREEKS (A.D. 909), a great snowfall took place in BAGHDAD, and the snow lay four fingers deep on the roofs. And at that time there was no man in

BAGHDAD that had ever seen snow before. And after eighteen years, in the year three hundred and fifteen of the ARABS (A.D. 927), which is the year twelve hundred and thirty-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 927), there was a very bitterly cold winter again in BAGHDAD. It was so cold that the vinegar of the wine in the cellars (?), and eggs, and oils, froze, and the trees withered. And in that year MUNES, the eunuch, with an army of ARABS, attacked the country of the RHOMAYE from the Citadel of MELITENE, and he took captives, and looted, and went away.

And in the year two hundred and ninety-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 911), RUSTAM, the captain of the host of the ARABS, invaded the country of the RHOMAYE from the Citadel of TARSOS, and he captured the fortress of MALIKH, the ARMENIAN, and burnt it. And in that year MUKTADER divided one hundred thousand gold *dinars* among the singing women who were in his palace. And whilst he was emptying his treasuries in such ways as this, he was being pressed by the TURKAYE slaves for their pay. And he had no money to give them. And he was torturing the scribes and the owners of possessions with severe tortures to make them transfer their riches to him. Now at the beginning of the kingdom of the ARABS victory (or, conquest) was the one and only consideration in their minds, and it was also when their kingdom had extended itself [172] and they began to conquer and to be conquered; but in these times they gave themselves up to lasciviousness, and drunkenness and riotous living, and they are more often the conquered than the conquerors. Therefore when they wished to ensure peace with the RHOMAYE, the RHOMAYE were unwilling, nay they awaited [the time] when they would again rule over the dominions which had been theirs formerly. And they only sent envoys to discuss the matter of exchange of prisoners [as an excuse].

And in the year three hundred of the ARABS (A.D. 912), which is the year twelve hundred and twenty-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 913), there appeared a dwarf woman who gave birth to a child, and many saw her in the country of OUTER INDIA. And in this year ALEXANDER, the king of the RHOMAYE, died, and his son CONSTANTIN reigned after him when he was twelve years old.

And in the year twelve hundred and twenty-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 916) one army of the RHOMAYE went out to TARSOS, and another to MAR'ASH, and they made captives of the ARABS, about fifty thousand souls; and there was great mourning among the ARABS in every place. And in this year the Nestorian Metropolitan of DAKUKAH became a Muslim in BAGHDAD, and the Christians grieved sorely.

And in the year three hundred and five of the ARABS (A.D. 917), two envoys were sent by king CONSTANTIN to the king of the ARABS, an old man and a young man. And when they arrived at TAGRITH the ARABS made them take up their abode there for two months, until king MUKTADER had furnished his palace; and he collected his troops and his nobles, and then he summoned them. It is said that they stationed one hundred and sixty thousand horsemen between the building in which the envoys were living and the palace, on both sides [of the way]. And inside the outer gate they stationed five hundred horses which were saddled with saddles of gold and silver on one side [of the way] and five hundred [similarly saddled] on the other. And in the court which was inside the outer building were many stags, both male and female, and deer and gazelle, and in the court of the other building were four huge elephants, and on each one of them eight men, INDIANS, were mounted; and in their hands were vessels of naphtha and fire. And beyond this building there was another building wherein were one hundred lions, fifty on this side, and fifty on that; and they were fettered with chains.

And when [173] the ambassadors had passed through all these courts, [the slaves] brought them out into a spacious garden wherein was a fountain of water. This fountain was made of white tin which could not be distinguished from silver. And above the fountain was a great tree of wrought silver, and many of its branches and leaves were gilded, and they swayed about in the gentle wind which was blowing. And on the branches were birds of the colour of gold and silver, and they flew about by means of underground strings, and they

emitted various kinds of sounds and sang and twittered. And there were very many palm-trees in the garden which were inlaid with panels of acacia wood up to the places where their branches sprang forth. And there were there likewise very many trees which were loaded with citrons.

And from the garden the slaves took the envoys into a spacious hall, the walls of which were draped with curtains of costly stuffs. And on them hung ten thousand cuirasses, and likewise shields, and bows, and spears. It is said that the number of the carpets (?) which were on the walls amounted to twenty-two thousand, besides those which were on the ground and were trodden upon.

From there they went through a long corridor, and on one side of it were arranged one thousand white eunuchs bearing arms, and on the other side of it were drawn up in a line one thousand black eunuchs, who were armed like the white eunuchs. And when they went in through the door[way], they saw the Proximus, that is to say, the Wazir, who was seated upon a high throne, and around him were scribes (or, lawyers) and nobles, who were standing, and the envoys thought that he was the king. And it was told to them that he was the Wazir.

And from the presence of the Wazir they went into the place where the king was. He was seated on an ebony throne, which was arched. And on the one horn of the throne were nine rows of precious stones which sparkled, and on the other horn were nine [rows also]. And his five sons were round about him: three on the right hand and two on the left. It is said that the envoys sat down seven times and rested before they reached the king. And when the envoys went in with their heads only they cried out, 'Peace'. And they said to the interpreter, 'Is it right for us to kiss the ground? Nevertheless, because this is not demanded by the kingdom of the RHOMAYE from your envoy, we do not kiss the ground. These things we make known [to you] so that ye may not despise us as uneducated men.'

And so when they had fulfilled their mission an answer [174] was drafted and written, and the king himself handed to them the document [containing] the answer with his own hand, and [then] he dismissed them. And he commanded and there was given to each of them twenty thousand *zuze*, and he sent with them envoys of his own, and with them were one hundred and seventy thousand gold *dinars* for buying the Arab prisoners, for the ARABS who were in the hands of the RHOMAYE were far more numerous than the RHOMAYE who were in the hands of the ARABS. Now when the envoys went back, the king of the RHOMAYE did not wish to exchange prisoners, neither would he sell [any].

And in the year three hundred and eight of the ARABS (A.D. 920), a mob of ARABS who were in BAGHDAD made a tumult, and they smashed the gate of the prison, and dragged out the evil-doers. And they attacked the Christians and plundered the mansion of 'ABD-ALLAH, the son of SIMEON, the physician, and the mansions of other Christian lawyers. Then the governor collected the Scouts, and he seized the marauders and impaled their chief, and cut off the hands of his companions.

And in the year three hundred and nine of the ARABS (A.D. 921), a certain athlete (or, ascetic) of the ARABS, whose name was HALAJ, was captured in BAGHDAD. This man called himself 'God embodied', and he made it clear that he worked wonders (or, miracles) by fraudulent means. And the king commanded, and they beat him with one thousand stripes, and afterwards they cut off his hands and his feet, and burned his body; but they hung his head on a spear, and sent it into PERSIA, where it was carried round about through the country.

And in the year twelve hundred and thirty-eight (A.D. 927) an army of the RHOMAYE went forth and came as far as SAMOSATA; and they set up the tent of the king in the great Mosque therein, and the smiters (or, bell-ringers) smote the boards [which summoned to prayer] therein, and they made captives of the people and

went away. And the army of the ARABS pursued them, and brought back what they had carried off. And they captured a kinsman of the king of the RHOMAYE, and brought him in fetters to BAGHDAD.

Now MUNES, the eunuch, who had triumphed in so many wars that his name was called 'MUTAFAR', that is to say 'Conqueror', perceived enmity towards (or, jealousy of) himself on the part of the king. And he was afraid of treachery, and began to watch carefully, and the hatred [of the king] became apparent. And the nobles and very many of the troops cleaved to him, and when encouraging him they said, 'Why art thou afraid? Behold, before a beard sprouted on thee we were fighting before thee—thus shall it be for ever.' [175]

When MUKTADER perceived the rebellious feeling [in the people], he was afraid, and he sent to MUNES, saying, 'Thou hast established me, and thou hast sworn oaths [of fealty] to me. If thou keepest thy mind pure (or, honest), I swear unto thee by God that I will never impute folly (or, treason) to thee. And if there be something different in thy heart, then I will take refuge in God. War with thee I will never contemplate.' Now MUNES was not inclined to reconciliation, but with a strong hand he sent, and had the Khalifah brought to him, and he shut him up in a chamber. And he brought out MAHAMMAD the son of MUKTADER from prison, and swore the oath [of fealty] to him, and nicknamed him 'KAHIR', and he sent and had him seated on the throne. When the officers of the palace saw that they were to be sent out and others brought in in their places, they drew their swords and killed the nobles who were with KAHIR, with the exception of MUNES, who was in his house. And they seized KAHIR and cried out with a loud voice, 'King MUKTADER shall live', and they went forth from the palace, and the people of the city cleaved to them. And they went to the house of MUNES, and brought him out to MUKTADER, and took him again to the palace. Now against MUNES they were unable to stretch out a hand, for they all held him in great fear. Then MUKTADER sent again to MUNES, and begged him to make peace with him, but MUNES did not trust him and he went up to MAWSIL hurriedly. And he collected his troops there and came down again to BAGHDAD. And MUKTADER also collected troops and went forth and met MUNES, and he was defeated, and the Khalifah MUKTADER himself was slain, and his head was hung on the point of a spear, in the year three hundred and twenty of the ARABS (A.D. 932).

In his time lived SINAN, the chief of the physicians, the son of TABITH of HARRAN, and without his authority no man could traffic in herbs. Many sayings of his are famous. One day there came to him a physician, an old man in a splendid garb. And SINAN stood up and paid him honour in accordance with his external body. And when he wished to discuss and to inquire into matters with him, the old man brought out a bag wherein was a very considerable quantity of gold, and he said to him, "Believe [me], my lord, I do not know how to write my name, neither have I ever read anything; but I have many dwellers in my house, and they live by my work. Therefore I beg of thee, that the food which God giveth [176] to them thou wilt not withhold.' And SINAN laughed and said to him, '[Certainly], but only after thou hast accepted the stipulation that thou must not attempt to treat serious illnesses, and that thou must not open an artery, and that thou must never prescribe purgative medicine'. And the old man swore, saying, 'Anything more powerful than oxymel and things like unto it I will never administer'. And SINAN gave him permission to practice medicine.

Then on another day another physician, a handsome young man, came to him, and SINAN asked him, 'With whom hast thou read medicine?' And the young man replied, 'With my father'. And SINAN said, 'Who is thy father?' And he replied, 'That old man who was with thee yesterday'. And so SINAN the physician laughed and said unto him, 'Go in peace and observe the stipulation which I laid upon thy father'. The Khalifah KAHIR used compulsion on SINAN, and brought him over by force from paganism to the Faith of the ARABS.

After MUKTADER, KAHIR [ruled] one year and six months. MUKTADER being killed, MUNES advised the nobles to make 'ABUL-'ABBAS, the son of the murdered man, king. 'For', said he, 'if ye do this, ye will

console his mother, and his widow, and the sister of his widow, and his nurse; and without any toil [on our part] they will produce the gold which is under them (i.e. their lands). The nobles, however, excused themselves and said, 'No, we have had enough of women. Through his mother alone all these things have happened to us, what would happen to us now if to what we have [suffered] through the mother was added that which we should [suffer] through the widow?' And they all agreed, and they brought MAHAMMAD the son of MU'TASAD and made him king; and they nicknamed him 'KAHIR'.

When this Khalifah began to reign he inflicted tortures on the mother of MUKTADER. He hung her up by a rope tied to one foot, and he beat her with his own hands on the deep-set (or, dangerous?) members of her body in order to make her reveal the gold. And, besides what she admitted to possess under the tortures, she was found to have nothing else. And he stripped the sons of MUKTADER and their mother of [their] gold. It is said that the mother of MUKTADER did very many acts of great kindness to this KAHIR when he was imprisoned in the palace, in respect of food, and drink, and dainties, and handmaidens which she used to smuggle in to him. And she even brought him out from the place wherein he was shut up, and set him in such positions where he could secretly gaze upon the feasting of her son, and hear [177] the voices of the singers. And yet when he obtained the supreme power he rewarded her with such evil recompense!

Now MUNES and his companions, because they were in the habit of despising kings, and also because they were afraid for themselves, appointed all the gate-keepers of the palace from among the companies of their own men. And they decreed that every one who went into the palace, whether man or woman, should be searched, that no document which concerned their doings should go in to the king. And they arrived at such a pass that one day when [the servants] were taking in to him the milk which was necessary for him to eat (sic), the guards thrust their hands into the milk pot and searched it!

Then God, praise be to His righteousness! threw division and contention between the troops of MUNES and the rest of the nobles, and they left them and went out into the desert; and KAHIR found the place [where they were] and killed them all. And he constructed a kingdom for himself. He drove away from the palace all the singing men and singing women, and he expelled all the slaves, both male and female, which had been bought with silver, and they were sold to the merchants without the contract, because they were singers and dancers. Then this KAHIR having beaten to death very many of the chiefs and nobles, and seized their riches, those who remained were scattered as it were by a stroke of the sword. And they taught old men and old women the books of the ARABS. And they related lying dreams to the slaves who were guarding king KAHIR, those who stood over the head of the king by night and by day, and to the captains of thousands and hundreds, saying, 'We have seen evil dreams concerning you, but be on your guard in respect of the king, so that he may not destroy you'. And thus also did those who worked divination and the astrologers teach, and when these men asked them how it could be thus, they replied each in his own way that that was his object. Now the guards felt certain in their minds that KAHIR was about to destroy them. And one night, when he had drunk a large quantity of wine, they bound him in fetters, and they treated both his eyes with *kohl*, and they freed themselves from his service. These things took place in the year three hundred and twenty-two of the ARABS (A.D. 933). After some years this KAHIR appeared in the Great Mosque asking for alms, and another man was leading him.

After KAHIR, RADHI, the son of MUKTADER, ruled six years and ten months. The nobles brought this man out of prison and made him king. And it is said that he gave the order, [178] and that the guards treated the eyes of KAHIR with *kohl* [by his command]. And in the year three hundred and twenty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 934) there was a great conflagration in BAGHDAD, in the district which is called KHARKHA, and a vast amount of merchandise and many buildings were destroyed therein. And RADHI commanded and three thousand *dinars* were given from the treasury to the merchants whose properties had

been destroyed, and ten thousand *dinars* to the owners of the buildings, who rebuilt their houses [therewith]. A little later fire again fell on the quarter, and in the same year much snow fell in BAGHDAD.

And in the year twelve hundred and forty-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 938), CONSTANTINE, king of the RHOMAYE, having fallen sick, and feeling 'Behold, death', summoned ROMANUS his son-in-law, and he himself placed the crown in his hands and made him king.

And in that year, which is the year three hundred and twenty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 937), he sent an envoy to RADHI, king of the ARABS, with valuable gifts, vessels of gold and silver set with precious stones, and with him there was a letter written in gold in the language of the RHOMAYE, and the Arabic translation thereof [which was written] in silver [read] thus: 'From ROMANUS, and CONSTANTINUS, and STEPHANUS, and CONSTANTINUS, the great kings of the RHOMAYE, to the exalted, and triumphant holder of the government of the Muslims. Peace! Now, because of the immovable love which we have for thee, and in order to show the confirmation of our inclination towards the love of thy brotherliness, we send these gifts, being confident that they will be accepted', together with very many other long words which invited RADHI to peace. And the king of the ARABS having accepted the gifts, also sent an envoy with gifts and a letter, saying, 'From 'ABD ALLAH ABUL-'ABBAS RADHI, the Head of the Faith, the Amir of the Faithful (or, Believers), to ROMANUS, and CONSTANTINUS, and STEPHANUS, and CONSTANTINUS, the Governors of the RHOMAYE. Peace! Behold, according to your request, we have accepted your gifts with love. And for the confirmation of our peace with you, behold we also with gifts and with an ambassador pay you honours.'

(Continued on Next Page)

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

The Kings of the Arabs (continued).

And when ROMANUS was reigning over the RHOMAYE, SIMYON, the BULGARIAN, attacked CONSTANTINOPLE. And he burned and laid waste the countries of TARKI and MACEDONIA. And he encamped against ADRIANOPLE and captured it. Then ROMANUS with flattering words and gifts pacified him. Then SIMYON asked that he might see ROMANUS the king, in order that [179] the peace might be more firmly established. And the king prepared a suitable spot at sea, and they met each other in boats and confirmed perfect love. And when there was a respite to the RHOMAYE from the west, they set their faces towards the east. And they went forth in the year twelve hundred and fifty-two (A.D. 941) and came to KAPHARTUTHA, and they took spoil from the whole country and departed.

And in the year three hundred and twenty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 940), the sufferings of RADHI, the king of the ARABS, increased, and he was unable to maintain his watch. SINAN the physician, the son of TABITH, treated him with great assiduity, but [the king] was in no way relieved. Now RADHI had a TURKAYA slave, a eunuch, whose name was ZIRAK, and he had authority over everything which belonged to the king; and in this year he fell sick and died. And the king was smitten with great grief; and he commanded that four hundred jars of priceless old wine should be emptied into the TIGRIS. And after a short time he himself died.

After RADHI, MUTHAKI, the son of MUKTADER, [ruled] three years and one month. In the year three hundred and twenty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 940), the year in which he [began] to reign, there was great scarcity of food in BAGHDAD. A *kor* of wheat was sold for one hundred and thirty gold *dinars*, and men ate berries and grass. And there came a terrible pestilence which was so deadly that a crowd of the dead were buried in one grave without prayer. And the river TIGRIS flooded [the country], and very many houses and palm groves were destroyed.

And in the year twelve hundred and fifty-three of the GREEKS (A.D. 942) the RHOMAYE again invaded CILICIA, and they carried away captive fifteen thousand men from the country of HAMMUSH, and they burned the villages and departed. And the famine increased in BAGHDAD, and a *kor* of wheat was sold for two hundred and ten gold *dinars*, and the price of the *kor* mounted up until it became three hundred and seventeen gold *dinars*, and men ate the bodies of the dead. And the bridge in BAGHDAD was broken, and many people were drowned in the TIGRIS. And one year later the RHOMAYE came to MAIPERKAT, and 'ARZAN, and NISIBIS, and they made many captives, and burnt the villages and departed.

And in the year three hundred and thirty-one of the ARABS (A.D. 942), the king of the RHOMAYE sent an envoy to MUTHAKI, king of the ARABS, demanding the *mandila*, i.e. napkin or face-covering which was in the church of EDESSA. Our Lord had drawn it across His face, and His likeness was impressed (or, outlined) on it, and He sent it [180] to 'ABHGAR [the king of EDESSA], who asked that he might see Him. And the king of the RHOMAYE promised that if it were given to him he would set free many of the Arab prisoners

who were with him. Then MUTHAKI collected the scribes of their Faith and asked if the Law commanded [them] to give such a pretext (or, occasion) as this to the Christians or not. And they replied, 'Although it is exceedingly right for us to be blessed by this face cloth, yet it is meet to give it to them because the Muslims are suffering, and are hungry and naked'.

At this time a certain captain of the host whose name was TUZON obtained great power in BAGHDAD, and king MUTHAKI feared him, and took his wives and his slaves and went up to CALONICUS, and he sat down there for some time. Then TUZON sent a message to him in which he blamed him [and asked him] why he had put himself so far away from his throne. And he swore an oath of fealty to him, and according to his nature flattered (or, cajoled) him. And MUTHAKI rose up and came down to BAGHDAD. And when TUZON heard that he was coming by water, he collected his troops and went forth to meet the king; and he alighted [from his horse] and kissed the ground [at his feet] and walked before him on foot. And the king pressed him and made him mount his horse and ride. Then TUZON, with treachery ambushed in his heart, made a sign to his companions, and they surrounded the king and his escort. And before he could enter the palace they drew swords on him so that they could kill him if he would not abdicate voluntarily, And being in sore straits, he abdicated and testified openly that he had done so. And they brought him into the palace, and shut him up there. And they brought 'ABD ALLAH, the son of MUKTAFI, and made him king, and they nicknamed him 'MUSTAKFI' (i.e. he for whom the Lord sufficeth). These things [took place] in the year three hundred and thirty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 944).

After MUTHAKI, MUSTAKFI, the son of MUKTAFI, [ruled] one year and four months. And during the year in which he reigned, various peoples, the 'ALANAYE, and the 'ASLABHAYE (SLAVS), and the LAGZAYE, went forth and came to 'ADHORBILAN, and they captured the city, the name of which was BARDA'AH, and they killed therein about twenty thousand men and departed. And again the nobles conceived treachery concerning king MUSTAKFI. And one day when he was sitting on his throne the nobles went in according to custom, and they kissed the ground, and they kissed his hand and stood up. And when their number was complete, one of them, he who had come in last, kissed the ground, and drew nigh to the king. And the king, thinking that he had come near him in order to kiss his hand, stretched out his hand to him. And the noble took it [181] and dragged him towards himself, and pulled him from his throne on to his face. And all the nobles gathered together about him, and they made him to go forth from the palace on foot, and they took him along and shut him up in the mansion of MU'IZZ AD-DAWLAH, the captain of the host. And they brought FADHIL, the son of MUKTADER, and made him king, and named him MUTI'.

After MUSTAKFI, MUTI' the son of MUKTADER ruled twenty-nine years and five months. When the nobles had seated this Khalifah on the throne, they brought MUSTAKFI before him, and he saluted him and testified concerning his own abdication, and he was imprisoned in the palace.

And in the year in which MUTI' began to reign, that is to say, the year three hundred and thirty-four of the ARABS (A.D. 945), two of his nobles quarrelled. The one was NASIR AD-DAWLAH, the governor of MAWSIL, and the other was MU'IZZ AB-DAWLAH, who had set MUTI' on the throne. And NASIR came and seized the eastern side of BAGHDAD, and MU'IZZ the western side. Then MU'IZZ waxed powerful and he crossed over to the eastern side, and NASIR fled in the direction of MAWSIL. And the citizens of that side, fearing the sword of MU'IZZ, set out forthwith to flee to MAWSIL, both men and women. And very many died on the road through thirst and exhaustion, especially among the women who were not accustomed to travel on foot. One woman, from among the daughters of the governors, was seen lying on the roadside dressed in rich apparel And she had a bag (i.e. purse) in her hand, and she was crying out, 'Behold four hundred *dinars*. Take them and give me a little water to drink.' But never a man looked at her, neither did any man take the bag for nothing out of her hand, but every man was too much absorbed in effecting his own flight. Ten thousand souls perished during this flight. And when MU'IZZ heard these things he proclaimed

peace, and he sent out water for the fugitives and made them come back. And it is said that in [all] their lives the BABYLONIANS had never seen such tribulation as on that day.

It is said that there was in BAGHDAD at that time a certain man who was a diviner, and who used to declare things that were about to happen during times of delirium (in trances?). Days before this tribulation came he used to cry out in the bazars, saying, 'O sons of BAGHDAD, teach your wives to go about without sandals, and make thou to get accustomed to want and misery, for tribulation is nigh'. And even so did it take place.

And in that same year there was a great famine in BAGHDAD, [182] and a *kor* of wheat was sold for four hundred gold dinars, and a thousand litres of dates, according to the measure of BAGHDAD, for sixty *dinars*. And houses, and vineyards, and gardens were sold for joints of meat and cakes of bread. And men used to pick out the grains of barley from the dung of horses and asses and eat them. And many women were arrested and killed because they had roasted their babes in the oven and eaten them. And very many died during that famine, and [their bodies] were devoured by the dogs because there was no one to bury them.

And in the year twelve hundred and sixty of the GREEKS (A.D. 949), which is the year three hundred and thirty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 948), the RHOMAYE sallied forth to the country of the ARABS. And SAIF AD-DAWLAH, the Amir of EMESA and ALEPPO, engaged them in battle, and the ARABS were broken. And the RHOMAYE took GERMANIKI, which is MAR'ASH, and came to TARSOS. And they killed, and looted, and departed.

And in the year three hundred and thirty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 950) SAIF AD-DAWLAH collected thirty thousand soldiers, some were mounted and some went on foot, and they invaded the territory of the RHOMAYE, and captured great spoils. And when the Arab general went out, the RHOMAYE followed and overtook him, and they shut the gates of the fortifications upon him, and killed and made prisoners of all the troops which were with him, and they brought back the spoil. SAIF AD-DAWLAH escaped with a few of his men, but he had lost all his people, and his horses, and his mules, and his treasures and possessions.

And in this year that BLACK STONE which is in the MOSQUE OF MAKKAH was brought back—now those who go [there] to pray are blessed by it—after [an absence of] twenty-three years. It was carried off by the KARMATAYE, the tyrants who are in the South, and they sent it back in return for the fifty thousand *dinars* which were given to them. They brought it back broken in two pieces, and they tied them together with rods of silver; [so are they] to this day. And at this time there was a period of great abundance, and twenty litres of bread, according to BAGHDAD measure, were sold for one *zuza*.

And in the year twelve hundred and sixty(?)—eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 957), which is the year three hundred and forty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 956), the RHOMAYE went forth by sea to TARSOS, and they burned very many villages, and slew one thousand eight hundred warriors of the ARABS, and departed. And after a little SAIF AD-DAWLAH collected an army and invaded the country of the RHOMAYE, and he took captives, and burned, and killed. And he came to 'ADANA, a city of CILICIA, [183] and he sat down there for some days. And he strengthened and encouraged the Amir of TARSOS not to be afraid of the RHOMAYE, and he left [that place] and came to ALEPPO. And the RHOMAYE went forth after him from another side, and they arrived at MAIPERKAT, and they plundered and made captives of the people of that place, and they burned the villages and departed.

And in the year three hundred and forty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 957) the locusts came in vast numbers, and they destroyed the crops. And a pestilence broke out among men, viz. the disease of strangulation. And it was so severe that a certain thief who was digging a hole in the wall of a house belonging to a wealthy man of BAGHDAD, died in the hole. And also a certain man was putting on his dark apparel so that he might go to

judge in the hall of judgement; now he had put on one of his sandals, and he fell down and died before he could put on the other. And in the winter torrential rains came. And the Great Sea (PERSIAN GULF?) diminished, and it shrunk into itself for a distance of about three hundred cubits; and many rocks and islands were laid bare which had not been known before. And one year later there was a terrible earthquake, and it destroyed many districts, and many were suffocated beneath the overthrow in the mountains of the DAILOMAYE and KASHAN. And the RHOMAYE went forth as far as 'AMID, and 'ARZAN, and MAIPERKAT, and they made themselves masters of many fortresses, that is to say citadels, and they killed one thousand five hundred souls. And after a few days the RHOMAYE also went forth to the quarter of ALEPPO, and SAIF AD-DAWLAH engaged them by DALUK. And the RHOMAYE conquered, and they made prisoners of the relatives of SAIF AD-DAWLAH and his kinsfolk. And they killed many of the foot-soldiers of the ARABS, and only a very few of them escaped. And the RHOMAYE also captured SAMOSATA, and they burned it with fire.

And in the year three hundred and forty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 958), because NASIR AD-DAWLAH, the Amir of MAWSIL, was careless and did not wish to send the tribute of silver to BAGHDAD, MU'IZZ AD-DAWLAH, the Amir, that is to say, captain of the host of BAGHDAD, came against him. Then NASIR fled to NISIBIS, to which place MU'IZZ AD-DAWLAH pursued him; NASIR fled to MAIPERKAT, and there also he was not able to sit down, but he fled to ALEPPO, and he took refuge with his brother HAIF (sic) AD-DAWLAH. Now he received him with great affection, and he abased himself to such a degree that he used to pull off with his own hands the sandals (or, shoes) of his brother NASIR AD-DAWLAH. [184]

And in the year three hundred and forty-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 959) the RHOMAYE made prisoners of MAHAMMAD, the son of NASIR AD-DAWLAH, and certain of his slaves from the region of ALEPPO, and also 'ABU AL-HAITAM, the captain of the host, and his slaves from the town of KAPHARTUTHA. And they came also to the country of TARSOS, and they killed many and took prisoners. And they captured the fortress of HARONIA, and they killed the men who were therein, and they made captives of the women and children, and destroyed the fortress.

And in that year, which was the year twelve hundred and seventy-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 961), king CONSTANTINE died, and his son ROMANUS became king. This king paid great honour to the Senate and to the nobles, and he showed magnanimity to every man. And in that year he sent. IWANNI (JOANNES), who is SHUMUSHKIN (ZIMISCEN), the captain of the host, and NICEPHORUS DOMASTICUS to the country of the ARABS. And they set out and arrived as far as 'AMID, where they killed about one hundred fighting men (or, combatants), and made prisoners of thirty souls, and then they burnt the crops and departed.

Then SAIF AD-DAWLAH, the Amir of ALEPPO, collected thirty thousand [men], and he went in and came as far as KARSHENA, and he captured great spoil. And when he wished to go out the RHOMAYE shut the gates of the fortifications, and he and only three hundred of his slaves were able to escape. And the RHOMAYE killed the rest and made prisoners, and brought back the spoil. And they inherited the horses, and armour, and treasures of SAIF AD-DAWLAH, who is BAR HAMDAN. And at this time, of the renowned men (or, men of name) who were with him were killed HAMID BAR-NAMUS, MUSA-SAYA KHAN, and KADHI 'ABU HUSAIN. And in this year immense numbers of locusts appeared in the country of MAWSIL, and there came scarcity and a *kor* of wheat was sold for two thousand two hundred *zuze*, and a *kor* of barley for eight hundred *zuze*. And many people fled to SYRIA and BAGHDAD, and the Christians [fled] to the cities on the seashore. And in that year was built the holy church in TRIPOLI in the name of the glorious MAR BEHNAM, the Martyr.

And in the year [185] three hundred and forty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 960), when the EGYPTIANS who had gone to pray at MAKKAH were returning, they encamped in the bed of a brook in which water had not

flowed for a long time. And during the night, whilst they were sleeping, a flood of water poured down upon them all, and it swept them and all their possessions out into the Great Sea, and they all perished.

And in this year about two hundred thousand tents (i.e. families) of the TURKAYE who were in the East became Muslims, and entered the Faith of the ARABS. And in the year three hundred and fifty of the ARABS (A.D. 961), a great host of ARABS went forth from ANTIOCH to TARSOS, and the RHOMAYE who were in ambush fell upon them, and slew some of them, and the remainder—a very large crowd—they carried off as prisoners. And the ARABS were greatly enraged. And NAGA, a slave of SAIF AD-DAWLAH, invaded the territory of the RHOMAYE from the quarter of MAIPERKAT. And he captured much spoil and two thousand men, and he bound five hundred of them with chains and took [them] out with him.

And in the year twelve hundred and seventy-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 963), which is the year three hundred and fifty-one of the ARABS (A.D. 962), NICEPHORUS DOMASTICUS came with one hundred and sixty thousand horsemen to CILICIA, and he encamped against 'ANAZARBA, and made fierce war upon it. And the ARABS who were inside it, despairing of any help coming to them, demanded a word (i.e. guarantee of safety) for their lives and possessions, so that they might make the fortress to surrender; [this they did] the more readily when they saw that those who were on the side of the mountain were near to breach the walls. Then NICEPHORUS gave them the pledge, and they opened the fortress to him. And when he went in and saw that they had very nearly opened it with the sword, without any labour, he repented that he had given them the pledge. And he commanded that all the people should be gathered together at the Mosque, and that the man who would not go in—his blood would be on his own head.

Then on the following morning the footmen who were with him entered the city, and every one they found in the house and in the street they killed, men, and women, and children. And he collected all the armour that was in the city, now there were found therein forty thousand *tarpanse*, that is to say, coats of mail, besides great numbers of swords and bows. And they cut down forty thousand palm trees. And he commanded that those who were in the Mosque should go forth whithersoever they pleased, and that he who remained there until the evening should be killed. And they went forth, [186] crushing each other as they fought their way out, and very many died through being trampled to death—men and women, and children alike. And others of them died on the roads, and the remainder did not know where to go. Then NICEPHORUS destroyed the Mosque, and he threw down the two walls of the city and the large buildings. And he remained twenty and two days in CILICIA, and he captured fifty-four fortresses, some with sword, and some by surrender.

It is said that in one of the fortresses, whose masters had received the pledge [of safety], and who had handed the fortress over to him, when the Arab women were going out certain ARMENIANS were stirred up by their passions and attacked them. And the spirit of jealousy seized their husbands, and they drew [their] swords. Then NICEPHORUS DOMASTIKUS was angry with the ARABS, who had drawn [their] swords, and they killed four hundred men and very many women.

And because the 'ARBA'IN FAST (i.e. the Forty-days Fast, or Lent) arrived, NICEPHORUS and those who were with him marched to CAESAREA, meaning to come back after the Fast. Then the captain of the host of the ARABS who were in TARSOS collected four thousand [men] and marched against the RHOMAYE, and he was defeated and killed, he and all the ARABS who were with him, also his brother BAR-REBAB, the captain of the host of TARSOS. And the RHOMAYE again invaded CILICIA, and they captured the fortress of SIS, and they placed guards in it and also in the other garrisons, and they left and marched against ALEPPO. And SAIF AD-DAWLAH went forth and engaged the RHOMAYE, and was defeated, and all the sons of HAMDAN were killed. And SAIF AD-DAWLAH himself, together with a few men, fled and escaped. And [NICEPHORUS] DOMASTICUS himself captured his palace which was outside the city wall, and he took therefrom three hundred and ninety talents of silver, and two thousand four hundred mules, and

and incalculable quantity of armour and weapons. And he burnt the palace and encamped against the city. And he made a breach in the wall, and the RHOMAYE went in and made a great slaughter therein, until they were exhausted. And they found therein one thousand two hundred RHOMAYE men who were prisoners, and they released them. And they took captive more than ten thousand youths and maidens, and a very great booty, as much as they could carry away, and the rest they burnt in the fire. And they came upon tanks which were full of olive oil, and they poured water into them until all the oil floated up to the top and ran out, and it spread all over the ground and was wasted. And they swept away the Mosques.

And the RHOMAYE remained there for nine days [187] destroying [everything].

And when they wished to march on, the son of the sister of King ROMANUS, who was with NICEPHORUS, objected (or, resisted) and said, 'We will not march on until we have opened (i.e. conquered) the Citadel'. Then NICEPHORUS, because he was unable to resist him, said, 'Behold, the Citadel is before thee; go, capture it'. And when the son of the sister of the king drew nigh to breach the wall, [the people inside it] cast upon him the stone from the cavity which was above the gate; and when the stone reached him he turned his face to flee. And those who were inside opened the gate of the Citadel, and a certain man of DAILOM, whose name was BASHA, pursued him and thrust a spear between his shoulders, and made it to come out from his breast and killed him. And those who were with him turned back, and they took up his dead body and carried it to NICEPHORUS. Then he, in order that the blood of the son of the king's sister might be avenged, cut off the heads of twelve hundred men of the ARABS whom he held as prisoners; and he departed and went to the territory of the RHOMAYE.

Now in the villages of ALEPPO he destroyed nothing whatsoever, but he commanded the farmer-folk saying, 'Ye shall not neglect the tillage of the fields, because this land hath become ours, and after a short time we shall return to you'. And at that time also one thousand men, who were ARMENIAN foot-soldiers, invaded the district of EDESSA, and they captured one thousand sheep and five hundred oxen and ten men of the ARABS and departed.

In these times the RHOMAYE, having gained the mastery over the ARABS, took captives and spoil and advanced as far as GREATER ARMENIA; and they left and departed. Now, all the ARMENIANS being afraid that vengeance would be taken upon them by the ARABS because they were Christians, fled to the frontier of the RHOMAYE; and the RHOMAYE gave them SEBASTIA of CAPPADOCIA, and they multiplied there exceedingly. And they distributed them also in the fortresses which were in CILICIA, and which they took from the ARABS. And in all the wars [waged] by the RHOMAYE the foot-soldiers of the ARMENIANS marched, and they aided them greatly.

And when NICEPHORUS and his armies of the RHOMAYE returned from ALEPPO, and came to SIMNADU, the report of the death of King ROMANUS reached them. And all the nobles held the same opinion as SHUMUSHKIN, and they proclaimed NICEPHORUS DOMASTICUS king in the year twelve hundred and seventy-five of the GREEKS [188] (A.D. 964). And they made SHUMUSHKIN DOMASTICUS, and sent him to fight with the ARABS, and he went to CONSTANTINOPLE, and was confirmed in the kingdom. Then SHUMUSHKIN DOMASTICUS marched against MOPSUESTIA, and he encamped against it for seven days. And although he made more than sixty breaches in the wall thereof, he was not able to go into it, but he wasted with fire its surrounding land, and the districts of 'ADANA and TARSOS. And the RHOMAYE fell upon the five thousand men who came from TARSOS to the help of the sons of the desert waste and killed them all, and they left and departed.

And there was a great famine in CILICIA, and a great many of the people of the ARABS left and fled to DAMASCUS. And there was also a severe famine in ALEPPO, and in HARRAN, and in EDESSA. And

after a year the DOMASTICUS came again to CILICIA, and he sat down in the open desert for three months; he was unable to capture it, but he laid tribute upon it. And they departed because of the sickness and pestilence which had fallen upon his troops.

And in the year twelve hundred and seventy-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 965), which is the year three hundred and fifty-four of the ARABS (A.D. 965), NICEPHORUS the king went forth from CONSTANTINOPLE, and he came and sat down in CAESAREA of CAPPADOCIA. And the sons of TARSOS and the men of the desert sent [a letter] to him saying that they would be subject unto him, and [asking] him to send some one of his own to reign over them. He replied, 'Now that ye are in despair about help reaching you from the ARABS, and now that ye have eaten dead dogs because of the famine, and the pestilence also is making an end of you, ye would become subject unto me until such time as ye can become strong and rebel against me. For you, as far as I am concerned, there is nothing but the sword.' And having burnt their letter on the head of their ambassador, he also singed his beard, and drove him away. It is said that three hundred biers with dead bodies upon them went forth from TARSOS daily.

Then NICEPHORUS the king collected his troops and went and encamped on the uncultivated land (or, the desert), and he captured it on the Sabbath, on the thirteenth day of the month of RAJAB of this year of the ARABS, and he made there great slaughter. And he took prisoners two hundred thousand people, men, and women, and children, and he sent them to the country of the RHOMAYE. And he came and encamped against TARSOS. And when the people thereof were supplicating him, with groans and sighs, not to kill them, (and were promising] to open [189] to him the gates, his heart became sad, and he gave them the word (i.e. pledge of safety) concerning their lives and possessions. And when he went into the city he paid honour to the nobles of the ARABS who were therein, and brought them to his table. And he commanded them to take away everything they possibly could of their possessions and armour, and he sent them to ANTIOCH. And those who did not wish to go to ANTIOCH, but to the other towns of the ARABS, in like manner he sent them wheresoever they wished to go. And he appointed three Patricians to keep guard over them, and he permitted no man to do them an injury. And they cut off the hands and the noses of certain ARMENIANS who dared to put forth their hands against any men of the ARABS, and he flogged them severely. He sent out envoys on all the road[s], and urged [them to take care] that the ARABS might arrive where their companions were in good care. He made the Mosque of TARSOS into a stable for his horses, and he established in TARSOS a certain Patrician with five thousand horsemen, and he appointed another Patrician over the uncultivated lands. And TARSOS was [re]built, and was exceedingly prosperous, and the supply of food therein was so abundant that twelve litres of bread were sold for one *zuza*. And many of her citizens returned to TARSOS, and some of them were baptized and became Christians; others remained in their Faith, but all their children were baptized.

And after a year NICEPHORUS the king came and encamped against 'AMID, and he was unable to capture it. And he went and encamped against 'ANTIAKH (sic) again, and he made war on it for many days, and in this case also he was unable to cope with its strength; but he laid waste the villages and the gardens which were round about it and departed. And after a year SAIF AD-DAWLAH, the Amir of ALEPPO, died in SAMARA. And MU'IZZ AD-DAWLAH, the Amir of BAGHDAD, died by the disease of diarrhoea, and 'IZZ AD-DAWLAH, his son, succeeded him.

And in that year, which was the year three hundred and fifty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 966), whilst NASIR AD-DAWLAH, the Amir of MAWSIL, was sleeping on his bed, his son ABU TAGHLIB seized him, and sent him away and had him shut up in the Citadel of KAWASHI. And he appointed as keepers over him SANIH, the KURD, and another eunuch, whom he drove away many times, and he commanded the two of them that they were never to let NASIR AD-DAWLAH know the news about anything which happened. Therefore when [190] he asked for news of his sons, and of his eldest son who had shut him up, they said to

him, 'Dost thou want to eat? Dost thou want to drink? For anything more than this never ask us.' It is said that when they were taking him over the bridge he roused himself up and saw the TIGRIS and said, 'Do ye wish to drown me?' And they replied, 'Nay, but we are taking thee to KAWASHI'. And he said, 'This was in my mind, that I might shut up my son there, but he has anticipated me in the matter'. And ABU TAGHLIB undertook to send to BAGHDAD the tribute which his father used to send, and 'IZZ AD-DAWLAH, the Amir of BAGHDAD, agreed. And in the place of SAIF AD-DAWLAH, the Amir of ALEPPO and EMESA, sat his son ABU AD-MA'ALI.

(Continued on Next Page)

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

The Kings of the Arabs (continued).

And in the year twelve hundred and seventy-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 968), which is the year three hundred and fifty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 967), certain men of KHORASAN, together with three thousand of the ARABS of ANTIOCH, invaded the territory of CAPPADOCIA. And forty thousand of the RHOMAYE engaged them in battle, and slew very many of the KHORASANIANS and the ANTIOCHIANS, and they made many of them prisoners. Then the ARABS who were in ANTIOCH killed the Patriarch of the CHALCEDONIANS, and they destroyed many of the churches of ANTIOCH. And the RHOMAYE went forth also to SERUGH, and they made three hundred ARABS prisoners and captured much cattle, and departed. And in that year NASIR AD-DAWLAH died in the prison of KAWASHI, and he was brought to the Hill of Repentance (Nabi Yunis?) which is opposite to MAWSIL, and buried there, and all his children walked barefooted before his bier. In this year there were found by ABU AL-'ALA SULAIMAN, the son of WAHAB, the son of SOFYAN, a lawyer and Christian of BAGHDAD, three hundred and fifty thousand *zuze* in the possession of a money-changer. And there were twelve thousand pots of wine in his house. They mulcted him of one hundred and forty thousand white (*zuze*) and left him.

And in this year dissension fell between the KHORASANITES who were in ANTIOCH, and the ARABS who were natives of ANTIOCH. And the RHOMAYE came and carried away captive from the country of ANTIOCH twelve thousand people, men and women, and youths and maidens.

And after one year, that is to say in the year twelve hundred and eighty of the GREEKS (A.D. 969), the RHOMAYE came to KAPHARTUTHA, and they carried off eight hundred people and a vast amount of spoil. And they went to EMESA and they found it emptied of [191] (or, evacuated by) its inhabitants, and they set fire to it and departed. And in that year there was scarcity in BAGHDAD, and a *kur* of wheat was sold for ninety gold *dinars*; and vast numbers of locusts appeared in MAWSIL. And after a little [time] NICEPHORUS, the king of the RHOMAYE, came, and he encamped against ANTIOCH. And from there he went to TRIPOLI, and he burnt down all the buildings that were outside the city. And he went and captured the strong citadel of GAZA, and he took from it a great quantity of material. And he came and encamped between EMESA and ALEPPO, and he remained there two months taking captives and looting, and there was no man who could resist him. One hundred thousand prisoners, youths and maidens, were counted with him, for he took neither old man nor old woman; of these some he killed and some of them he left. And had it not been for the pestilence which fell on the RHOMAYE he would have captured both ALEPPO and ANTIOCH. His face was set towards JERUSALEM, but he was unable to go [there]. because the [troops] who were with him were exhausted by the great slaughter which they had made, and by the excessive weight of the spoil which they had taken.

And in the year twelve hundred and eighty-one of the GREEKS A.D. 970), which is the year three hundred and fifty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 969), the RHOMAYE made secret arrangements with the Christians of the Citadel of LUKA, which is in the neighbourhood of ANTIOCH, that is to say, they were to go into

ANTIOCH and pretend that they were afraid of the RHOMAYE and had fled [there]. And they were to dwell therein until the army of the RHOMAYE came to ANTIOCH, when they were to help the RHOMAYE from inside to conquer the city. And the Christians having done this, two months later the brother of NICEPHORUS the king came with forty thousand RHOMAYE, and they surrounded the wall of ANTIOCH. And the men of the Citadel of LUKA gave them help from the side by the mountain, and the RHOMAYE went into ANTIOCH and captured it. And after the great slaughter which they made they set on one side the old men and the old women, and those who were not full grown, and they said to them, 'Get ye gone whithersoever ye please'. And they took the fully grown men and women, and the young men, who were more in number than twenty thousand souls, and they sent them into the territory of the RHOMAYE. And they also sent ten thousand horsemen to ALEPPO, and the men of ALEPPO undertook to give to the RHOMAYE annually a fixed tribute. And the RHOMAYE took from them eight persons as hostages and departed.

At this time, King NICEPHORUS having triumphed greatly in the war, [192] and being king over all the cities of CILICIA, and over ANTIOCH and SYRIA, the fear of him fell over all Arabdom (or, the Muslim world). He became haughty and bore himself arrogantly, and he took to wife Queen THEOPHANA, the wife of King ROMANUS, although she wished it not. And this did not suffice for him; but he wanted to make eunuchs of her two sons, BASIL and CONSTANTINE, in order that [the possibility of] their succession [to the throne] might be done away, and the royal line be continued through him. When THEOPHANA understood his intention she was sorely grieved for her sons. And she made a secret pact with SHUMUSHKIN the DOMASTICUS, and she brought him and certain strong men disguised as women into the church of the palace on the night of the Nativity. And she informed NICEPHORUS that she had invited some of her kinswomen to pass the night with her in the church in order to enjoy converse with them. And so when she knew that he was sunk deep in slumber, she brought in upon him SHUMUSHKIN and those who were with him, and they killed him on his bed and more than seventy men of the guards who kept the gate of the palace. Now we have discovered the cause of the murder of NICEPHORUS in accurate books. The cause assigned by the blessed MAR MICHAEL, on the authority of IGNATIUS of MELITENE [is this]: she killed him because he was not faithful [to her] in marriage. There was no pretence on her part, because not even after NICEPHORUS was killed did she consort with men, not even with SHUMUSHKIN, who reigned after NICEPHORUS, or any other man.

And in the year three hundred and sixty of the ARABS (A.D. 970), two ARABS who had been killed during the night were found in the Mosque which was near the Nestorian Monastery of MICHAEL which is in MAWSIL. And ABU TAGHLIB, the son of NASIR AD-DAWLAH, fined the Christians of MAWSIL one hundred and twenty thousand *zuze* .

And in the year three hundred and sixty-two of the ARABS (A.D. 972) the DOMASTICUS and an army of the RHOMAYE invaded the city of NISIBIS, and he made a great slaughter therein. And he remained [there for] twenty-two days, taking captives, and looting, and laying waste the country. And when he wished to march against 'AMID, the captain of the host therein, whose name was HAZARMARD, sent to ABU TAGHLIB, governor of MAWSIL, [for help], and he sent to him a large army with his brother. And they attacked the RHOMAYE, and the ARABS conquered and captured the DOMASTICUS; and they sent him as a prisoner to [193] MAWSIL, and the RHOMAYE fled. And ABU TAGHLIB showed many kindnesses to the DOMASTICUS, so that he might strengthen [his] friendship with the RHOMAYE.

Now it came to pass that a virulent boil broke out on the DOMASTICUS and he died there. And in that year, when the people of BAGHDAD heard of the pillage and slaughter which had taken place in NISIBIS, they became greatly exasperated, and they made a great revolt against the Khalifah, who was [called] MUTI'. And they jeered at him and mocked him as being one who avoided fighting on behalf of the ARABS, and they

shot arrows at him in his palace and at his servants. And certain men of name (i.e. distinguished men) went to the Amir 'IZZ AD-DAWLAH, who had gone to KUFAH, and they urged him to send an army against the RHOMAYE.

And in the year three hundred and sixty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 973) the disease of paralysis attacked MUTI', the king of the ARABS, that is to say the Khalifah, and his tongue became heavy, and his power to move ceased. Therefore a certain noble of BAGHDAD, whose name was SABUKTAKIN, forced him to abdicate, and he handed over the kingdom to his son who was called TAI'. And in this year died TABITH, the physician, the son of SINAN, the son of TABITH the pagan of HARRAN. This man wrote a famous chronological history of the ARABS from the year two hundred and ninety of the ARABS (A.D. 902) to the end of his days. And had it not been for him a very great number of the deeds and acts of the Arab kings would have been forgotten and lost in oblivion. But he preserved [the memory] of them, and they have been handed down by the writers of histories who have arisen since his time.

After MUTI', TAI' [ruled] seventeen years and nine months. When this Khalifah [began to] reign, he magnified SABUKTAKIN who had made him king, and he nicknamed him 'NASIR AD-DAWLAH'. And strife fell on the people because the Sunnite ARABS and the TURKAYE took the side of SABUKTAKIN and the Shi'ah ARABS and the DAILOMITES took the side of 'IZZ AD-DAWLAH. And very many were killed between them, and great palaces were captured. And in the year three hundred and sixty-four of the ARABS (A.D. 974), which is the year twelve hundred and eighty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 975), 'IWANNI (JOANNES), the king of the RHOMAYE, who is SHUMUSHKIN, went forth and made himself master of EMESA and B'ELBAK (BAALBEK). And when he wished to go to DAMASCUS BAR-ZAIATH (ZAWATH), one of the Arab nobles of SYRIA, wrote to AL-PETHGAN, the governor of DAMASCUS, and advised him not to oppose the king of the RHOMAYE [194] because he was incapable of resisting his power. Thereupon AL-PETHGAN was persuaded by his advice and he sent to SHUMUSHKIN and promised that he would be subject to him, and he undertook to pay [annually] a tribute of three hundred thousand *zuze*; and SHUMUSHKIN the king agreed to this arrangement.

And when SHUMUSHKIN drew nigh to DAMASCUS, AL-PETHGAN went out to meet him, and he alighted on his feet and kissed the ground in front of him very many times. And the king rejoiced that AL-PETHGAN was in this state of mind, and he made him remount his horse, and paid him honour, and he commanded him to canter on in front of him, and to exhibit his skill as a horseman. And AL-PETHGAN having done so, the king praised him, and again AL-PETHGAN alighted and kissed the ground. And SHUMUSHKIN made him remount his horse, and remitted to him one year's tribute; and again AL-PETHGAN alighted and kissed the ground. And the king demanded from him the horse on which he had cantered and caracolled, and his armour and his spear. Then AL-PETHGAN offered him these things together with other objects and perfumes, and also twenty horses and a large number of spears. And the king accepted that horse only and one spear only, and he returned the remainder and gave him thanks. And he arrayed AL-PETHGAN in rich apparel, and gave him jewellery and vessels of silver and mules.

And SHUMUSHKIN left and went to SIDON. And the inhabitants sallied forth to tender their submission to him, and they presented offerings to him. And he left them and went and attacked BAIRUTH (BEROT), and he opened (i.e. conquered) it with the sword and carried off spoil from it. And he went and attacked GABBALA (JEBEL, or, BYBLUS), and the inhabitants thereof showing themselves to be rebellious, he took that city also with the sword and carried off spoil. And he left and went to TARSOS. And there the sister of Queen THEOPHANA gave him drink with deadly poison in it, and he became seriously ill; and he marched to the royal city, where he died, after he had reigned four years. This king was extremely strenuous in his military duties. He was powerfully built in his body, and courageous in spirit, and victorious in wars. During his reign he showed magnanimity to every man, and he set the prisoners free, and he built the great church in

Constantinople, and subjugated many cities and countries. And the nobles and all the people mourned his death greatly.

And after him BASIL and CONSTANTINE, the sons of ROMANUS the king, reigned fifty-eight years, and they were on affectionate terms with each other. And because BASIL possessed greater strength than his brother, CONSTANTINE established him in the royal city, and he was engaged continually in fighting wars [195] against the ARABS.

And in the year three hundred and sixty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 977), the river TIGRIS rose twenty cubits above the normal [height], and the waters poured down into the wells (cesspools?) and drains (or, sewers) of BAGHDAD. And the people sat in boats by night and by day, and many large buildings collapsed. And the two brothers who were reigning over the RHOMAYE appointed as DOMASTICUS a man whose name was WARDOS. And straightway he rebelled against them, and he wished to establish his own sovereignty over the countries which the RHOMAYE had taken from the ARABS. And he sent an envoy to his brother 'ADHAD AD-DAWLAH, an Amir of BAGHDAD, [asking him] to help him, and to take care that he was confirmed in the kingdom of the RHOMAYE in the East, and [promising that] he would be in subjection to the ARABS all the time of his life.

Then the kings BASIL and CONSTANTINE also sent envoys, and they exhorted [them] not to accept the words of the rebel. 'ADHAD AD-DAWLAH decided in his mind that it was meet to help the kings and not the rebel, nevertheless he showed affection outwardly for his brother the rebel, and he promised to help him in everything [possible]. Then when the kings of the RHOMAYE sent an army against the rebels, WARDOS with confidence went to the frontier of the ARABS together with a few men, and sent [a letter] to 'ADHAD AD-DAWLAH [asking him] to send him an army. And, ADHAD AD-DAWLAH, having made him confident, sent secretly to the nobles of the ARABS, and seized the rebel and his brother, and those who were with him. And they were brought to BAGHDAD and shut up in prison there for a long time.

And in the year three hundred and seventy-two of the ARABS (A.D. 982) 'ADHAD AD-DAWLAH, Amir of BAGHDAD, died. In his time there flourished, 'ALI, the son of 'ABBAS, the physician. He it was who compiled the KING BOOK (or, Kingly, i.e. Royal Book) under the name of this man. For the Amirs who commanded with the Khalifah in BAGHDAD were called 'kings'. And at this time also there lived in KHORASAN, 'ABU SAHEL MASIHI, an excellent physician who composed the famous book MA MIMRE (i.e. One Hundred Discourses), and there are also other books to his [name]. And he was the Rabbeh of a princely old man. And MASIHI went forth from this world when he was forty years old, and his brother SAMSAM AD-DAWLAH rose up in his place.

And in the year three hundred and seventy-three of the ARABS (A.D. 983) there was a famine in BAGHDAD, and a *kor* of wheat was sold for four thousand [196] and eighty *zuze*, and a *kor* of barley for two thousand and forty *zuze*, and many people perished of hunger. And in the year three hundred and seventy-six of the ARABS (A.D. 986), when the Khalifah TAI' was sitting upon his throne according to the custom of the Khalifahs, SAMSAM AD-DAWLAH, the governor, went into cry 'Peace' upon him; and he kissed the ground and stood upon the right-hand side of the throne, and all the [other] nobles went in and did likewise. And the poets also went in, and they praised SAMSAM more than all the [other] nobles in their measures of praise. Now when the nobles saw that things were thus, one of them whose name was SHARAF AD-DAWLAH concocted a secret plan with the other nobles, and they seized SAMSAM AD-DAWLAH in secret, and sent him to one of the fortresses of PERSIA, and shut him up in it, and treated him with *kohl*; and SHARAF AD-DAWLAH rose up in his place. In these times the name and the title [of king] only belonged to the kings of the ARABS, that is to say, the KHULAFAs; but the whole of the Government, and the Army, and the Treasury were administered by these Persian nobles.

And in the year three hundred and seventy-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 988), SHARAF AD-DAWLAH collected the philosophers who were in the dominion of the ARABS, and he built an observatory for the observation of the motions of the stars. And he constructed instruments which recorded their courses in degrees and circles of brass, even as MAMON had done in his days, and he appointed 'ABU SAHEL YAHYAH, the son of RUSTAM the TURIAN, to direct the work. And in this year, in the months of TAMMUZ (JULY) and 'AB (AUGUST), scorching winds blew from the South, and many people fell down on the roads and died suddenly in BAGHDAD, and especially the sailors on the rivers (or, canals) of BABYLON.

And in the year three hundred and seventy-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 989) SHARAF AD-DAWLAH died, and after him rose up 'ABU NASR as captain of the hosts.

And in the year three hundred and eighty of the ARABS (A.D. 990), when 'AZIZ, the Khalifah of EGYPT and all SYRIA, was ruling, he appointed an EGYPTIAN Christian, a man whose name was 'ISA the son of NESTORIUS, to be his Great Proximus. He was an excellent man, and learned in the craft of the lawyers, and he amassed great wealth in the Royal Treasury. And he also appointed in SYRIA another lawyer, a JEW, whose name was MANASSEH, the son of KAZARA (KAZAZA). And these two dismissed the Arab lawyers, and appointed Christians and JEWS in their stead. Then a certain Arab lawyer gave a large sum of money [197] to a certain poor woman, who was swift in her movements (i.e. swift to understand). And he wrote a little document and gave it to her, [and arranged with her] to stand where the Khalifah was going to pass, and she was to cry out and pretend that she was an injured woman, and to thrust out the paper [to him]. And when they took the paper from her, she was not to stand there any longer, so that she might not be found there. Now he wrote in the document thus: 'God hath exalted the horn of the Christians in [the person of] 'ISA the son of NESTORIUS, and that of the JEWS in [the person of] MANASSEH, the son of KAZARA, and He hath humbled the ARABS in thy person. I adjure thee to investigate my wrong.' When she had done this, and 'AZIZ had read these words and perceived their import, they inquired for the woman, but she was not to be found. And 'AZIZ was angry and imprisoned 'ISA and MANASSEH. And because 'ISA was beloved by all the dwellers in the palace, the daughter of King AZIZ begged him from her father, and he gave three hundred thousand *dinars* to the king, and he reappointed him to his position.

And at this time the men of TAGRITH, being oppressed by the taxes imposed by unjust landlords, went forth from their city and distributed themselves in foreign districts. And wherever they came they built churches and monasteries, and they beautified the temples. Among these [people] were the three honourable brethren who were called 'the sons of 'ABU 'IMRAN', and they came and dwelt in MELITENE. And they built in it churches and nunneries, and outside it they built monasteries for monks and anchorites. And on every Friday they distributed alms among the poor from dawn until noon. And the king of the RHOMAYE was jealous of them, and he compelled them to strike royal darics [at their own expense] for one year; and they did so, and their wealth was not diminished. And King BASIL himself was in need, and he came to their gate and begged a loan from them. And when they saw him they fell down and did homage to him, and they gave him one hundred *kantinare* (centenarii) of gold. And he paid them back again because he was an upright man. And on another occasion when the TURKAYE plundered the country of MELITENE, the old man 'ABU SALIM, the eldest brother who had come from DAIRA, was also there, and he was captured with the spoil. And when the TURKAYE said to him, 'Buy thyself, for thou art rich'. He replied, 'If ye were selling all the spoil which ye have taken I could buy it'. And the TURKAYE laughed and said to him, 'How much wilt thou give?' And he said, 'For every soul five *dinars*. And the TURKAYE said [198] to him, 'We have sold', and having given to him the word, he sent and brought gold, and paid it, and redeemed the prisoners, who were about fifteen thousand [in number]. We write these things of the small matters in order that it may be known how extraordinary prosperous these people of ours were in olden time, and to what a state of misery they have come.

And in this year the Amir 'ABU NASIR was taken, and the Amir and captain of the host BAHA AD-DAWLAH rose in his place. When this man grew old he coveted the riches of the Khalifah TAI', and he plotted secretly with the DAILOMITES, and one day, whilst TAI' was sitting on his throne, they swept him from it, and rolled him up in the carpet which was under him. And they imprisoned him and took from him a written statement of his abdication. And they brought 'ABU AL-'ABBAS 'AHMAD, the son of ISAAC, the son of MUKTADER, and made him king in the year three hundred and eighty-one of the ARABS (A.D. 991), and they gave him the name of 'KADER'.

After TAI', KADER [ruled] forty-one years and three months. In the year three hundred and eighty-two of the ARABS (A.D. 992), which is the year thirteen hundred and four of the GREEKS (A.D. 993), the RHOMAYE reigned over KHALAT and MINAGERD (MALAZGERD?), and 'ARGISH. Then 'ABU 'ALI, the captain of the host of the ARMENIANS, undertook to give tribute to the RHOMAYE, and BASIL the king assented and left ARMENIA in his hands, and he made an agreement [of peace] for ten years. At this time went forth the great mob of the ARMENIANS who were called 'SINA KARIMAYE' (SANHIRIBHAYE?), that is to say, descendants of SENNACHERIB, and they handed over their citadels to BASIL, king of the RHOMAYE. And he gave them in exchange SEBASTIA and CAPPADOCIA, and Armenian Patricians lived therein. And from that place they spread about in all CAPPADOCIA, and CILICIA, and SYRIA. It is said that when ADRAMELECH and SHAREZER killed SENNACHERIB their father, they fled to the mountains of KARDU, and that they were mingled with the ARMENIANS. And from this [incident] the ARMENIANS have acquired this cognomen—that they are to be called 'SANHIRIBITES'.

At this time SA'D AD-DAWLAH, the Amir of ALEPPO, having fallen sick, died. He commanded that his son 'ABU AL-FADHA'IL should stand in his place, and that LULU, the captain of the host, should be his administrator.

Then 'AZIZ, Khalifah of EGYPT, desired greatly to reign over ALEPPO, and to have the mastery over its treasures. And he sent his servant MANGUTAKIN with thirty thousand horsemen against ALEPPO. Now LULU [199] did not see that he could obtain any help from the men of BAGHDAD, and he took refuge with the RHOMAYE. And he sent an envoy to BASIL the king, and he humbled himself and asked help from him; and BASIL sent him fifty thousand [men], some horsemen, and some footmen. And whilst the army of the RHOMAYE were encamped on the river ORONTES, that is the 'ASI, which [floweth] by the side of ANTIOCH, the troops of the EGYPTIANS made haste, and went and crossed the river, and they attacked the RHOMAYE and defeated them; and they returned and encamped against ALEPPO. Then LULU acted cunningly, and he bribed MANGUTAKIN with a large amount of gold. And MANGUTAKIN left him and went back to DAMASCUS, and he wrote to 'AZIZ, saying, 'the troops who were with me have perished through hunger, therefore I have come to DAMASCUS', and [he added] that when he was strong again he would return.

Then 'AZIZ was furiously angry, the more so because he believed secretly that MANGUTAKIN had not come to DAMASCUS because things were thus (i.e. as he described them), but only that he might enjoy himself, because he was only a youth and did not as yet possess the hairs of puberty (i.e. he had not reached manhood). For this reason 'AZIZ dismissed him, and appointed a certain RUDBARYA to be captain of the host in his stead; and he sent him to [attack] ALEPPO again. And he began to buy wheat for the troops [and bring it] from ALEXANDRIA by sea, and he stored two hundred thousand measures (*kepize*) of wheat and barley in the Citadel of APAMEA. And [the soldiers] marched twenty-five parasangs from ALEPPO to that place and took fodder (or, hay) for their horses. And they sat down by ALEPPO for thirteen months, and they built for themselves baths, and shops, and lodging-houses. And the famine waxed very severe in the city. It is said that LULU used to buy [wheat] at the rate of three *dinars* the *kepiza*, and sell it again to the inhabitants of the city for one *dinar*, so that they should not suffer overmuch. And he also devised a plan and again sent

an envoy to King BASIL, and he said unto him, 'If we do not overtake him with a great army, behold these [troops] will gain the mastery over ALEPPO, and therefore do not imagine that ANTIOCH will remain thine'.

And because of this BASIL trembled (or, was agitated or was nervous) and he collected an army, and he marched with thirty thousand RHOMAYE a distance of three hundred parasangs in sixteen days. And he came and smote the places where the horses of the EGYPTIANS lay down; now they were feeding in the fields, because it was spring time. And LULU sent a letter to RUDBARYA, and said unto him, 'The Islamism wherein we are participators with each other summoneth me to mercy upon thyself and upon thy troops. Therefore look then for thyself [200] and save the ARABS from the mouth of the sword, for behold BASIL the king is going to attack you in person.' And spies also came and reported to him the selfsame thing. Therefore fright fell upon the army of the EGYPTIANS, and they abandoned all their precious possessions, and every one, each on a horse, escaped. And the RHOMAYE came and made loot of everything which they found. And 'ABU AL-FADHA'IL and LULU went forth to do homage to King BASIL, and they presented gifts to him.

And BASIL departed, and he went and captured the Citadel of SIRIN. And from there he went and captured EMESA, and they carried away captive from there more than ten thousand souls. And from there he went to TRIPOLI, and he encamped against it forty days, and he was unable to capture it, and he departed and went to his own country.

Now when the Khalifah of EGYPT heard these things, he was greatly grieved, and he collected a very large number of troops so that he himself in person might come and take ALEPPO. Now because a disease of the colon was chronic in him, in one whole year he was only, with the greatest difficulty, able to come from EGYPT (i.e. MEMPHIS) to BULBIS, [a distance of] ten parasangs, and there he died. And after him his son HAKIM the Khalifah reigned over EGYPT and the West, in the year three hundred and eighty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 996).

And at [that] time 'ISA, the son of NESTORIUS, was killed in EGYPT, and there was appointed in his place as Proximus a certain Jacobite of the EGYPTIANS whose name was 'ABU AL-'ALA FAHID, the son of IBRAHIM. This man was a lawyer of BARGAWAN, a white eunuch, and captain of the host, and the Proximus made him a prince. At this time the Christians, without changing their Faith, were appointed Wazirs in the Arab kingdom of the EGYPTIANS, but such is not the case in our times. Nowadays unless [Christians] become Muslims they are not entrusted with the office of Wazir.

And in the year three hundred and eighty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 997), which is the year thirteen hundred and eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 997), the Dukas (Duke) Domasticus of the RHOMAYE came and encamped against APAMEA, and he made it to suffer from starvation until a dog was sold for two gold *dinars*. Then came BAR SAMSAMAH, the captain of the host of the EGYPTIAN ARABS, to go into the Citadel and guard it. And the RHOMAYE pursued him, and killed about two thousand men of the ARABS, and the remainder began to flee. Then the Domasticus, and his two sons, and ten horsemen, went up to the top of a hill [201] that they might gloat over the ARABS who were fleeing and were being killed by the RHOMAYE. Then a certain Kurd, whose name was 'BAR KIPA' who was riding an Arab horse, and was wearing a coat of armour, and had a spear in his right hand, rode straight up the hill. And the Duke thought that he had come to receive a pledge [of safety] for his own life and the lives of his people, and he took no notice of him. And when he came near he smote the Duke with the spear, and tore a gap in his coat of armour, and he speared him between his sides (or, ribs) and he died. And whilst those who were with him, and who saw him fall from his horse, were occupied with him, the Kurd fled to his fellow countrymen. And the outcry fell that the Domasticus had been killed. And the ARABS turned and made a son of the Duke prisoner, and they sold him again for six thousand *dinars*. And ten thousand of the RHOMAYE were killed, and their heads were carried

to EGYPT. And the ARABS went from there to the country of ANTIOCH, and they plundered, and killed, and burnt the villages, and then they came back again to DAMASCUS and made themselves masters of it. For up to that time it had been under the dominion of the BAGHDADITES.

In this year a man of the ARABS whose name was 'ALAKAH rebelled in the city of TYRE, and he took asylum with the RHOMAYE. And the army of the EGYPTIANS prevailed over him, and they took him and carried him to EGYPT. And they flayed him alive, and filled his skin with straw and impaled him.

And at [that] time there were two men in the city of DAKUKAH who were Christian lawyers, and they possessed great authority over it and over its district. And when the captain of the host of the PERSIANS, whose name was GABRIEL, the son of MAHAMMAD, came, now he was going to ravage and plunder the country of the RHOMAYE, the ARABS went out and said unto him, 'Why is it necessary for thee to go so far away? Behold we have here two Christians who do unto us things which are far worse than anything which the RHOMAYE ever do unto us, as if they reigned over us. Therefore show thy strength, if thou art able.' And that man being moved with indignation; went into the city and killed the two men, and made himself master of the city of and by himself, but the inhabitants thereof consented thereto. And he was called DABUS (TOPOS?) AD-DAWLAH, that is to say, 'Spear of the Dominion'.

(Continued on Next Page)

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

The Kings of the Arabs (continued).

And in the year three hundred and eighty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 998) a severe frost took place during the winter, and thousands of the palm-trees in BAGHDAD were destroyed. And those which remained only after very many years [202] acquired straightness. And in this year HAKIM the Khalifah of EGYPT killed BARGAWAN, the eunuch. For this man through the abundance of his compassion for HAKIM did not allow him to ride when it was not the time [for riding], nor to give gifts to men which it was not right [to give]; therefore was HAKIM troubled by him and he killed him. The EGYPTIANS, however, were greatly pained by his murder, and they made a tumult and came to the door of the palace of HAKIM. Then was HAKIM afraid, and he went up into an upper chamber, and stood by one of the doors, and cried out 'Peace' over the people, and said, 'Treachery was pointed out to me in BARGAWAN, and therefore I killed him. I entreat you to be helpers to me, and not men who would sweep me away, for as yet I am a youth.' And he wept before them, and coaxed them with fair words, and they left [him] and departed. And in order to gratify their minds he brought FAHID, a Christian scribe, and he arrayed him in Royal apparel, and told him that he was not to change, but to keep as he was, and to administer the affairs of the kingdom in this wise.

Then after three years two Arab lawyers, namely 'ABU TAHIR and BAR 'ADDAS, brought accusations against FAHID to HAKIM, and he rebuked them. Then they worked upon other people, and they in turn calumniated the Christians. And then HAKIM could not bear them, he commanded and FAHID was killed. And because this FAHID had been very faithful to him, and he was beloved by him, and he had killed him only because he had been urged to do so through the irritation caused by the ARABS, he sent and brought FAHID'S children, and arrayed them in apparel, and he commanded that no man should injure them or approach their habitations.

Then BAR 'ADDAS had dominion in EGYPT, and 'ABU TAHIR in SYRIA. And they made the people to suffer many evils, not only the Christians but the ARABS, especially in the matter of over many heavy levies and burdens of taxation, with the excuse that they must produce the immense amount [of money] which they had promised [the Khalifah]. Now, the sister of the Khalifah had a certain scribe, an EGYPTIAN, in SYRIA, and he sent and complained to her about 'ABU TAHIR. And because her brother always paid very great attention to her, she went and wept before him. And she received [from him] the command, and she sent [it] and killed 'ABU TAHIR; and his head was carried to EGYPT, and the boys dragged his dead body through the bazars. And at the same time HAKIM commanded, and [203] BAR' ADDAS was killed. May their memory be accursed!

And there was rest for the ARABS and the Christians. And in the place of 'ABU TAHIR and BAR 'ADDAS there was appointed as the Great Proximus a man who was a Christian, and whose name was MANSUR BAR-'ABDUN. This man was hated by the nobles, and they brought accusations against him. And because of him there rose up a persecution of the Christians, and many of the lawyers were beaten (i.e. bastinadoed) until they died, and they were cast out to the dogs. And MANSUR also was beaten until it was thought that

he was dead, and he was cast out to the dogs. And when it was discovered that he made a little movement, he was lifted on to a beast and carried to his house, and he recovered. And the Khalifah restored him to his position, and gave him the nickname of 'KAFI', that is to say, 'Capable man'. Concerning HAKIM it is said that he frightened and terrified men so much that the people withdrew themselves entirely from the doers of wickedness, and no man dared to shut his shop at night. And HAKIM used to mount an Egyptian donkey and ride about at night through the bazars, and no man dared to stand up or to bow to the ground before him. And they used to keep the lights burning all night long, and in his days the night in EGYPT was like the day.

And in the year three hundred and ninety-two of the ARABS (A.D. 1001) the ARABS rose in a tumult against the Christians in BAGHDAD, and they looted their houses. And they also put forth their hands against the churches to destroy them. And having set on fire that church of the JACOBITES which is by the side of the place where flour was ground, it fell down on a very large number of ARABS, men, and women, and children, and it suffocated them and burned to death those who set it on fire; and the onlookers became terror stricken.

And one year after swarms of locusts appeared in the country of MAWSIL and in BAGHDAD, and they became very numerous in SHIRAZ. They left no grass [in the fields] and no leaves on the trees, and they even consumed the rolls of cloth which the fullers were bleaching; and of each roll of cloth the fuller was only able to give a rag to its owner. And there was a famine, and a *kor* of wheat was sold in BAGHDAD for one hundred and twenty gold *dinars*. And pillars of fire appeared in the heavens, from the north pole to the middle of the sky.

And in the year three hundred and ninety-six [of the ARABS = A.D. 1005] there appeared a star which resembled APHRODITE in its greatness and splendour, in the Sign of the Zodiac the SCORPION, and its rays revolved and gave out light [like those of] the Moon; and it remained four months and [then] disappeared. And in the year three hundred and ninety-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1007) [204] snow fell in BAGHDAD and it remained on the surface of the ground for a sabbath of days (i.e. a week), and it was a cubit or a cubit and a half deep. And thus it was in all the land of SEN'AR, in BASRA and BA'BADAN, and MAHRUBAN, and GANABAH; something the like of which was never before heard of.

And in this year there was great abundance. And a *kor* of wheat was sold for twelve *dinars*. And a great earthquake took place in the city of DINAWAR, and it destroyed very many buildings; sixteen thousand people were brought out from under the dust and buried, besides those which the earth swallowed up when it was rent open. And moreover a violent black wind blew in TAGRITH and DAKUKAH, and it destroyed many houses, and tore up very many palm-trees and olive-trees by the roots; and great ships were sunk in the Sea of PERSIA (Persian Gulf).

And on the seventh day of the month of SHA'BAN (i.e. the eighth month of the lunar year) of this year, 'ABU 'ALI, the son of ZARA'A, a Christian philosopher in BAGHDAD, died. And in this year the people of one of the tribes of the INNER TURKAYE in the East, which is called KIRITH, believed in Christ, and they became disciples and were baptized through the miracle which was wrought in connexion with their king.

And at this time HAKIM, the Khalifah of EGYPT (read BAGHDAD), commanded the Temple of the Resurrection which is in JERUSALEM was dug up from its roots (or, foundations), and all its furniture was looted. And he laid waste also thousands of churches which were in his dominions. And he commanded the heralds to proclaim, 'Every Christian who entereth the Faith of the ARABS shall be honoured and he who entereth not shall be disgraced, and he shall hang on his neck a cross from above (upside down?). And the JEWS shall place on their necks the figure of a calf's head, since they made [a calf] in the wilderness and worshipped it. And they shall not wear rings on the fingers of the right hand, neither shall they ride on horses,

but on mules and asses, with common saddles and stirrups of wood. And the man who will not accept this humiliation, let him take everything that he hath and go to the country of the RHOMAYE.'

And when this Edict went forth very many people departed, but a few denied the Faith of the Christians. And those who neither departed nor denied their Faith hung crosses of gold and of silver on their necks, and they made for themselves saddles of rich coloured stuffs. When HAKIM heard this he was wroth, and he commanded, saying, 'Every Christian who does not hang on his neck [205] a cross of wood weighing four litres, according to the measure of BAGHDAD, shall be killed. And also the JEW who does not hang on his neck a plaque (?) with the figure of the claw of chicken [on it], which weighs six pounds, shall be killed. And when they go into the baths they shall tie little bells on their necks, so that they may be distinguished from the ARABS.' This persecution began through a certain man who hated the Christians. He told HAKIM the Khalifah a story [to the effect that] 'the Christians, when they assemble in the temple of JERUSALEM to celebrate the festival of Easter, deal cunningly (or, deceitfully) with the overseers of the church, and they anoint with oil of *balasmon* (balsam) the iron wire on which hangeth the lamp over the tomb. And when the governor of the ARABS sealeth the door of the tomb, the Christians from the roof light a fire at the top of the iron wire, and the fire runneth down to the wick of the lamp and kindleth it. And then they cry out " *Kuriiia Layson* " (Kyrie Eleeson) and weep, pretending that they see the light which descendeth from heaven upon the tomb, and they are confirmed in their Faith.' And when the Christians and the JEWS had remained in this state of tribulation for a considerable time, HAKIM the Khalifah, some time before he was killed, repented of what he had done, and he commanded that those who had denied their Faith should return to it again. And he gave the Christians permission, and they built much better churches than they had done formerly. And those who had fled to the country of the RHOMAYE returned again to their houses.

And in the four hundredth year of the ARABS (A.D. 1009), 'ABU NASR BASHIR, the son of HARON, the son of GAMALA, a Christian scribe in BAGHDAD, died on the twenty-sixth day of the month of SHAWAL.

And in the four hundred and first year of the ARABS (A.D. 1010), KARAWASH (KARAWUSH), the son of MUKALED, the governor of MAWSIL, proclaimed HAKIM the Khalifah of EGYPT. And swarms of locusts appeared in the country of MAWSIL, and the MA'DAYE raided the country on all sides, and there was also a great pestilence. And the famine waxed strong in the country of KHORASAN until one litre of bread was sold for a gold *dinar*. And men at first ate dogs and beetles (?), and then infants and children, and at last they used to leap upon anyone they saw who was fat and portly, and they would kill him and eat him.

And in the year four hundred and eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1017), the wife of 'ABU NASR, the son of ISRAEL, a Christian lawyer in BAGHDAD, died, and they laid her on her bier in the day-time [206] with crosses and lights (i.e. she lay in state). Then a certain ARAB became filled with indignation (fanaticism?) and he threw a stone at the bier. And the slaves of the Amir MANASIH who were surrounding the bier as guards smote that ARAB with a sword, and a great tumult broke out in BAGHDAD, and many of the ARABS and Christians were killed. And 'ABU NASR, the husband of the dead woman, fled to the house of MANASIH, his administrator. And the tumult did not cease until 'ABU NASR was delivered up, and he was carried to the palace of the Khalifah, and shut up therein for a short time. And he was released and the Christians rejoiced.

And after a year there were swarms of locusts in BAGHDAD, and they filled the ground, and darkened the air, and destroyed the trees and crops. And the farmers drove them away from the crops with drums and horns.

And in the year four hundred and five of the ARABS (A.D. 1014), HAKIM, the Khalifah of EGYPT, commanded that no woman should ever be seen outside the door [of her house], and that no woman should

look out from the door, or from the window, or from the roof. And he prohibited the shoemakers from sewing any kind of shoe belonging to a woman. Now he made this law through his hearing of the lasciviousness of Egyptian women. At the beginning he made old women [his] spies, who used to work their way like moles into the houses and make themselves acquainted with the secrets of women. And they used to inform him by what kinds of crafty devices women went out [of their houses], and how and where the adulteresses met the adulterers. Then he would send a eunuch with soldiers to the house of whomsoever it was, whether he was a nobleman or a common man, and they would say to him (i.e. to the master of the house), 'Bring out to us such and such a woman', [mentioning her] by name, whether it was his wife, or his sister, or his daughter, and they would carry her off. And having collected the women, from five to ten, he would drown them in the great river NILE. And by means of this the Egyptian women were made a mock of, and their secrets revealed, and the fear of him, which was greater than that which they had had for PHARAOH, fell upon men and upon women.

And when the people had lived for a certain number of years in this state of tribulation, the heads of the villages wrote and informed HAKIM, saying, 'There are many women, who are widows, and who have been deprived of brothers, and sons, and kinfolk, living within their gates, and they are perishing through hunger and nakedness. For there is no one who will buy flax for them, and no one who will sell their work or their plaiting.'

Then [207] HAKIM commanded those who bought or sold the work of women to go round about among the houses. And the woman was to open her door, and to buy and sell without uncovering her face or her hands; but she was to hand out her work on a spade (or, shell?), and receive her price on the same. For a woman to go out [into the bazar], or to go to the bath, he under no circumstances permitted. And thus matters remained until he was killed.

And in this year, which was the year thirteen hundred and twenty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1014), twenty-two tribes of the Chinese peoples went forth; those only who were called 'KHETA' were two hundred thousand, and the others were from thirty to fifty thousand, and they came to the country of the HUNS. And 'AHMAD, the son of 'ALI, the son of KARAKHAN, the governor of BUKHARA, met them in battle and broke them. And he looted their tents, and took vessels of gold and silver and innumerable bales of silken stuffs. It is said that their bows were one span longer than was usual, and that their arrows were proportionately longer.

And in the year four hundred and ten of the ARABS (A.D. 1019), the son of KARAKHAN, governor of BUKHARA, being dead, there rose up after him 'SAHINA (?) KHAWARAZM SHAH MAHMUD, the son of SABUKTAKIN. And he went to INDIA and captured many cities and took great spoil and returned.

And in the year four hundred and eleven of the ARABS (A.D. 1020) the EGYPTIANS were suffering great tribulation under the Khalifah HAKIM, and hatred of him increased in their hearts. And certain crafty people among them made plans, and they wrote abusive, and insulting, and impudent letters to him and to his women, and they sealed them and distributed them at night whilst he was riding, and they were reclining. It is said that they made a wooden figure of a woman who had her hand stretched out, and between her fingers was a written document. And during the night they set it up in a corner of a room through which HAKIM passed, and they draped her figure with sheets of white paper. And when HAKIM passed and saw her he became furiously angry, and he commanded his slaves to hack her to pieces with swords. And when they approached her and saw that she was a dummy, they informed him of the fact and gave him the document which was in her hand. And having opened it and read it he found therein many scurrilous statements about his virgin sister [SIT AL-MULK]. [208] And being intensely irritated (or, aggravated) by this matter, he burst into a violent passion, and commanded his slaves to draw their swords and to kill every EGYPTIAN who met

them, and also to loot the houses and to set fire to the bazars. And the EGYPTIANS and the slaves fought together for three days, and many were killed on both sides. And when [his] wrath had cooled a little HAKIM sent a letter to his sister, saying, 'It is because of thee that the EGYPTIANS write [scurrilous letters] and make a mock of me. They say that thou permittest men to have acces to thy house (or, person), and so on and so on.' And HAKIM'S sister, although with tears and sobs she had appeased his wrath for the time, suspected that he would summon midwives to send to her to investigate her virginity, and she trembled greatly.

And one night she went to the house of a certain noble, who was himself in terror of HAKIM, and having made him to swear that he would not reveal the secret she said unto him, 'See with what furious anger this my brother threateneth me, and thee, and all the people, both men and women! Moreover, I myself, as thou canst see, behold, I am in prime of early womanhood. What is the good of this life to me if I am to be deprived of the satisfaction of [my] natural desire? Therefore, if thou canst put him to death by means of some cunning scheme, behold, I will give thee my hand and my trust, for thou shalt be to me a husband'. And we will seat upon the throne my brother's little boy so that the nobles and the people may not rebel and thou shalt be a father, and a counselor, and a governor to him.

And the noble, having heard this, was persuaded, and he said unto her, 'Teach me now how we can carry out [this] plot'. And she said unto him, 'My brother always goeth up at night to the top of a certain hill so that he may look at the stars. And it is written in his "nativity" that on a certain night there will be the fear (i.e. danger) of death for him, and that if the cup of death of that hour passeth from him he will live for eighty years more. Therefore make ready two powerful slaves who know thy secret, so that they may lie in wait for him in one of the hollows in the hill, and let them leap upon him and put him to death.' And when the night of that day arrived, and HAKIM mounted his ass and went up the hill, he would not allow anyone to go up with him to the top except a small boy, and the rest of the slaves stayed on the lower part of the hill. [209] And HAKIM began to look towards the east. And when he saw 'ARIS (MARS) ascend the pastern horizon, he muttered with his lips and said, 'The accursed [star], the shedder of blood, ascendeth; my hour hath come'. Then the two men from the place where they had been lying in wait hurled themselves upon him, and they threw a cord round his neck and strangled him. And they killed the boy with the sword, and hamstrung the ass, and they lifted up his body, and came down [the hill] on the other side, and brought the body to his sister. Then she hid (or, buried) it in her house, without any man perceiving what had happened, except the two murderers and their lord.

Then the slaves of HAKIM having waited until the day broke [and seeing that HAKIM] had not come down, went up to the top of the hill and found the [body of the] boy who had been murdered, and the ass which was hamstrung, but HAKIM they did not find; and they left [the place] and came down to the palace. And when the slaves and the nobles were perturbed, HAKIM'S sister summoned them and said unto them: 'Be ye not disturbed, because my brother had already told me that for some days past he had had on him the fear of death, and that he was about to go up the hill, and that he would go from there on foot into the desert to hide himself there for seven days, when he would come [back]. And it was HAKIM himself who killed the boy so that he might not show where the place was to which he was going.' And [the nobles and slaves] being silenced, she began to bring over [to her side] the nobles one by one, and to give them rich gifts, [and to make them] promises of great benefits. And during these seven days she made them swear fealty to the child, the son of HAKIM, and she called his name 'TAHIR'. And she sent to the elder brother who was in DAMASCUS, and made him to be brought over [to her side] under the pretence that he was going to reign. And when he came to the city of TANNIS she cast iron fetters on him and shut him up in prison.

And in those days HAKIM'S sister gave a hint to the slaves, and they laid hand[s] on that Amir with whom she had made the secret compact, and on those two slaves who had killed the Khalifah. And they fixed three

posts [in the ground], and in one moment (or, flick of the eyelid) the three of them were impaled. And she commanded the heralds and they made a proclamation saying, 'These are they who acted treacherously towards their lord and murdered him, and God hath brought out their iniquity on their own heads'. Such are the marvellous deeds which this masculine woman performed! And she destroyed her brother who wished to destroy her. And she also pondered in her mind thus. 'If those wretched men who had performed her will had remained alive, [210] the secret could never have been kept concealed, and she would have been regarded as a contemptible woman in the eyes of every man; but having put them to death she was freed from fear of every kind'. And she seized on the administration of the kingdom, and satisfied her passions fearlessly. And because the death of HAKIM was brought about in this manner, many imagined that he had gone to the desert of SCETE, and had become a monk, and had ended his life there.

And moreover, I the feeble one, heard from Egyptian lawyers when I was living in DAMASCUS that 'at the time when HAKIM was persecuting the Christians, Christ, our Lord, was revealed unto him as unto PAUL; and that from that moment he believed, and departed secretly to the desert, and died there'. And it is said that 'within a very little, HAKIM, the Khalifah, went as far as PHARAOH in [his] heathenism'. The latter indeed said, 'The NILE is mine and I myself have made it', even as the prophet saith. And the latter had men who used to enter his presence and say, 'Peace [be] to thee, O One, Only One, Peace [be] unto thee, O thou who killeth and maketh to live, who maketh rich and reduceth to poverty'. And he was contented (or, gratified) with such [addresses]. And because of this one of the flatterers of him when he went to MAKKAH, entered their house of worship, smote the Black Stone with the staff which was in his hand, and broke it and said, 'Why do ye worship and kiss, O ye erring ones, a thing which neither doeth good or evil [to you], and why have ye abandoned him who maketh to die and maketh to live in EGYPT?'

At this time 'ABU 'ALI HASAN, the son of HAITAM, of BOSRA, the geometrician, was famous. HAKIM, Khalifah of EGYPT, heard of this man that he had said, 'If I was in EGYPT I would do to the river NILE a work which would be beneficial to the kings and the governors (*MAKE*) of that country'. And HAKIM sent and had him brought to him. And he honoured him greatly. And he promised him abundant gifts so that he might fulfil what he had said. And when BAR HAITAM went forth and travelled about through the country of EGYPT, and saw the heavenly forms which, in a most marvellous manner, were painted there; and the geometrical designs, and the wonderful symbols, he pondered within himself and said, 'If there was the possibility for any work more excellent [to be done] [211] these ancient people were better able to do it than I am'. And he also went to that hill which is opposite the city of 'ASWAN, from which the waters of the NILE flow out and descend. And he looked and saw that the great force of those waters would not be held in restraint by [the work] which he meditated doing, and therefore he was ashamed and made an apology to HAKIM. And when it was not accepted in the manner which was fitting he was greatly afraid. And he could not find any way of escaping from the wickedness of HAKIM except by pretending that he was possessed of a devil and madness. And he exhibited himself in this character so thoroughly that they bound him in chains. And they sealed everything which he possessed and he remained in this mad state until HAKIM died. Then he returned to his right mind. And he dwelt in retirement in one of the houses which is in the gate of the Great Mosque of KAHIRAH (CAIRO), and he began and compiled about seventy books on geometry. And each year he copied three books: MAGISTI, and the MEDIAL SIGNS OF THE SPHERES, and EUCLIDES, and he sold them for one hundred and fifty Egyptian *dinars*. And thus he lived until he died in the year four hundred and twenty of the ARABS (A.D. 1029).

And in the year of the ARABS four hundred and fourteen (A.D. 1023) KHAWARAZM SHAH MAHMUD marched again to the country of INDIA, and he captured many cities. And having travelled into the country [during] a journey of four months, he came to a Citadel, the name of which was 'KAWAKIR', and in it one of the Indian kings lived. And whilst he was waging fierce war against him, an Indian envoy came out to him, and he was seated on a litter which was carried by four men, and he came to MAHMUD. And he said unto

him, 'My master asketh thee, What art thou among men?' And MAHMUD replied, 'I am a Muslim, who calleth those who deny God to the Faith, and I persecute those who worship images. And ye INDIANS must either believe in our God, and accept our Law and eat the flesh of oxen, or pay us as a tax each year one thousand elephants, and one thousand manehs of gold.' And the envoy said, 'The flesh of oxen is [one of] the impossible things for us to eat. And as for the Confession (i.e. Faith) of which thou speakest, send to us a man, [212] one who is learned, that he may show us what your Faith is; and if it be better than ours we will accept it'.

And having sent with the envoy one of the learned men of the ARABS, who went into the Citadel and spake with them by means of an interpreter, they replied, 'We shall not change our Faith, and the gold which ye demand we do not possess, but we have silver in abundance'. And they agreed to give them three hundred elephants, and a vast quantity of silver, and costly apparel, and perfumes. And MAHMUD replied, 'I agree, but though the king will undertake to wear our apparel, and to gird a sword and a belt about his loin, he must cut off the top of his finger in confirmation of the oath according to the custom of the INDIANS'. For the ambassador of the ARABS said, 'When I went into the presence of the king of INDIA I found a splendid young man of youthful beauty, very pleasant-looking in his duskiness, and sitting upon a couch of silver, and he was wearing a *sharbala* (i.e. a pair of short trousers) of hollow work, and he had a turban on his head. And when I saw him I clapped my hands together violently, and I bowed over them according to their custom. And I spoke to him about the apparel which he had to put on. And he made many excuses and said to me, "I beseech thee to release me from the necessity of putting it on, and do thou say to thy Lord that I have put it on". And when I replied that it was impossible for me to deceive my Lord, with great reluctance he put it on. And he girded on the belt and hung the sword by his side. And when he had dressed himself I was ashamed to say to him, "Cut thy finger", and so I only said, "Swear an oath of fealty to us". And he replied, "Our oaths are [taken] by images and by fire, and they would not be acceptable to your folk. By what shall we swear to you?" Then I said, "Thou knowest how to swear an oath to us". And straightway he commanded a slave to bring a razor; and he brought it, and he took it in his right hand and cut off with it the top of his left thumb (?) without his colour changing in the slightest degree. And he sprinkled some powdered drug over the thumb (?) and tied it up. And they washed the portion which had been cut off with water and placed some camphor with it in a bag, and they gave it to me with certain apparel (or, vessels), and silver, and two horses.'

And in the year thirteen hundred and thirty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1025), BASIL, the king of the RHOMAYE, died, having ruled peacefully and right royally for fifty-five years. And he subjugated the BULGARIANS and placed them under the dominion of the RHOMAYE, and [213] CONSTANTINE his brother reigned alone after him for three years. This king was a pleasant (or, gracious) man, and was great of soul. And when he died he committed the kingdom to the son of his brother whose name was 'ROMANUS'. In other manuscripts [it is stated that] ROMANUS was his son-in-law, his daughter's husband.

And in the year four hundred and seventeen of the ARABS (A.D. 1026) there was intense cold in BAGHDAD during the winter, and the banks of the EUPHRATES and TIGRIS were covered with ice, and the palm-trees were destroyed. And in BAGHDAD men used to cross over the small canals on the frozen water, and the farmers were unable to sow seed. And in that year there went forth an Edict in EGYPT that no man was to kill an ox which worked a plough. And in the middle of the month of the FIRST RABI' a violent hail-storm came on BAGHDAD, and the hailstones were as large as the eggs of chickens.

(Continued on Next Page)

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

The Kings of the Arabs (continued).

And in the year thirteen hundred and forty-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1030), which is the year four hundred and twenty-one of the ARABS (A.D. 1030), an army of the RHOMAYE went forth from ANTIOCH and encamped against ALEPPO. And the small group of ARABS which was in ALEPPO engaged the RHOMAYE and defeated them, and they killed many of them; and the ARABS took from the RHOMAYE many horses and weapons of war. For the kings who were before ROMANUS, since they were relieved from the persecution of the believers (i.e. Muslims), were prosperous everywhere. But this king began to persecute [the Christians], and he cast forth into exile the holy Patriarch MAR' ABDUN and the bishop, and he reversed the ancient use and wont; and the Lord likewise began to break the deceitful RHOMAYE before their enemies.

And in that year, when ROMANUS the king heard that the RHOMAYE were broken at ALEPPO, he collected a mighty army, more than one hundred thousand men, and came to ANTIOCH; and from there he set out to come to ALEPPO. And since two nobles of the 'ASKLABE (SCLAVS) and the army that was with them were [marching] a little in advance of the army of the RHOMAYE, they encountered about one hundred MA'DAYE horsemen and a thousand foot soldiers, and the SCLAVS were broken, and turned their faces [in flight]. And they made a report to the RHOMAYE, saying, 'Behold, innumerable soldiers, EGYPTIANS and MA'DAYE, are coming'. And fear fell upon the RHOMAYE, and with the greatest difficulty ROMANUS the king and his troops, one by one, each on his horse, fled to ANTIOCH without fighting and without [striking] a blow. And the ARABS overtook them, and they captured from the RHOMAYE seventy camels with their loads of [214] *zuze* and *dinars*, and vessels of gold and silver, and bales of rich stuffs, and such a large number of mules that a Tarka mule was sold in ALEPPO for two *dinars*. It is said that ROMANUS himself was not able to save one tent or a cup from which he could drink water.

And about that time ROMANUS, the kmg of the RHOMAYE, died suddenly, and MICHAEL reigned after him. And a certain troublesome man, a kinsman of his, whose name was 'KALAPAT', rose up. And that KALAPAT, the rebel, having succeeded [him] for five months, was seized, and his two eyes were bored out of his head.

And in the year four hundred and twenty-two of the ARABS (A.D. 1030), KADER, the Khalifah in BAGHDAD, died at the age of eighty-seven years. He was an excellent man, and modest (or, chaste), and he was not a riotous liver like his predecessors. And there rose up after him 'ABU JA'FAR, his son, and he was called 'KAIM'.

After KADER, KAIM, his son, [ruled] forty-four years and eight months. All the nobles, PERSIANS, TURKS, and ARABS, welcomed this man gladly, and they gave the hand of oaths (i.e. took oaths of allegiance). Verily when, according to custom, the TURKS asked for the gift which [was usually given at the beginning of] a new kingdom (or, reign), there was nothing in the Treasury of the Khalifah. For the

PERSIAN Amirs were ruling over all the countries, even over BAGHDAD itself, and they only gave to the Khalifah a grant of money sufficient for his maintenance (i.e. he only had a grant from them). The Khalifah KAIM sold guest house and gardens, and certain of the furniture of his house, and gave [the proceeds] to them and they were quiet.'

At this time two Arab Amirs were ruling in EDESSA, viz. BAR 'UTAIR and BAR SHIBAL, each in a fort (or, tower). BAR 'UTAIR sent to MICHAEL, king of the RHOMAYE, and sold his fort to him for twenty thousand darics and four, villages in the territory of the RHOMAYE. And the RHOMAYE came by night, and they assumed the mastery and went into the fort, and they made strong the defences thereof, for the building was like a Citadel. And some of them went down to the city and destroyed the Mosque of the ARABS. And when NASIR AD-DAWLAH heard [this], he sent an army against EDESSA and captured it, and they broke down its wall and entered the town. And they also captured the great church to which the Christians had fled, and they took spoil from them and their women. And they encamped against the fort of the RHOMAYE, and they were wholly unable to draw nigh to it. [215] And when the snow came they made the winter a pretext and they abandoned the town and departed.

Now the RHOMAYE entered EDESSA in the autumn of this year, which is the year thirteen hundred and forty-three of the GREEKS (A.D. 1032), and the year four hundred and twenty-two of the ARABS (A.D. 1030). Then NASIR AD-DAWLAH sent an envoy to MICHAEL, and reprimanded him, saying, 'What did ye benefit by going forth twice against ALEPPO that now thou dost covet EDESSA? Therefore in love I counsel thee to get thy people out of it. If thou dost not thou wilt see what thou wilt meet with from the army of the ARABS.' Then MICHAEL replied, 'I have not taken EDESSA with the sword, but assuredly I have bought it from its lord lawfully. And if I knew that it would remain thine I would give it back, but I know that the MA'DAYE, the sons of NUMAIR, did not abandon it.' And so although MICHAEL despised the ARABS, he sent ten thousand horsemen to EDESSA, and he built up its ruined places. And the RHOMAYE began to sally out from EDESSA, and they plundered the country of 'AKSAS, and HARRAN, and SERUGH. And they were not restrained from plundering until BAR WATAB, the NUMAIRITE, the governor of HARRAN, gave them tribute. And HASSAN, the governor of SYRIA, was subject to the RHOMAYE, and he hung crosses on the heads of his spears.

And in the year four hundred and twenty-three [of the ARABS = A.D. 1031] a woman in BAGHDAD gave birth [to a being] which was like an ill-formed serpent. He had the head of a man, and a mouth and a neck, and he was without hands and without feet. And, moreover, when he fell upon the ground he spake and said, 'Four years from now a famine shall make an end of the children of men, unless men, and women, and children, and the beasts go forth and weep before the Lord, so that He may make His rain to descend'. And when the Khalifah KAIM heard this, he commanded that all the people should go outside [the city] and make supplication. And because many did not believe this report, very few went out. And in [that] year the water froze in BAGHDAD, and red sand descended as rain, and the trees were destroyed and produced no fruit at all that season. And there was so great a famine in the wilderness that the nomads who lived there ate their camels and their horses, and even their children. And a man would exchange his child for that of his fellow so that he might not suffer (or, feel it) when he pounded him up. [216] And they were in tribulation not only because of the famine (or, want of food), but also through thirst which was due to the scarcity of water, and they came and camped by the rivers (or, canals) which were in the neighbourhood of the towns and villages. And there was a pestilence in INDIA and in all PERSIA; forty thousand biers with dead men on them were taken out from ISFAHAN in one week. And in BAGHDAD also there was not a single house left in which there was not wailing. And in MOSUL four thousand young men died of the disease of inflammation of the eye-lids.

And in the year four hundred and twenty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1033), which is the year thirteen hundred and forty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1034), a violent black wind blew in the month of KANON (DECEMBER) in NISIBIS, and it uprooted olive-trees, and mulberry-trees, and plum-trees, and it swept away buildings constructed of stone and plaster made from lime. And after it came a violent rain-storm, and there fell many hailstones which had the forms of hands, and wrists, and fingers. And there was an earthquake in EGYPT and in PALESTINE, and men went forth from [their] houses and remained under the heavens (i.e. open sky) for eight days. And one-half of the city of BALASH fell down. And the earth swallowed up many villages in SYRIA with their inhabitants. And portions of the walls of the Temple in JERUSALEM fell down, and a minaret of the ARABS in ASCALON, and the top of a minaret in GAZA, and a half of the city of 'AKO. And the sea retreated three parasangs, and men went into it to collect fish and shellfish; but the waters returned and drowned some of them.

And in the month of SHEBHAT (FEBRUARY) the form of a pillar of light appeared, in the Sign of the Zodiac the Ear of Wheat (i.e. the Virgin) from the evening until the morning for many days, from the conjunction to the plenilune. And after [some] days a star fell like a flash of lightning, and the whole land of SEN'AR was filled with its light. And many of the simple-minded said, 'The heavens have split open'. And there was a pestilence in BAGHDAD, and about seventy thousand men died of the disease of suffocation. And a year later violent winds blew over the SEA OF PERSIA, and more than fifty ships were sunk, and two thousand five hundred men were drowned. And the sea and the rivers overflowed. And the water channels of heaven were rent asunder, and the waters [mounted up and] submerged the villages. It is said that when [some] men had saved themselves from drowning by the sea by means of planks of wood and the beams of ships, and had gone forth on dry land, the water flood met them and drove them, back again [217] into the sea, and they were drowned.

And in the year four hundred and twenty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1035) BAR WATAB, the NUMAIRIAN, the governor of HARRAN, collected a vast number of KURDS and MA'DAYE (NOMADS) and went against SIBABARAK, which belonged to the RHOMAYE, and captured it. And he killed therein three thousand five hundred men, and carried off many women and children. And he came and encamped against EDESSA, and prevented food from [entering] it; and the men of EDESSA being sorely afflicted with hunger surrendered the city. And the RHOMAYE fled to the Citadel and made strong defences for themselves in it. And the ARABS attacked the Citadel, and two hundred and fifty of their men were killed. And being unable to capture the Citadel they looted the city and departed. It is said that the number of youths and maidens which they carried off amounted to three thousand.

(Continued on Next Page)

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

Concerning the Beginning of the Kingdom of the Saljuks in Persia.

[217] In this year, which is the year thirteen hundred and forty-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1036), a people went forth from the HUNAYE (HUNS) who were called 'GHUZZAYE', with Amirs of the SALJUKS from HYRCANIA, which is the land of the KHAZARS (KAZARAYE, or KARZAYE) in the north. Concerning them, he who is [one] of the saints, MAR MICHAEL, the holy Patriarch, wrote at great length, and he saith, 'These are the children of MAGHOGH, the son JAPHET, the son of NOAH. And EZEKIEL prophesied about them, saying: 'Thus saith the Lord of Lords, Behold I am against thee, [O] governor and prince of MUSHAK (MASHAK?) and of TUBIL. And I will gather thee together, and I will cast a hook in thy cheek, and I will bring thee out from thy land, and all the PERSIANS, and KUSHITES, and POTITES with thee, GAMAR and all his army, and BETH TOGERMA, and the skirts of the north. From the early days thou hast been commanded, and at the end of years thou shalt come' (Ezek. xxxi. 3). Now I, the feeble one, have seen that the writer thereof saith in a certain Persian book, which is called 'MULK-NAMAH': I have heard from a great Amir, and an old man, very far advanced in days, INAIG (INANAG?) BAG, who saith: When the KHAKAN of the KHAZARS burst forth, he had with him in his service a certain warrior whose name was TUKAK, who, because of his strength, was called TEMURYALIG, that is to say 'IRON BOW'. There was a son born to this man and he was called by the name of SALJUK. And after a short time [218] the Amir TUKAK died, and KHAKAN took SALJUK, and he was reared in the palace and he loved him greatly. And one day when he went into the presence of KHAKAN according to his custom, the queen was scandalized and made a sign to the king, saying, 'If this [young man], though still a child, possesseth such freedom of speech (or, behaviour) towards us now; when he groweth up how will he behave [towards us]?' Then the Amir SALJUK, having been secretly informed of this, went out and took with him fellow tribesmen secretly, and they marched away with horses, and camels, and sheep, and oxen in large numbers. And he went forth from the land of TURAN, that is to say of the TURKAYE (TURKS) to the land of IRAN, that is to say of the PERSIANS, under the pretence that they were shepherds. And when they saw that PERSIA was flourishing with Islam, they took counsel together and said, 'If we do not enter the Faith of the people of the country in which we desire [to live] and make a pact with them (or conform to their customs), no man will cleave to us, and we shall be a small and solitary people'. And they all agreed and they sent to the city of ZANDAK, which is in the country of KHAWARAZM, and was in the neighbourhood of the desert in which they were pasturing [their flocks], and they asked the governor there for a scribe (or, learned man) who would teach them how to worship God. And the governor with great gladness sent to them a scribe, an old man, together with gifts and presents, and he taught them. And they remained there [for] years, and they prospered exceedingly and increased greatly in number.

And there were born to the Amir SALJUK four sons, MICHAEL, and YABAGU (BIGHU), and MUSA and ARLSAN. And MICHAEL had two sons, MAHAMMAD, who is TUGHREL BAG, and DAWUD, who is JAGHRI BAG. And JAGHRI BAG gathered together a numerous army of TURKOMANS, and he came and looted places (i.e. towns) of ARMENIA and KHORASAN. And he went back to TUGHREL BAG, his brother, and said unto him, 'Here there are two great governors, viz. KHAWARAZM SHAH HARON, and

SULTAN MAS'UD, the son of MAHMUD, the son of SABUKTAKIN, and we are unable to go up with (i.e. dispose of) them finally. But let us cross over into KHORASAN and ARMENIA, which I have spied out, and I did not see in them any one who could stand up against us.' And his brother approved of his words, and they rose up and crossed GIHON, the river of PERSIA. And they came against the city of DAMGHAN and they destroyed it utterly. And from there they came to the city of SEMNAN, and they also conquered [219] the army of the ARABS and PERSIANS. And they invaded the city of RAI (RHAGES) and destroyed it utterly. And from there they came to KAWIN and could not conquer it, but they laid tribute upon it and departed. Now the story of the dog which the blessed old man said directed (or, led) them when they went forth from their country we have not found anywhere. It is possible that he wrote it down from hearsay, or from some book which we have not read, for we have not met with it in any book.

And in the year four hundred and twenty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1035), TAHIR, the Khalifah of EGYPT, died of the disease of dropsy (or, retention of urine). From his youth up gangrene (?) attacked him, i.e. for a period of twenty years. And his son MUSTANSER rose up after him. And in this year there was a reconciliation between MUSTANSER, the Khalifah of EGYPT, and MICHAEL, king of the RHOMAYE. And the Khalifah MUSTANSER released fifty thousand Christians who were imprisoned in EGYPT, and he permitted the king of the RHOMAYE to build again the Temple of the Resurrection which was in JERUSALEM. And that king sent certain nobles of the RHOMAYE with a vast quantity of silver and gold, and he restored the Temple to its former condition.

And in this year the very distinguished old man 'ABU' ALI HUSAIN, BAR SINA (AVICENNA), died. Now this man having received the one talent of ARISTOTLE added thereto not only five, but more than fifty talents. His father came from the city of BALKH. Then he departed to the city of BUKHARA and dwelt therein. And when BAR SINA (IBN SINA) was five years old, he handed him over to the scribes, and when he was ten years old he had learned the Book of the Faith of the ARABS, and the grammar and the eloquence of speech of the ARABS. And he began to frequent a certain man in a *khan* (or, market) who sold vegetables, and he learned from him the Indian system of arithmetic. And a certain man, a philosopher, whose name was NABALI, having come to BUKHARA, he began to make AVICENNA read in the Book of ISAGOGLI. And when he came to the definition of GENSA (i.e. *genus*, sex), which treateth of 'how there are many that are different in species because of what the substance is', he said to his teacher, 'Is the genus assigned to each and every species because of what [substance] it is?' [220] And the teacher replied 'Yes'. The young man then made answer. 'Suppose now some one asketh me, What is a man? Is it correct for me to say to him an animal?' And the teacher replied, 'Yes'. The young man disputed [this] and said, 'I do not agree to regard the matter thus. Moreover, I am not without intelligence concerning all this. For if a man asketh me concerning what is a rational being, for me to reply to him an animal, [is only] half an answer.' From that moment he left the teacher, and he read by himself all the sciences and understood them.

And when he was sixteen years old he was fully trained in medicine, for many aged physicians used to come to him and read with him. And he also began to visit the sick, and he became expert in clinical work. And when he was eighteen years old he wrote this great and famous work of the CANON. And then he wrote the great BOOK OF HEALING in the four doctrines of philosophy; and he completed the sections on natural and divine matters within twenty days. Now the Books of his which are extant and are read are ninety-two, and most of them he composed in the house of the captives (or, prison). A marvellous book of his which is called 'Hints and Monitions', I, the feeble one, have translated from Arabic into Syriac. He was captured at the breaking which came upon the governor whom he used to treat by another governor, who was his enemy, and he was shut up in one of the fortresses. And when he was going in he said, 'As to my entrance herein there is no manner of doubt whatsoever, but to my exit there cleaveth in truth every possible anxiety'. Now he remained there forty days, when his own governor came and took the fort by fighting, and he brought him out. Besides imprisonment on this occasion he was shut up [many] other times. And together with all the

excellence which this princely old man possessed, the lustful power of marriage vanquished him. And the end of this enfeebled his strength, and his consorting was ineffectual, and there came to him at the end of his days a disease of the colon. One day he applied to himself a clyster eight times. And having told them (i.e. his servants) to put two *danke* (i.e. one-third of a *disham*) of parsley seed into the clyster, one of his servants put in five, [221] and an ulcer appeared in his bowels. And he also suffered from the falling sickness, which cleaveth to disease of the colon. And he commanded them to mix up for him the antidote of MITHRIDATES (*methroditus*), and one of his servants put in an overdose of opium. And having taken this several times, his natural warmth languished, and from this time he became careless about his own healing. And he said, 'That governor which governed my body hath failed and is exhausted, and is no longer able to govern'; and he remained in this state for a few days, and he died and was buried in the city of HAMADAN, aged fifty-eight years.

And in the year four hundred and twenty-nine of the ARABS (A.D.1037), the GHUZZAYE came again to ARMENIA, and they made a great slaughter of the KURDS and the ARABS who were there, and they took much spoil. And from there they came to URMIAH (URMI), a city of 'ADHORBIJAN, and they laid waste the country, and killed many of the KURDS in that mountain who came down and engaged in fighting with them. And when the Amir BAR WATAB, who ruled over SYRIA and ARMENIA, saw that he was unable to fight two enemies, the RHOMAYE and the TURKS, he made peace with the RHOMAYE. And EDESSA remained to the RHOMAYE, and they ruled and flourished therein. And during the year the GHUZZAYE captured the city of MARAGHA, and they burnt the mosque which was therein, and they killed and took prisoners many of its inhabitants. Then the tribes (or, clans) of the KURDS of the mountains gathered together, and they prevailed over the GHUZZAYE and expelled them from 'ADHORBIJAN. And they went back again to KHORASAN, and captured the city of TUS, and they killed therein about one hundred thousand souls, and outside [the city], on the roads and in the villages, they killed about twenty thousand, and took about one hundred and fifty thousand prisoners. And SUBASHI, the governor of KHORASAN, attacked them with thirty thousand horsemen. And they broke him and put him to flight. And they came to the city of NISABHOR, and though they wished to loot the city, TUGHREL BAG prevented them from doing so, because the fast of the ARABS was at hand.

And KAIM the Khalifah also sent an envoy to them and reprimanded them, and [asked them] how it was, seeing that they were ARABS, that they were doing such things to the sons of their Faith. And because, after the fast, they were still ready to lay waste NISABHOR, TUGHREL BAG said [222] to JAGHRI BAG, his brother, 'It is not right, because a writ of authority which is far greater, namely from the Khalifah, hath come'. And when JAGHRI BAG insisted, TUGHREL BAG took a knife and said, 'I shall kill myself if thou doest this'. And then he was quiet after he had taken from the citizens five hundred thousand *zuze*.

And TUGHREL BAG wrote an answer to the Khalifah thus: From his slave and subject TUGHREL BAG, the son of MICHAEL. And KEZEL, their kinsman, that is to say the husband of their sister, also wrote: From his slave and minister KEZEL, the son of YAHYAH. But JAGHRI BAG wrote nothing. And TUGHREL BAG went to NISABHOR, and he sat on the throne of the SULTAN MAS'UD, and JAGHRI BAG sat down in the city of SARKHAS and KEZEL in the city of RAI.

And in the year of the ARABS four hundred and thirty (A.D. 1038), snow fell in BAGHDAD, and it stood about a span (i.e. was a span deep), and it remained for days in the bazars. And after this, in the month of KANON (DECEMBER), there came intense cold, and the waters froze for six days. And in this year SULTAN MAS'UD collected multitudes of troops from INNER PERSIA and from OUTER INDIA, and he attacked the GHUZZAYE, and conquered them by the side of MARU-RUD. And about three thousand five hundred of their men were killed, and the remainder of them, together with their leaders TUGHREL BAG and JAGHRI BAG, fled into the arid desert. And SULTAN MAS'UD sat down in the country of

KHORASAN for about two years, and then he left the troops in the country, and he himself returned to GAZNAH, a city of KHAWARAZM. And when the GHUZZAYE heard [this] they came again to KHORASAN in the year four hundred and thirty-two of the ARABS (A.D. 1040), and those who were there were unable to stand up before them, and they reigned in 'ADHORBIJAN. And during the year the RHOMAYE went forth to SYRIA, and the Amir 'ANUSHTAKIN engaged them in battle by the side of HAMATH and conquered them. And he made prisoner the son of the king's uncle, and killed one great eunuch.

And in this year when SULTAN MAS'UD left [he went] to the country of INDIA, in the winter season, according to [his] custom, because of the intensity of the cold of the country of KHAWARAZM. And his wives, and the children who had been born in his house, were with him, also his blind brother MAHAMMAD, both of whose eyes SULTAN MAS'UD had himself dug out. When they encamped on [223] the river which is called HALAM, 'ANUSHTAKIN, the eunuch, leaped upon MAS'UD with one thousand other slaves, and they bound him and brought him before his blind brother, whom they wished to reign over them. And his brother MAHAMMAD said unto him, 'I will not do unto thee as thou hast done unto me, but seek for thyself some place whither thou shalt be sent, together with those of thy retinue whom thou shalt select'. And MAS'UD asked that he might be sent to the Citadel which is called KASA, and he was conveyed there most carefully and with honour. Then the nobles took counsel together, and by a mistake (or, by a pretence) they took from MAHAMMAD his ring, and sent it with certain men to the governor of that Citadel, and [those who were inside it] opened [the gates] to them, and they went in and killed SULTAN MAS'UD.

Then MAWDUD, the son of MAS'UD, who was in KHAWARAZM, hearing what had happened to his father, collected five thousand [men], and he attacked the twenty thousand [men] who were with his uncle, and he conquered them and killed his uncle. And he bored holes in the ankle bones of the murderers of his father, and tied them together with cords, and [his slaves] dragged them along the ground until they were reduced to dust. And he went back to GAZNAH and his father's kingdom was established for him, with the exception of KHORASAN and 'ADHORBIJAN, in which the TURKS were rulers.

And in the year thirteen hundred and fifty-three of the GREEKS (A.D. 1042), which is the year four hundred and thirty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1041), MICHAEL, the king of the RHOMAYE, died without sons; and his daughters ZAI (ZOAI) and THEODORA ruled the kingdom for three months. Then the nobles of the RHOMAYE took counsel together, and they chose from among their sons (?) three persons who were suitable for rulers. And they wrote their names on pieces of paper, and these they put in coverings of wax. And they brought a little boy and he stretched out his hand and pulled out one of the papers, and the name of MONOMACHUS came forth. And they gave him THEODORA, the daughter of King MICHAEL, to wife, and they made him king and called his name 'CONSTANTINE'. And THEODORA gave to ZAI (ZOAI) her sister nine centenarii of gold instead of [her share in] the kingdom. Now this King CONSTANTINE was magnanimous, and lavish in [his] gifts, but he suffered from the disease of the gout.

And in the year four hundred and thirty-four of the ARABS (A.D. 1042) there was a severe earthquake in the city of TABRIZ [224], and its Citadel, and wall and many palaces and baths were overwhelmed; and about fifty thousand souls died under the ruins. Its lord, however, escaped, because he was outside [the city] in the plantations, and he put on sackcloth and sat upon ashes because of the great disaster which had taken place. And he left [the place] and went and shut himself up in one of his fortresses through fear of the GHUZZAYE, who had also made themselves master of KHAWARAZM.

And IBRAHIM, the son of JOSEPH, rose up as governor of KHORASAN; he was the brother of TUGHREL BAG through his mother. This man wrote a letter and sent [it], with an envoy, to BAGHDAD, and in it he spake thus: 'The great SHAH-IN-SHAH, that is to say "king of kings", TUGHREL BAG, the SALJUK, is

king over KHORASAN and KHAWARAZM. And he is prepared to send an army to BAGHDAD, because he hath heard what the nomads (MA'DAYE) are doing on the road of the HAJJ, and how they are seizing and plundering those who are going to worship in the house of God. Therefore, see ye how ye can meet his troops with honours and gifts, and how [we] can make peace to reign over the whole world.' And at the top of his letter were [drawn] figures of a bow and an arrow.

And in this year hailstones fell [weighing] between one and two *litres*, according to the measure of BAGHDAD, and they destroyed more than thirty villages in the province of BAGHDAD.

And in the year thirteen hundred and fifty-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1043) there went forth a certain rebel from the RHOMAYE whose name was MINAKOS (MANYAKOS ?), and about twenty thousand people cleaved to him. Then king CONSTANTINE sent against him CHRISTOPHER, the eunuch, with forty thousand [men], and he conquered the rebel and killed him, and set his head on a reed. And he mounted on asses two hundred men of the army of the rebel, tied [to the beasts], with their faces turned towards the tails of the asses. And he hung between the eyes (i.e. on the forehead) of each one of them four testicles taken from the slain, and a portion of the lungs, and a liver, and heralds made a proclamation before them in the bazars of the royal city, saying, 'These are the just reward of every one who rebelleth against the king'. And though he made them a laughing-stock, the king had mercy on them, and he did not kill them, but sent them away and said, 'Get ye gone wheresoever ye please'. And the king gave gifts to the soldiers of his army, to some seventy *dinars* and to some thirty-five *dinars*, according to their merit.

And in the year four hundred and thirty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1043) [225] TUGHREL BAG sent an envoy to the Khalifah KAIM, and he said, 'I am a minister (or, servant) of the Head of the Kingdom of the ARABS, and in all the countries over which I reign I have made to triumph the proclamation of the Khalifah, and I have made men to rest from the oppression of the governors MAHMUD and MAS'UD, who were my predecessors. And it is evident that I am not inferior in any way to them. Now they were slaves of the Khalifah who enjoyed dominion (i.e. they ruled), but I am the son of free men, and am of the royal stock of the HUNS. And besides these things, although I am honoured even as they were honoured, I think that service to me, and the manner in which I am distinguished, should be greater than theirs.'

It is said that TUGHREL BAG used to sit on a high throne, and behind him were shields and spears, and before him a very magnificent bow, and in his hand were two arrows, with which he used to play. He wore the white apparel [made] of cotton. On the second and fifth days [of the week] he used to fast. And he never at any time omitted [to say] his five prayers. And concerning his astuteness the chief of the judges of BAGHDAD relates the following story: When I was sent on an embassy to him I wrote a private letter to BAGHDAD in which I described his rule, and his mercilessness, and how he prayed his prayers as a matter of form (or, routine) and not through fear of God, and various other matters. And I gave the letter to one of the members of my house, and it fell from him, and it was found and taken to TUGHREL BAG. And though he understood everything which was in the letter, he never turned his face away from me, nor did he in any way lessen the honour which he paid me. As for me, I could not understand what had become of the letter, until a certain scribe, a friend of mine, when [we were] on the road [back], informed me; and he, who was also a notary said to me that he had lost the letter on the road.

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Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

Concerning the Beginning of the Kingdom of the Saljuks in Persia (continued).

And his troops used to come, company by company, to do homage before him, each company consisting of two thousand men, and they dismounted a certain distance from him, and kissed the ground and stood upright. Then one of those who were before him made a sign that their salutations had been accepted. And again they kissed the ground, and then mounted their animals and departed, and another company came up. No man goeth near him, and no man hath speech with him. In every place, where his troops meet together they plunder, and destroy and kill. And no one district (or, quarter) is able to support them for more than one week because of their vast number. And from [226] sheer necessity they are compelled to depart to another quarter in order to find food for themselves and their beasts.

And the army of TUGHREL BAG went and laid waste the country of NISIBIS, and MAIPERKAT, and SHIGHAR (SINJAR), and HABURA, and 'AMID, and ZIRAK its governor was killed. And they also came to MAWSIL, and they demanded from MU'TAMID AD-DAWLAH, the governor of MAWSIL, fifty thousand *dinars* to leave [the city] and go away. And when he ignored their [demand] they made themselves masters of the city. And MU'TAMID AD-DAWLAH fled by a gate which was underground by the river TIGRIS. And the GHUZZAYE went in and they carried off from the palace a vast amount of stuff [worth] two hundred thousand *dinars*, and they divided seventeen wives, who were ARABS and KURDS, among them, and a great number of handmaidens. And they looted the city, all except the quarter of the SHAHARSUI BAZAR, the owner of which gave them fifteen thousand *dinars* in the place of their houses. And the fathers of the wives of the governor also bought them back.

And the GHUZZAYE left governors in MAWSIL, and they went and pitched their camp by the city of BALADH, but they were not able to capture it. And after a few days a certain man of the GHUZZAYE was fighting with a young man who was a native of MAWSIL, and he smote him with a spear (i.e. speared him). Then the mother of the young man, who was a noisy and loquacious woman, smeared the blood [of her son] over her face, and she shrieked out in the bazars, 'The GHUZZAYE have killed my son and my daughter'. And she stirred up a tumult with her voice, and she inflamed the ARABS with her words. and they rose up against the GHUZZAYE and killed them. And when the GHUZZAYE who were in BALADH heard [this], they came back again to MAWSIL and killed two thousand people, old and young. And they remained there for twelve days plundering and killing. And to every one whom they seized they said, 'Purchase (i.e. ransom) thyself'. And thus they took all the silver, both that in circulation and that hidden, which there was in MAWSIL, and at the last they made peace. And they made the peasants go out to their villages and commanded them to till their lands. And after a little MU'TAMID became strong, and he collected the MA'DAYE (NOMADS) and conquered the GHUZZAYE, and made a great slaughter of them; and those who remained fled to 'ADHORBIJAN.

And in the year which was the year thirteen hundred and fifty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1044), at the end of the month of the FIRST TESHRAIN, ABU AL-FARAJ, an upright Nestorian monk, died; he was an able and

capable man and a philosopher. This man interpreted [227] (or, translated) the Old and the New Testaments into the Arabic language and also the Books of ARISTOTLE. And he charged the chief officials of their Church with being ignorant in matters of ecclesiastical doctrines and other subjects. Personally I think that he was weak in his knowledge of Syriac lexicography, for I have found blunders in various places in his interpretations. Of these the following is an example from [the Book of] JOB, *dhe harteh wa-laitaw* where *h* has the vowel *a* and the *t* has the hardening point over it, the form being derived from *hawra*, that is *hzaya*, 'vision'. But he understood the word to be *hartheh*, and he gave *h* the short vowel *a* and softened the *t* into *th* as if the form was taken from *hartheh*, 'the end'.

And in this year a great army of SCLAVS, that is to say RUSSIANS, came against the royal city by sea and by land. And God helped the RHOMAYE, and they set fire to their ships and burned them on the sea, and the greater number of them were burned and sunk. And similarly they made prisoners of many of those who had come by land, and they cut off their right hands; and the RHOMAYE obtained a great victory. And at the time when there were many aliens, ARMENIANS, and ARABS, and JEWS, in the royal city, a great tumult broke out against CONSTANTINE the king. And the peoples gathered together at the gate of the palace and cried out, 'This CONSTANTINE hath killed two of our kings', and they were seeking for an excuse (or, reason) for looting the palace and the mansions of the nobles. Then king CONSTANTINE gathered together the nobles, and he brought out THEODORA and ZAI (ZOAI) arrayed in gorgeous royal apparel. And when the agitators saw them they became quiet. And the king having inquired into the cause of the tumult, he was told that the aliens had made the tumult so that they might loot the city. Then the king commanded that there should not remain in it anyone who had entered it during the last thirty years, and that the man who stayed should have his eyes gouged out. Then there went out about one hundred thousand souls.

And in the year four hundred and thirty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1044) an envoy was sent by KAIM, the Khalifah, to TUGHREL BAG, and his message was built on four stipulations.

I. The Amir of the Faithful (or, Believers) saith unto thee: O Amir TUGHREL BAG MAHAMMAD, the countries which thou hast taken are sufficient for thee, and thou shalt not hanker after the countries of the rest of the governors of the ARABS; and thou shalt not harm them.

II. Thou shalt hold thyself in strict subjection, inasmuch as thou art our vassal. And thou shalt swear unto us legal oaths concerning the divorce of thy wives, and the freeing of thy slaves, and undertake to give dues [228] of all thy possessions, if thou resistest our command.

III. And thou shalt act righteously, and not deceitfully, and thou shalt not set men of error (i.e. unbelievers) over the members of the flock [of the Faithful].

IV. Thou shalt send each year the tribute of the countries which thou hast taken, according to the custom of thy predecessors. If thou wilt do these things thou shalt be decorated with robes [of honour], and shalt be addressed with the honorific titles which [men] may legally apply to thy kingship. And thou shalt not be a tyrant.

And when TUGHREL BAG had heard the message of the envoy he said in answer to the FIRST POINT, 'My troops are very many, and these countries are not sufficient for them'. The envoy replied, 'That is because thou hast laid them waste. And if thou didst take the whole earth and lay it waste it would not suffice thee and thy people.'

And in answer to the SECOND POINT he said, 'As to these various kinds of oaths, perhaps the scribes may understand them, [but I do not]. And as for myself, how is it possible for me to keep careful watch that I do

not make a mistake, even in some very small matter, in my actions?' And the envoy said: 'If thou wilt show with all thy heart that thou art in subjection. and wilt do what is right, thou wilt never make a mistake'.

And in answer to the THIRD POINT TUGHREL BAG said, "How can I? I take care to be upright. And if some of the hungry men who are with me act wickedly, what am I to do?"

And in answer to the FOURTH POINT he said, 'As to the tribute about which thou hast spoken; show me how much it is, and if I am able I will not keep it back'.

What is certain is this—that TUGHREL BAG did not accept even one of the [four] stipulations.

And in the year thirteen hundred and fifty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1045) the city of 'ARZENGAN was submerged by the waters, and only the monastery of the sons of CYRIACUS, by race SYRIANS, was saved, although it was entirely surrounded by a lake of water. Now there were merciful men and doers of good deeds to every man.

And in the year four hundred and thirty-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1046) the GHUZZAYE captured the city of HULWAN and burnt it, and they tortured the men until they brought out all their hidden treasures and gave them to them. And they committed fornication with their wives before their eyes, and they also deflowered their virgins.

And in this year the Nestorian Metropolitan of SAMARKAND sent a letter to the Catholicus, which was also read in the palace of the Khalifah, saying, 'A people who are like unto the locusts in their swarms have made a gap in the mountain between TEBIT and KHUTAN [229], the which ancient writers say that ALEXANDER the Great closed up, and they have sallied out and gone as far as KASHGHAR. There are seven kings, and with each king are seven hundred thousand horsemen. And the name of their great king is "NASARATH", which is interpreted, "Ruling by the command of God". They are black like the INDIANS, and they neither wash their faces nor dress their hair, but they plait it like a cloth and it serveth as a shield for them. They shoot with the bow accurately. And they eat poor and miserable food. And they are merciful and just. And their horses eat meat.'

And when they had read the letter one of the Arab nobles said, 'One I thing at least is an impossibility, that a horse should eat flesh, forsooth!' And another replied, 'Do not be astonished at this, for I myself have seen with my own eyes an Arab horse which ate flesh and cooked fish'. I, however, say that it is probable that they dry the flesh and chop it up like straw, and feed the horses with it. For there is much game in that country and very little grass.

And in the year four hundred and thirty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1047) a certain man who was a native of RAS'AIN and whose name was 'ASFAR, declared concerning himself that of him it was said in the KUR'AN that he should triumph over the Faith of the ARABS. And he went twice into the territory of the RHOMAYE on thievish expeditions, and he carried off much spoil and went forth. Then the king of the RHOMAYE wrote to BAR MARWAN, the governor, saying, 'Between us and thee there is peace. If this thief be one of thy subjects it is right that thou shouldst restrain him; if he is not, inform us and we will act for ourselves.' Then BAR MARWAN called the Amirs of the nomad ARABS, and he said, 'This 'AFSAR will provoke to wrath the RHOMAYE against us, and if they come out there will be no rest either for us or for you. Therefore it is right for you to make a plan and to seize him.' Then the nomad ARABS went to him and praised his solicitude for the triumph of Islam. And he rejoicing in them rode with them. And they began to exercise the horses and to exhibit feats of athletics until they were at a distance from the villages, and then they laid their

hands upon him and took him and brought him to BAR MARWAN. And he put him in fetters and shut him up in prison, and peace with the RHOMAYE was confirmed.

And in this year sickness increased, and the pestilence (or, plague) became so severe in all the Fourth Clime [230] that one blossom of the water-lily was sold in BAGHDAD for one *zuza*, and a small dove for two white *zuze*. As for wheat and barley no man saw them at all in BAGHDAD. But in MAWSIL, in addition to the sickness and the pestilence, there was also a famine, which was caused by the locusts, and a *kora* of wheat was sold for sixty *dinars*.

And in the year four hundred and forty~two of the ARABS (A.D. 1048), which is the year thirteen hundred and sixty-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1050), Sultan TUGHREL BAG sent an envoy to BAR MARWAN, governor of ARMENIA, ordering him to submit himself and to become subject unto him. And BAR MARWAN received the envoy with alacrity, and he gave him thirty bales of rich stuffs, and five hundred *dinars*, and hangings and curtains for tents, and ten mules loaded with goods, and an Arab horse, and a certain prisoner who was a RHOMAYA noble, for whose price the RHOMAYE would have given thirty thousand *dinars*, and he would not sell him. And he said, 'Besides this noble I have nothing which is suitable (i.e. useful) for Sultan TUGHREL BAG. And TUGHREL BAG having received these things made peace happily with BAR MARWAN.

Then CONSTANTINE, the king of the RHOMAYE, sent to BAR MARWAN, saying, 'I entreat thee to exert thyself for the deliverance of that [prisoner] the Patrician. I know that Sultan, TUGHREL BAG is magnanimous, and he will not detain him if thou wilt beg him from him by my mouth (i.e. in my name).' And when BAR MARWAN made known the words of the king of the RHOMAYE to TUGHREL BAG, he showed magnanimity, and sent the Patrician with his own envoy to the king, without demanding any payment or anything in exchange. Then the king of the RHOMAYE restored the great Mosque of the ARABS which was in the royal city, and hung lamps therein. And he appointed Arab praying-men thereto, and appointed regular wages for them. And he sent to TUGHREL BAG one thousand bales of silken cloth, and five hundred pieces of various other kinds of stuff, and five hundred horses, and three hundred Egyptian asses, and a thousand goats, with black eyes and horns, which were very nearly as large as asses.

And in this year the natives of the city of ISFAHAN being sorely afflicted by the imprisonment with which TUGHREL BAG had imprisoned them—now he had sat down by them for nine months—sent to the Khalifah asking him to entreat TUGHREL BAG on their behalf. And the Khalifah (because for a long time past TUGHREL BAG had been asking him to honour him (i.e. TUGHREL) with names (i.e. titles) which befitted [231] his kingship) would not consent. Then he agreed and he wrote [a letter] to him and called, him 'Lawful king', and 'Asylum of the Muslims', and 'RUKN AD-DIN SULTAN TUGHREL BAG', and he entreated him on behalf of the natives of ISFAHAN. And he sent [the letter] with an envoy.

Now TUGHREL BAG was expecting this [appeal], and he accepted the Khalifah's entreaty, and sent in return for these things twenty thousand *dinars* to the Treasury of KAIM the Khalifah, and two thousand *dinars* to the administrators of the kingdom. And from this time Sultan TUGHREL BAG began to inscribe the figure or a bow at the top of his seal, and inside it were these titles. And that sign was called 'TUGHRA', and he who wrote [it] being commanded, [was called] 'TUGHRAI'.

And in the year four hundred and forty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1051) an envoy from CONSTANTINE, king of the RHOMAYE, came to KAIM the Khalifah, who was in BAGHDAD, and with him was a letter [written in] the RHOMAYA language, and between the lines was an Arabic translation written in letters of gold upon purple paper (vellum?), which [read] thus: 'CONSTANTINE, the believing king, the exalted one, who hath gotten power by Christ God; AUGUSTUS, Only One, in the kingdom of the RHOMAYE,

Monomachus, to [his] beloved and honourable friend ABU JA'FAR KAIM, the Head of the Muslims and the Amir of the Believers', and other words of love (or, affection).

And in the year four hundred and forty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1054), all the countries of the PERSIANS being in subjection to RUKN AD-DIN TUGHREL BAG, he set his face towards the countries of the RHOMAYE. And he attacked the Fort of MINASGERD, and sat down by it for a long time, but he was unable to take it; and he seized the country district [round about]. And he came and seized also the country of 'ARZAN AR-RUM, which up to that time had been under the RHOMAYE. And he turned back to pass the winter in 'ADHORBIJAN so that he might return to the territory of the RHOMAYE.

And in the year thirteen hundred and sixty-five [of the GREEKS = A.D. 1054], CONSTANTINE, king of the RHOMAYE, the husband of queen THEODORA, died in the month of the LATTER KANON (JANUARY). And the queen governed for one year. And she sent an envoy to BAGHDAD, to the Khalifah, and she strengthened the peace by means of the tribute which she had received for herself. And in (that) year Sultan RUKN AD-DIN TUGHREL BAG sent an envoy to the Khalifah and said, 'I wish to come so that I may be glorified (or, honoured) by the service of the Prophet [MAHAMMAD] [232] and be blessed. And I would also go and worship and pray in MAKKAH. And I wish to make peaceful (i.e. safe) the roads of those who pray (i.e. pilgrims), and I will remove the crowds of the MA'DAYE (nomads) who rob them on the highways. From there I will go to the war of the rebels, the SYRIANS, and the erring EGYPTIANS, if God will.' Then the Khalifah, although unwilling, through sheer necessity wrote and praised his solicitude and his zeal in respect of the Faith, and he urged him not to delay in coming to BAGHDAD.

Now the DAILOMITES and the TURKS who were in BAGHDAD, and their chiefs, objected strongly to this arrangement, and they said, 'That the GHUZZAYE should come to BAGHDAD is impossible, but if they do come we shall make ourselves ready for the sword'. And as their excuse benefited them in no wise, the troops of the GHUZZAYE burst forth after a few days, and they came to the frontier of BAGHDAD. And the Prince of the princes, and the chief of the judges, and many of the native magnates who were in BAGHDAD went forth to meet the Sultan, and they drew nigh to the place where he had camped. And they spoke to him words of admonition on the part of the Khalifah, so that he might not give an occasion to his troops to work destruction in the land of BAGHDAD; 'because it is the throne of the Arab peoples, and the Law of the Faith existeth in it'. And the Sultan received their words with love, and consented to accept their counsel.

And when he arrived and encamped at the gate which is called 'MESHAM-MASHANITHA' (i.e. 'the Servant Gate'), the DAILOMITES, and the TURKS, and some of the peoples of BAGHDAD quarrelled uproariously, and they drew their swords on the GHUZZAYE who were going into the city to buy food for themselves, and straw and hay for their horses. And the Amirs of the GHUZZAYE mounted their horses and went into BAGHDAD, and they killed many of the DAILOMITES, and the TURKS, and the pagans, and they seized their chiefs and carried them to the Sultan. And he commanded and they were shut up in tents near him, being bound with fetters. And the Sultan sent to the Khalifah and complained about the quarrel which the people of BAGHDAD had provoked, and he informed [him] that certain of the DAILOMITES in his service had been found killed, and others have not been found at all, and if I did not honour thee I would have destroyed all BAGHDAD with the edge of the sword. And the Khalifah being comforted with such [words] as these, fear departed from his heart, and he sent gifts with his eunuchs and nobles to the Sultan. And as soon as ever they arrived in the neighbourhood of the Camp, the Sultan commanded, and they were all put in bonds, and everything which they had with them was looted.

And in the morning of the [following] day the GHUZZAYE went into BAGHDAD, [233] and many of the MA'DAYE (NOMADS) whom they found there they drowned in the TIGRIS. And many men fled from their houses and took refuge in the buildings round about the palace of the Khalifah, and the GHUZZAYE camped

in their houses. And the Khalifah sent a letter to the Sultan saying, 'This was not my expectation at all, for I imagined that my glory would be increased by thy coming, and that the Faith would be triumphant through thy nearness to me. Although I have suffered the very reverse of these things my trust is on God.' And the Sultan replied, 'I am subject to thy command. And as to these things which have taken place, thou knowest full well that they have happened because of the evil TURKS who were in thy service. I myself am not blameworthy.' Then the Sultan commanded, and [his slaves] sent the elephants which were with him against the ten TURKS who had made the fight, and they trampled on them and killed them. And the Sultan was master of BAGHDAD, and he appointed governors and tax-gatherers from among his own people. And of the TURKS who had been in BAGHDAD at an earlier period, some were bakers, and some were sellers of vegetables, and others were stokers of the fires for the baths. And the GHUZZAYE became masters of the country, and they laid it waste. Agriculture came to an end, and an ox for ploughing was sold for twenty *zuze*, and an ass for ten *zuze*. And they struck money, *zuze* and *dinars*, in the name of the Sultan. And the Sutan increased the grant which had been formerly given to the Khalifah at the time when the Dailomite and Turkish slaves held authority-fifty thousand *dinars* and five hundred *kor(s)* of wheat. And the Sultan swore an oath and said, 'If it were not for the very many troops who are with me, and who are a help to Arabdom, I would restore to the Khalifah everything which those TURKS took away from him'. And the heart of the Khalifah was glad and he wished to contract affinity with the ARABS, and 'ARSLAN KHATON, a Saljuk princess, the daughter of JAGHRI BAG, the brother of Sultan TUGHREL BAG, was given to him. And the Sultan built a great house by the side of the palace of the Khalifah. And the Khalifah sent [to him] a golden throne, inlaid with precious stones, and he set it in [the building]. And the Sultan sat upon it, and the nobles used to go to do homage to him.

And in the year four hundred and forty-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1056) sickness and a great famine came upon BAGHDAD. One pomegranate was sold for a *dinar*, and herbs (or, drugs for medicines) were not to be found, and there came great swarms [234] of flies which polluted the air, and more than one-third of the population perished. And thus also was it in SYRIA, and in EGYPT, and especially in PERSIA. In the city of BUKHARA eighteen thousand biers of the dead went out [of the city] in one day. And those who died, in a short time, that is during a period of three months, were a thousand thousand and six hundred and fifty thousand people. And in SAMARKAND, within two months, two hundred and thirty-six thousand people died. It was said that from the beginning of the world there never was such a plague as this.

(Continued on Next Page)

Bar Hebraeus'

Chronography

X

Concerning the Beginning of the Kingdom of the Saljuks in Persia (continued).

And in the year four hundred and forty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1057) a force of the MA'DAYE (NOMADS) encountered an army of the GHUZZAYE by the side of MAWSIL, and the GHUZZAYE gave way and twelve hundred of their men were killed, and KATLAMISH their chief, together with those who escaped with him fled to Mount SHIGHAR (SINJAR). And the sons of SHIGHAR shut the gates of the city in their faces and jeered at them.

Then when the Sultan heard what had happened, he raged in his spirit and he wished to go to MAWSIL. But the Khalifah did not wish [this], and he sent to him and said unto him, 'It is not right for thee to go now; Restrain thyself until thy troops are gathered together and come from PERSIA'. Then the Sultan became still more angry, and he said, 'Now I know that your intention towards us is not sincere. In the beginning thou didst give me advice, saying, "Thou shalt not go, but send troops," and I accepted it from you. And behold my troops have perished, and now again thou givest me that very self-same counsel.' Up to this time the Sultan had been in BAGHDAD for thirteen months, and he had gone out but hitherto had not seen the Khalifah. And he commanded and they took his tents outside (the city), and his troops which were prepared gathered together and destroyed the buildings on the eastern side of BAGHDAD, and they took their bridges for fortifications.

And the Sultan went and encamped against TAGRITH, and he asked help from its inhabitants. But they said, 'We belong to the MA'DAYE (i.e. nomad ARABS), and without the command of BASASIRI their chief we are unable to give any help at all'. And the Sultan became inflamed with fury, and he hurled the sword among them, and carried off many of their women and children. And they submitting to him, he made peace with them. And he went to BETH WAZIK and the inhabitants thereof gave him help. And from there he went to MAWSIL, and he found that BASASIRI [235] had departed from it, and also that all the rich men of MAWSIL had fled. And he camped in the palace for a few days. And from there he went to BALAD, and HAZARASB, the captain of the host, commanded the Sultan that the town should not be plundered. And the Sultan replied, 'Behold, thou seest that our treasuries are empty, and that they who are with us are hungry, and are pressing us, and, there is no means of [getting supplies] except by pillage. But go thou this night and bring out all the inhabitants of the city, both great and small, and let them take whatsoever they are able [to carry away] from their houses.' And having done this the GHUZZAYE went into the city and looted it. And HAZARASB sent the people of the city to MAWSIL, and there were ten thousand men besides women and children, and he sent with them some one who would protect them on the way.

Then the nobles of the MA'DAYE, with the exception of BASASIRI, who had fled to SYRIA and had taken refuge in EGYPT, when they saw that they were incapable [of conquering] the GHUZZAYE, sent [envoys] and asked for peace. And the Sultan received them, and showed them affection (or, love), and arrayed them in robes of honour. And he wished to go to ARMENIA, to the country of BAR MARWAN. But the nobles of the MA'DAYE entreated him, saying, 'he also hath committed folly, even as we committed folly, but we ask

thee to forgive him even as thou didst forgive us'. And the Sultan replied, 'Ye confessed your folly and were forgiven; if he also will confess his folly he also shall be forgiven'.

And the Sultan went to the ISLAND OF KARDOU, and the people thereof submitted to him, and they gave him much gold, and they were not plundered. And twenty horsemen of the GHUZZAYE rode up to the Monastery of the NESTORIANS which is called AKHMUL, wherein there were at that time four hundred monks, and they slew one hundred and twenty of them, and the remainder ransomed their lives for six measures of gold and silver. Then BAR MARWAN sent envoys to the Sultan, and he abased himself greatly, and he gave one hundred thousand *dinars* and the Sultan made peace with him.

And the Sultan went back and encamped against SHIGHAR, and captured it. And he slew four thousand men, and at length their blood flowed down into their water-courses. And he burnt the great Mosque which was in the city, and destroyed all its palaces. And because the air stank by reason of the bodies of the slain, the Sultan removed himself from the town and encamped by the side of TELL 'AFR. And the nobles having made supplication to him [236] to remove the sword from SHIGHAR, he accepted [it] from them on the condition that no man should ever remain in it. And all those who were hidden went forth, and they dispersed themselves in various countries, and the town was evacuated wholly by its inhabitants. Then guards who prevented the GHUZZAYE from injuring those who went forth were appointed. All this took place because of the insults which the men of SHIGHAR cast on the GHUZZAYE when they fled at the beginning from before the MA'DAYE.

And from there the Sultan came to MAWSIL, and he gave it to SAIF AD-DAWLAH IBRAHIM, his brother on his mother's side. And he was an upright (or, just) man. For a certain man who was a tax-gatherer, a native of MAWSIL, came to him and said that he would give him every day one hundred gold *dinars* from the contributions of those who bought and sold in the bazar. And IBRAHIM gathered together the men of MAWSIL and he said unto them, 'Do ye agree with this tax-gatherer?' And they replied, 'If thou wilt free us from the PERSIANS who pry into our affairs, and the GHUZZAYE officers who make [excessive] demands upon us, we do agree with this tax-gatherer, who is of our opinion'. And SAIF AD-DAWLAH showed greatness of soul, and said, 'We will free you from this also, and we will not demand from you more than the fair taxes on the produce and fruits of the earth in their season'. And he commanded the heralds, and they proclaimed the freedom from taxation of those who bought and sold [in the bazars]. And all the population lifted up their voices and prayed for the lengthening of his life.

And from MAWSIL the Sultan went down to BAGHDAD. And when he approached the city, the Khalifah sent the Wazir, the chief of the chiefs, to meet him. And he offered to the Sultan a Chosroes-cup of gold, inlaid with precious stones, jacinths, emeralds, and sapphires, and he said, 'The Amir of the Believers hath rejoiced in thy triumph, and he is comforted by thy near presence', and other [words]. The Sultan acknowledged [the compliment] and said, 'I am one who is satisfied with this Palace, and I am a recipient of the great acts of goodness which have been showered upon me from it. Therefore nothing is lacking for me except that I would meet and be honoured (or, beautified) by the sight of him which is as that of the Prophet (?). And I cannot bear to be deprived of it any longer.' And the Wazir replied, 'Nothing now hindereth this, for ye have become of one house, and ye have mingled and mixed with each other, that is to say in betrothal'. And the Wazir rose up and went into the presence of the Khalifah and he made these things known unto him. And the Sultan went into the new palace which he had built. [237]

And after some days the Sultan was summoned to go in. And he rode a horse, and all the princes went before him on foot. And when he drew near to the gate of the palace of the Khalifah, he remained for a time on his horse, and then the gate was opened, and he went into the courtyard, and the nobles of the Khalifah went forth to meet him. And [the slaves] lifted the curtain, and he went into the inner courtyard. And they lifted

another curtain, and he went in and saw the Khalifah seated upon a throne which was high above the ground, about seven cubits. And on his head was a black sudarium, and he was dressed in a cloak which was also black; This was the apparel which the sons of 'ABBAS put on and wore in BAGHDAD, but when the Khalifate was transferred to EGYPT the Khalifahs put on and wore white apparel. And in his hand was a sceptre of gold, and on the two sides of him were two eunuchs. And when the Sultan saw him, he bowed down to the ground, and did homage several times. And the Khalifah commanded, and [the slaves] raised him up upon another throne, which was less high than the Khalifah's, about the height of the stature of a man. And the Khalifah said unto the dragoman: 'Say thou unto the Sultan: The Amir of the Believers praiseth thy solicitude, and applaudeth thy labours, and is comforted by thy near presence, and rejoiceth in thee. And behold, he handeth over to thee all the provinces and countries which God hath handed over to him. Therefore, fear God, and perform righteousness (or, justice) in thy dominion, and do thou give thanks unto the Lord for all His gracious deeds towards thee.' And the Sultan stood up, and bowed himself to the ground, and said, 'I am the slave and the subject of thy command; I put my trust in God that He will help me to fulfil thy will'.

And the Khalifah commanded, and [the slaves] arrayed the Sultan in seven black garments with one neck-band (?), and they placed a black sudarium [shot with] gold upon his head, and on the sudarium a crown inlaid with two precious stones of jacinth, and above each stone were fifteen exceedingly choice pearls, and two bandlets of gold on its ends (?). The Sultan would not put the collar of gold round his neck, but it was laid on his shoulders, and a eunuch carried it before him. And when the Sultan wished to bow down again to the earth, it was impossible for him to do so, because of the heavy crown which was on his head. And the Khalifah also gave him three purple banners [inscribed with] letters of gold: And these were suspended before him. And the Khalifah also gave him [238] a royal seal. And he commanded the heralds and they proclaimed him 'King of the East and the West', And when the Sultan was inclined (?) to depart, he asked the Khalifah to stretch out his hand to him. And when the Khalifah stretched it out to him, the Sultan kissed it twice and made it to pass over his forehead. And he went forth and [the slaves] mounted him upon one of the horses of the Khalifah, and with great pomp and ceremony he went to his palace.

And in the year thirteen hundred and sixty-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 1058), in the winter time, three thousand TURKS came and invaded MELITENE, because its wall had been breached since the time when CYRIACUS took it from the ARABS. And after they had heaped upon it piles of the slain, they tortured the rest of the inhabitants in order that they might reveal their hidden treasures. And many died under the tortures, as for example PATROS, the deacon, the scribe and teacher of the young. This man was seized whilst he was writing the copy of a manuscript. And as he was writing 'The head of JOHN resembled the bunch of grapes which HERODIAS plucked' the TURKS seized him. And they melted wax and poured it over his head, and they set a bowl with hot coals in it on his breast. And when he was near to finishing [his life] he saw the fire attacking his feet, and he said. 'It is a blessed thing for you to be cleansed'. And his soul departed.

And the TURKS were twenty days in MELITENE, laying waste [the towns] and looting. And when they had burned it with fire and departed, a severe winter overtook them by the side of MOUNT SANSANAYE, and the ARMENIANS came down and killed them all. And those who saved themselves from being crushed with stones returned to it. And among them was JOSEPH the monk, who wrote three discourses on the event, and MAR JOHN the son of SHOSHAN composed four discourses on the destruction of MELITENE, two in the metre of MAR APHREM, and two in the metre of MAR BALAI. And in this raid the Monastery of BAR GAGAI was destroyed, and it was never inhabited again.

And in the year four hundred and fifty of the ARABS (A.D. 1058), BASASIRI, the captain of the host of the MA'DAYE, and another general who was called KURAISH, collected a numerous army of ARABS, and

PERSIANS, and TURKS from among those who were in subjection to the Khalifah of EGYPT, and BASASIRI came and encamped against TELL 'AFAR. And INANAGH, the captain of the host of the GHUZZAYE, fled and went to the fortress of MAWSIL. And the MA'DAYE came after him and encamped against MAWSIL; and there was a great famine, and at length the GHUZZAYE ate their horses and their mules. And they destroyed the large houses, [239] and burnt the villages and the bridges. And when they were sorely afflicted they fled to BAGHDAD, and urged the Sultan to go in person and engage the MA'DAYE. And he having gone out from BAGHDAD, the report thereof reached BASASIRI, and he laid waste MAWSIL in an evil manner and departed into the desert.

When the Sultan arrived in MAWSIL he found that it was wholly destroyed. And it was reported to him also concerning IBRAHIM IAN'EL, his brother on his mother's side, 'He is meditating rebellion. And letters are coming to him from the Khalifah of EGYPT.' Therefore the Sultan, being afraid that IBRAHIM would make himself master of PERSIA, and cause the armies of the TURCOMAN GHUZZAYE to rebel with him, marched off hurriedly into PERSIA, and he went and sat down in HAMADAN. And he sent an army against his brother in the mountains of SHAHARZUR, and it seized him and killed him.

Then when BASASIRI and KURAISH, the captains of the army, heard that the Sultan had gone away, they came to BAGHDAD and took possession of it easily. And they seized the Khalifah KAIM, and mounted him on a camel, and sent him to HADITHAH, and they looted the palace. And they proclaimed MUSTANSER, the Khalifah of EGYPT, in BAGHDAD, and they struck money, *dinars* and *zuze*, in his name. And they appointed judges, and lawyers, and readers, and arrayed them in white apparel, according to the custom of the EGYPTIANS, instead of in black apparel. As to the Wazir, the prince of princes, inasmuch as it was he who had brought the GHUZZAYE to BAGHDAD, they placed him in the hide of a bull which had been recently flayed off the animal, and they sewed it up about him. And they left his face visible, and they placed on the top of his head the horns of a bull, And they suspended him on a stake, having put hooks in his cheeks, and he remained thus during the whole day in agony (?). And he died after he had received the spittle and insults of the mob of BAGHDAD, and also their curses, because it was through him that all these evils had happened.

And the mother of the Khalifah KAIM sent to BASASIRI from the place where she was hidden, and said, 'I am dying of hunger, and I entreat thee to have mercy upon me'. Then he sent and had her brought, and he seated her in one of the rooms of the palace, and he appointed two of her handmaidens to minister unto her. And he allotted to them each day twelve *litres* of bread, and four *litres* of meat, according to BAGHDAD measure. Now this woman was an ARMENIAN by race. And 'ARSLAN KHATON, [240] the wife of the Khalifah, was with KURAISH, and when the Sultan TUGHREL [BAG] sent an envoy and asked for her, they dispatched her to him with great honour.

And in this year the Amir DAWUD JAGHRI BAG, the brother of the Sultan TUGHREL [BAG], died, and he left a grown-up son, ALB 'ARSLAN, and two other sons. And the Sultan sent an envoy to KURAISH and thanked him for ARSLAN KHATON, and for having entreated her honourably, and sent her [to him]. And he said unto him, 'I beg thee also to send back the Khalifah to his throne, and thou shalt be administrator to him. I shall never again come to BAGHDAD, but shall devote myself to administering the kingdom of PERSIA. And if thou art unable to do this because of BASASIRI, who doth not agree with thy wish, it will be right for thee to entrench thine honourable self and thy followers strongly in some Citadel, or in the desert, so that when our troops come they may not through ignorance do harm to any of those who belong to thee. For a great debt to thee lieth upon us, and if we were to give unto thee everything which we have, it would amount to far less than that which thou hast given to us, for thou hast restored to us our child carefully.' Then KURAISH sent to BASASIRI, who was in WASIT, saying, 'To what end and for whom are we fighting all this fight? For an EGYPTIAN who, behold, hath not even visited us with a common letter in return for our

having made the proclamation of him to triumph as far as BAGHDAD. But it is right that we should repent with the Sultan, and restore the Khalifah to his place again.' And BASASIRI not being persuaded by him, KURAISH took his property and marched to the desert.

And the Sultan and his troops drew nigh to the frontier of BAGHDAD. And the Amir of HADITHA, with whom the Khalifah was a prisoner, took him to the Sultan, and the Sultan sent him again to his palace with great honour. And he apologized to him, saying, 'I was prevented from [coming to] thee through the death of my brother JAGHRI BAG, and the [necessary] arrangements for his sons, and through my other brother IBRAHIM, who behaved treacherously to me, and he was conquered'. And when he fled the GHUZZAYE overtook him and they cut off his head and brought it to the Sultan. And he commanded and the head was fixed on a reed, and suspended above the gate of the palace. And the Sultan, resting from the war on the [241] MA'DAYE, turned back and went to KHORASAN.

And in the year four hundred and fifty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1063), KHATON, the wife of Sultan TUGHREL BAG, died; she was greatly beloved by him, and all the business of the kingdom was administered by her. And he sent to the Khalifah that he might be betrothed by him to his daughter; and when the Khalifah would not consent to a daughter of theirs marrying a stranger to them, both as regards family and race, the Sultan was offended. And after many bickerings, open enmity began to make itself manifest. Then the Khalifah was afraid, and though unwilling, he gave his daughter to him on the condition that she should not depart from the palace, but that whenever the Sultan came to BAGHDAD she should live with him in there. And after prolonged discussion it was decided that she should depart to the new mansion which the Sultan had built. And the Sultan came to BAGHDAD, and he offered one hundred thousand gold *dinars*, and one hundred and fifty thousand *zuze*, and four thousand bales (or, rolls) of priceless stuffs for [her] dowry (*dora*). And he took the daughter of KADER (KAIM?) to wife.

It is related that when she went into her mansion, the Sultan and the nobles of the TURKS stood up and danced according to their custom, and bent down on their knees and stood up again and sang songs in the Turkish manner. And a throne of gold was prepared for her, and the Sultan went in and bowed himself down to the ground, and did homage to her, and he did not sit down but left [the chamber] and went out. This he did for seven days, without her uncovering her face for him to see. And at this feast there was great gladness to the Sultan, and sorrow to the Khalifah, especially because when the Sultan went forth from BAGHDAD to go to KHORASAN, he would necessarily take the Khalifah's daughter, his wife, with him. And the Sultan did not observe the condition that she was not to go forth from BAGHDAD.

And in this year, which is the year thirteen hundred and seventy-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1063), an army of the RHOMAYE went forth and encamped against the city of 'AMID for many days. And the armies of the TURKS and ARABS being gathered together against them, and very many having been killed on both sides, they left the city and departed. And on the seventh day of the month of ILUL (SEPTEMBER) of this year the Sultan TUGHREL [242] BAG died in RAI (RHAGES), a city of PERSIA. Now he lived seventy years. He was king for thirty years, and for eight of these years he was master of BAGHDAD. And the Sultan commanded that SULAIMAN, the son of JAGHRI BAG, should sit on his throne. But 'ALB 'ARSLAN, the brother of SULAIMAN, because he was strong made an end of him and he himself reigned. And he was proclaimed in BAGHDAD and in all the countries as SAYA AD-DIN SULTAN.

And in the year four hundred and fifty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1063), certain hunters, who were KURDS, in BAGHDAD reported as follows: 'When we were hunting in the desert we saw black tents, and [heard] the sound of beatings of the breasts, and weeping, and great lamentation. And when we drew near we heard a voice saying, "To-day B'ELZEBHUBH, the prince of the devils, is dead and every place which doth not make itself a house of weeping for three days we will dig up by the roots".' And when the women of BAGHDAD

heard this foolish talk, they went out to the graves, and they sat down for three days and wailed, and wept, and rent their garments, and plucked out their hair, and blackened their faces with soot from the cooking pots. And they said, 'By this we shall propitiate the devils. And they will not kill their friends'. And the report of this (proceeding) flew through all the land of SEN'AR, and in every country was done that which was done in BAGHDAD, namely in MAWSIL and in ARMENIA.

And in this year 'ALB 'ARSLAN, the Sultan, went against the city of 'ANI, which was the first city of the RHOMAYE, on the quarter of ARMENIA, and he captured it and made a great slaughter therein. Now as concerning the strength of the city of 'ANI, the great river of 'ARAS surroundeth three-quarters of it, and on the other quarter a deep ditch was dug, through which much water from the 'ARAS, with a strong current, passed. And the citizens entered it and went out from it by a bridge. There were seven hundred thousand houses in it and one thousand churches. And when the TURKS were in despair about capturing it, suddenly, at the nod of high heaven, one of its towers fell down, and they laid a bridge across and went into the city. And from this time the Sultan was called 'ABU AL-FATH.

And in the month of the FIRST TESHWIN (OCTOBER) of this year a fierce heat prevailed in BAGHDAD until the month of the FIRST KANON (DECEMBER). And there accompanied it so much sickness and pestilence that a *manya* of *tamar-Hendi* (i.e. tamarinds) was sold for four gold *dinars*. [243] And in the month of the LATTER KANON (JANUARY) intense cold came, and the river TIGRIS was frozen over, and much snow fell in BAGHDAD.

And in the year four hundred and fifty-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1065), which is the year thirteen hundred and seventy-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1066), Sultan 'ALB 'ARSLAN went to KHAWARAZM and appointed his son SALAR SHAH over it, and he himself returned to NISABHOR. And in this year about three hundred men who were ARMENIAN thieves gathered together with the sons of KAZRIG, the ARMENIANS, and they lay in ambush in the mountains of MELITENE, and plundered the country of GHUBOS and KLAWDIA, and especially the monasteries. For they attacked the Monastery of SARGISIA, and threw the bones of the martyrs about on the ground, and carried off the coffins. And from the village of SANGIS, which is near the Monastery of MADIK, they took grain worth eleven hundred *dinars*, besides oxen and asses, and from the monastery they took five hundred *dinars*. Then the governors of MELITENE decided to give them the unmeasured (uncultivated) lands of GHUBOS and KLAWDIA. And they also sent to the king and brought back a patent ordering that they were to have four villages and they were not to thieve any more. But they, by reason of their wickedness, did not cease [to rob]. And they made up their minds to attack the Monastery of MAR BAR SAWMA, that is to say, to steal it and to entrench themselves in it. And at that moment suddenly a word of the TURKS came, saying that 'they were going to invade again the country of MELITENE'. And the men of KLAWDIA fled to the monastery, and with them were ten ARMENIAN thieves, and the remainder lay in ambush in the mountain, 'that in the night their companions might open [the monastery] to them. and they might camp there, and go in and take possession of it'. And when IWANNIS (JOANNES), the monk and steward, perceived this, he took with [him] certain strong and bold men from TELL TAWRA, the blessed village, who were living in the monastery, and they captured the ten [ARMENIANS], and in the night-time they hurled them from the rock on which the monastery [was built], without the archimandrite knowing anything about it. And when the day broke they were seen lying dead at the foot of the rock. And their companions heard [of it] and fled. And after a few days, when the monks and servants were coming from MELITENE to the monastery, the thieves fell upon them and killed three monks and two servants. And after these things the monks built in three years [244] two high towers, and thirty-two years later the new tower was built between the two other towers.

And in the year fourteen (sic) hundred and seventy-five [of the GREEKS = 1064] the blessed MAR MICHAEL built the southern tower. And in the year ... he built a horn to the upper fortress of the monastery.

And in the year four hundred and fifty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1066), KEMUSHTAKIN (GUMUSHTAKIN), the captain of the host of the TURKS, attacked EDESSA. And the Duke of EDESSA went out and met him, and he was conquered and was also made prisoner. And he ransomed himself with twenty thousand *dinars*, and went into EDESSA again. And KEMUSHTAKIN became master over HARRAN, and SERUGH, and KALONIKOS. And then he turned back to come to Sultan 'ALB 'ARSLAN. And he came to KHALAT, and being angry with one of the Amirs who were with him, he killed him. And this Amir had a brother whose name was 'AFSHIN, and he rushed upon KEMUSHTAKIN, who was drunk, and killed him. And he gathered together to himself an army of TURKS, and he turned and came to the country of ANTIOCH, taking captives and plundering. And in this year the daughter of the sister of PAKRAT, the king of the IBERIANS of 'ABKAZ, was brought as a wife to Sultan 'ALB 'ARSLAN, and he made a nuptial feast for her in the city of HAMADAN. And after a little he gave her a bill of repudiation (or, divorce), and betrothed her to one of the nobles.

And in the year four hundred and sixty of the ARABS (A.D. 1067), when the Patrician, an ARMENIAN, whose name was 'ARISTAKIS, went out from a certain fortress to another stronger fortress, having with him through [his] fear of the TURKS two hundred men, a certain Turkish Amir whose name was SHIRWAN SHAH fell upon him. And the ARMENIANS because of their fear said, 'We are going to the Sultan to become Muslims through him'. And thus they carried them in honour to the Sultan. And though they were unwilling, they all became Muslims and were circumcised. And the Sultan gave the Patrician each year twenty thousand *dinars* as his salary. And afterwards they fled to INNER ARMENIA, and then returned to their Christian Faith. And CONSTANTINE the Duke, the king of the RHOMAYE, being dead, ROMANUS, who is DIOGENES, reigned.

And in the year thirteen hundred and eighty of the GREEKS (A.D. 1069) he went forth into SYRIA with two hundred thousand horsemen, and he met an army of the MA'DAYE *kuniko*', that is to say Dog-men (*Kalbaye*), and he conquered them and took [245] two fortresses, 'IM and 'ARTAH, from the ARABS. And the RHOMAYE spread abroad as far as MABBUGH, and many of the inhabitants thereof fled to ALEPPO. Now the hire of a camel from MABBUGH to ALEPPO went up to eighty gold *dinars*. And the RHOMAYE made themselves masters of MABBUGH, and they made a great slaughter therein. And they destroyed its wall. And out of its stones they built the old Citadel which is there now. And because the RHOMAYE were very many, and because they could get no supplies from the place (i.e. locally), there was a very severe famine among the TURKS who were raiding the marches. A *litra* of bread [cost] a *dinar*, and six handfuls of barley [cost] a *dinar*. And certain of the Dog-like MA'DAYE related the following: 'We slew one of the RHOMAYE, and when we cut open his belly we found therein whole (undigested) grains of barley'. And when the report came to the king, saying, "AFSHIN, with [other] TURKS, hath invaded the territory of the RHOMAYE, and he hath captured the city of 'AMURIN, he set guards in the new Citadel which he hath built in MABBUGH and returned to the territory of the RHOMAYE'.

And in the year four hundred and sixty-two of the ARABS (A.D. 1069) there was so great a famine in EGYPT that men ate each other. For in all EGYPT there remained no horses except the three which belonged to the Khalifah; as for all the other animals, horses, and mules, and asses, their owners had eaten them. And a dog was sold for five *dinars* and ten *zuze*. A *mathkal* of onions was sold for one silver *zuza*. It is said that one day when the Wazir had alighted from his mule, and gone in to the Khalifah, three men came and snatched the mule from the hands of his syce, and cut its throat and ate it. And when this act had been made known to the Khalifah, he commanded and those three men were impaled. And during the night other men came and took the three men off the posts, and they cut off slices from the fleshy parts of their bodies and departed. And when the day broke the bones of the three men which were stripped bare were found heaped together under the impaling posts. And the famine waxed strong, not only among the common folk, but in the palace also. And at length all the royal apparel and ornaments were sold for very small prices. For ten pearls, which

weighed ten *mathkals*, were sold for four hundred *dinars*. In one of the cities of EGYPT, the name of which was TANNIS (SAN, the Biblical ZOAN), [246] a short time before [the famine] there were counted three hundred thousand men who [paid] the poll tax, and during the time of the famine fewer than one hundred souls were found in it.

(Continued on Next Page)

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

Concerning the Beginning of the Kingdom of the Saljuks in Persia (continued).

And in the year four hundred and sixty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1070), which is the year thirteen hundred and eighty-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1071), the Sultan went against 'ARKESTIA, that is the city of 'ARGISH, and captured it, and he made a great slaughter therein, and took a vast amount of spoil and sent [it] to KHORASAN. And he did the same thing in the city of MINAZGERD. And he went to MAIPERKAT, which was on the side of the ARABS, and he took from the lord thereof more than one hundred thousand *dinars*, and then passed on to 'AMID. And he drew nigh to its wall, and he passed his hand over it and then over his face, as if to be blessed by its strength. And he went to SABABAROK, which was on the side of the RHOMAYE, and he took from them one thousand *dinars* and left them. And from there he went and encamped against EDESSA, and he fought against it for many days, and was not able to capture it, but they cut down its trees and laid waste its gardens. And the EDESSENES undertook to give him fifty thousand *dinars*, and [expected] him to depart from them. And when the Sultan agreed, the EDESSENES said unto him, 'We cannot give thee anything until ye have burned the engines and the machines for siege attack, and all the [other] instruments of war. For we are afraid lest peradventure thou wilt deceive us, and take our gold and not stop fighting.' And the Sultan believed them, and burnt the implements of war, and the EDESSENES treated him with contempt, and would give him nothing. And the Sultan left them, and with a bitter (i.e. bilious) liver he crossed the EUPHRATES.

And an envoy of DIOGENES, the king of the RHOMAYE, came and said unto the Sultan, 'If because of MABBUUGH thou didst remove thyself from thy country, and didst come [here], behold we will give thee MABBUUGH back again, and thou shalt restore to us 'ARGISH and MINAZGERD, and we will also give to you each year the customary tribute'. And when the Sultan, accepting [this proposal] restored [to them the country] as far as the city of KHALAT, 'AFSHIN sent and informed him, saying, 'Behold, I invaded the territory of the RHOMAYE, and have come forth with great loot, and there is not among the RHOMAYE anyone who can meet us in battle'. And the Sultan was encouraged, and he went back again into the territory of the RHOMAYE with such swift feet and such great joy that many of the camels which were loaded with his possessions perished on the road through the hurry of the journey.

Then 'AFSHIN [247] continued to penetrate into the territory of the RHOMAYE until he encamped on the shore the sea which flows by the wall of CONSTANTINOPLE; and he raided and looted and departed to MACEDONIA. And when he arrived at the country of SIMNADU, the winter overtook him and much snow [fell]. And he sent to a certain Greek woman whose name was MARYAM (MARY), and who was mistress over the Citadel of SIMNADU, and asked from her permission for the troops of the TURKS to go into her city and villages to buy food for themselves. And she reluctantly gave the permission, but only after he threatened her that he would cut down the trees, and uproot the vines, and destroy the gardens in her country.

Then king DIOGENES collected a numerous force, and went forth from the quarter of ARMENIA with great splendour, and he came against MINAZGERD. And he drove the Sultan's men out from it, but he did not kill

them, and he took possession of the city. When the Sultan heard of [this] he turned his gaze to the territory of the RHOMAYE. And because the TURKS were few in number the Sultan 'ALB 'ARSLAN was afraid, and he sent an envoy to DIOGENES, a certain noble whose name was SAWTAKIN, that they might make peace and say to each other, 'we will go back each to his own country'. Now DIOGENES boasted himself, and said, 'Now that I have brought out my treasures, and collected all these troops, and the victory was mine, shall I go back? For you there is nothing with me except the sword.' Then God, praise be to His goodness who bringeth low the arrogant, gave strength to the Sultan. And he made ready his troops, and he addressed to them words of encouragement. And he cast the bow and the arrows from his hands, and he put on his armour, and took his shield and spear in his hand, and tied up the tail of his horse, and mounted [it]. And, all the TURKS did likewise. And they charged the RHOMAYE on the sixth day of the week (Friday) at noon, at a place between KHALAT and MINAZGERD. And they cried out a mighty battle-cry, and rushed in among them. And terror fell on the RHOMAYE, and after many of them had been killed they began to flee, and others were taken prisoners.

And at the time of evening a eunuch, whose name was KAHARYA, came from the Turkish nobles and said to the Sultan, 'One of my slaves hath said that he hath made prisoner the king of the RHOMAYE, and that he is with him'. And when the horsemen were being counted the Amir who was counting was contemptuous of that slave, and did not write down pay for him. And laughing at him [248] the Amir said, 'Yes, this slave hath made the king of the RHOMAYE prisoner for us!' And by the nod of God, the word which was laughed at turned out to be an actual fact. Now although the Sultan did not believe it, he did not persist in saying so, but he sent one of the young men whose name was 'SHADI', and who had often been with the envoys to the king of the RHOMAYE, to go and look at him (i.e. the prisoner). And when SHADI went and saw DIOGENES, he bowed himself down to the ground, and did homage to the king and then he ran back to the Sultan and reported that the prisoner was the king. And the Sultan gave orders quickly, and they pitched a great royal tent for DIOGENES and took him there. And they put iron fetters on his hands and round his neck, and set one hundred TURKS to keep guard over him.

And in the morning the Sultan commanded and they brought DIOGENES before him, and with his own hands he smote him four buffets, and said unto him, 'How came it that thou didst not listen when I entreated thee for peace?' Then DIOGENES, because he was a wise and understanding man, spake words carefully chosen and arranged, and said, 'In all these things which are possible for a man, and which kings are bound to do, I have fallen short in nothing. But God hath fulfilled His Will. And now, do what thou wishest, and abandon recriminations.' Then the Sultan said unto him, 'Inform me now forthwith what was thy intention (or, object) to do with me if I had fallen into thy hands?' And DIOGENES replied, 'Every evil thing [possible], for enemy doth not encounter an enemy except to do evil to him'. And the Sultan said, 'Thou hast spoken the truth. If thou hadst answered in any way different from this I should not have believed thee. Now tell me further, What dost thou think I shall do with thee?' And the king replied, 'One of three things. Firstly, that thou mayest kill me. And secondly, that thou mayest make a show of me and haul me round about through thy dominions, so that every man may know and see thy victory. And thirdly, it is unnecessary for me to say it for it is an imagination (or expectation) due to delirium, and remote from anything which thou art likely to do.' And the Sultan said, 'And why dost thou restrain thyself from saying it?' And DIOGENES replied, 'That thou shouldst send me back again to my royal city. And I would be to thee as one of thy Patricians, and when thou didst call me I would come, and when thou didst say unto me, "Do this", I would do it.' And the Sultan replied, 'I had no intention of doing anything except this third thing, for thou wast [249] in despair.'

And the Sultan demanded from him ten thousand thousand *dinars* so that he might ransom himself. And DIOGENES said, 'If I had the whole kingdom of the RHOMAYE to give, it would have been a little thing in comparison to that wherewith I myself shall profit. But from the time when I became king I have scattered freely the treasures of the kingdom of the RHOMAYE on the armies which I have commanded.' And

DIOGENES was released, on the condition that he paid a thousand thousand dindrs for his ransom, and gave an annual tribute of three hundred and sixty thousand *dinars*. And the Sultan commanded, and they removed the iron fetters from him, and they seated him on his throne which had been carried off from him. And DIOGENES and the Sultan ate and drank together. And the Sultan demanded from him ANTIOCH, EDESSA, MABBUH, and MINAZGERD which the RHOMAYE had taken from the ARABS. And DIOGENES replied, 'When I return to my kingdom do thou send an army and fight for them, and I will send to them [a message] that they must surrender. If I were to send now they would not hearken to me.' And DIOGENES said unto the Sultan, 'If now thou art going to send me away, send me quickly, before the RHOMAYE can appoint [another] king, and do so immediately, even though I cannot fulfil one of these [stipulations].' And this actually took place.

And the Sultan commanded, and he appointed to ride with him one hundred slaves and two Amirs, and they were to go with him to CONSTANTINOPLE. And the Sultan himself accompanied him for a distance of one parasang, And when he wished to go back DIOGENES wanted to alight, but the Sultan adjured him not to alight. And thus riding side by side they kissed each other and separated.

Now I have found this history in two manuscripts, [one] Arabic and [one] Persian. But the blessed MAR MICHAEL wrote, 'The son of the sister of the Sultan captured the king, and another TURK came and killed the Sultan's nephew, and took the king, so that the merit of the capture might be his.' And when the Sultan asked DIOGENES, 'What didst thou intend to do with me if I fell into thy hands?' DIOGENES replied, 'I should have wished to burn you in the fire'. Now it is evident that such a vulgar thing as this' would never be said by one king to another. Moreover, it would have been impossible for the TURK to have killed the Sultan's nephew, and to pluck the king from his hands. For he would have been afraid [250] that he would be discovered, even by the king himself.

Now when the YAWNAYE (GREEKS) heard that DIOGENES had been captured, they appointed as their king MICHAEL, the son of CONSTANTINE. And this king took his mother, now she was the wife of DIOGENES, and forced her to live in a nunnery. And IWANI, his uncle, became his Kisarios (Caesarius, i.e. Deputy or second in command). Now when DIOGENES entered the territory of the RHOMAYE and heard what had taken place, he went up to the fortress of DUKIA and found therein two hundred thousand *dinars*, and he sent them to the Sultan with those two Amirs who had escorted him, and informed him about the matter. And he attired himself in the garb of monkhood, and sat down in DUKIA. And he sent to MICHAEL and said, 'Up to the present I have fought a triumphant fight on behalf of the Faith of the Christians, and it is sufficient for me. As for thee, blessed be thy kingdom. And thou hast done well in that thou art king (or, dost reign), for it was right for thee. But as regards the Faith (or, Belief), I advise thee not to dissolve the peace which I have made with the Sultan, and if thou dost not [accept my advice] there will be no rest, neither for thee nor for the Christians. And MICHAEL thanked him and said, 'I shall not depart from thy advice.

Now after some days certain men worked upon him, and he sent [a letter] to DIOGENES and said to him, 'If thou art in truth a monk, why hast thou a dwelling-place which is in a fortress? It is right for thee to go down to one of the monasteries, so that we may send guards (i.e. a garrison) into the fortress.' Then was DIOGENES wroth, and he said, 'Of all the kingdom of the RHOMAYE there is not even one fortress which he would leave me!' And he rose up and stripped off the woollen garments [of a monk] and borrowed some apparel from the merchants of DUKIA, and collected an army. And when BAR SANHRIB, the Patrician of LESSER ARMENIA, came to him, he seized him and gouged out his eyes, and took from him eighty gold centenarii. And he increased in power greatly and he came to MELITENE. And he sent to the Sultan 'ALB 'ARSLAN and asked him for help. And the Sultan promised him that he would go in person and help him wherever there was cause for it.

And after these things DIOGENES departed from MELITENE to CILICIA. And IWANI (JOANNES) attacked him, and captured him in the city of 'ADANA. And having taken him he sent and informed MICHAEL the king. Then MICHAEL commanded, saying, 'Thou shalt not harm him, but with care bring him here to us, so that we may make him settle in a [251] monastery. When DIOGENES came near to CONSTANTINOPLE, IWANI (JOANNES) treated his eyes with *kohl* and blinded him, and DIOGENES hit his head against a wall until he died. And the king and the nobles were offended with IWANI (JOANNES) because he had done this without the command of the king.

And in this year the FRANKS took SICILY from the ARABS, for the governor [of the island] sold it; thus he acted treacherously towards the Khalifah of EGYPT, to whom it belonged. And in the year four hundred and sixty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1072), 'ALB 'ARSLAN died, and his son MALIK SHAH succeeded him. Now his death took place in this wise: whilst SHAMS AL-MULK, the son of TABAJAG, was khan of BUKHARA, and SAMARCAND, and the rest of the countries beyond the river GIHON, WILYAS, the son of 'ALB 'ARSLAN, reigned over KHAWARAZM. These two quarrelled with each other. And the son of TABAJAG attacked his wife, who was the daughter of the Sultan, and he killed her with the sandals of his feet, saying, 'Thou art not my wife, but a spy upon me. And thou stirrest up thy brother to come and lay waste my countries.' Now when the Sultan heard that his daughter had been killed, he was furiously angry and collected his troops and crossed the river. And when he encamped against a certain Citadel, the governor of whom was a native of KHAWARAZM, he made war upon him. And he deceived the native of KHAWARAZM with promises, and brought him down, and he commanded them to tie his hands and his feet to four stakes, and to shoot at him with arrows. Then the native of KHAWARAZM in his rage reviled the Sultan and said, 'O thou poltroon'(or, coward), is it in this way that thou killest those who are like myself?' Then the Sultan, with his blood boiling, said, 'let him go free, so that I may shoot him when he is unfettered, and I will kill him'. And when they set him free the Sultan shot an arrow at him, but it did not reach him. And the native of KHAWARAZM leaped upon the Sultan, and smote him in his back with a knife which he found there. Then one of the eunuchs threw himself on the Sultan, and the native of KHAWARAZM left the Sultan, and began to stab the eunuch with the knife. Then one of the ARMENIANS who were pitching the tents came and smote the native of KHAWARAZM on his head and killed him. Now the Sultan lived a few days and then died of the wound, and he was carried to MARW (MERV) and was buried [252] by the side of his father JAGHRI BAG, after he had made a will [in which he decreed] that his son MALIK SHAH should reign in his stead and that the Amir KARUTH BAG, his brother, should take KHATUN, his wife, to wife; and that SHIRAZ should be his country (or, place), besides those fortresses which should be rightly under the command of the Sultan.

Then when KARUTH (KAURATH) BAG, who had been expecting the death of his brother for a long time, heard that he was dead, he rose up hurriedly from KERMAN, and went down into the sea in the time of winter, and came to SHIRAZ. And he went forth to KHORASAN and he collected an army in order to meet in battle MALIK SHAH his brother's son. Then MALIK SHAH made ready to fight against his uncle, and God gave him the victory and he conquered and he bound his uncle in fetters and killed him, and his sons he blinded. Two of them, the youngest, died, and three of them lived [and were] blind viz. SULTAN SHAH, and TURKAN SHAH, and WARDAN SHAH. And if [any one of these] remained in his country honour similar to that which was paid to the Sultan his brother was to be paid to him.

And in the year four hundred and sixty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1073), which is the year thirteen hundred and eighty-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1073), violent rains came from the month of the LATTER TESHWIN (NOVEMBER) to the twenty-fourth day of the month of SHEBHAT (FEBRUARY). And the rivers overflowed, and the waters poured forth from the houses of Baghdad, bursting through the earth and flowing out, and many great buildings were overthrown, and the people fled to the Western Quarter. And the waters entered the quarter of the Khalifah by the Gate of the NUBAH, that is to say, of the Nubian eunuchs who

were the guardians of that Gate. And the eunuchs, and the handmaidens, and all those who lived in the houses of that quarter fled. Now at that time there were fifteen hundred houses in that quarter, and the inhabitants swam out, and went by the northern side and took refuge in the houses of the common folk. And when the waters rose up under the bed of the Khalifah he fled to the door, but could not find his way out. And a eunuch carried him out and placed him in a boat; and thus they did with his wives; and also with such goods as they were able to save from being submerged. And the Khalifah put on the tunic of their Prophet, and took the rod in his hand as if he could stay the inrush of the waters, and it did no good whatsoever. And many remained in the shallow boats for days without food, and the Khalifah himself was for two days unable to find anything to eat. [253] And in like manner the Wazir remained in a boat for two days lying on a plank without food. And in the desert also the waters prevailed and many of the MA'DAYE (NOMADS) were drowned. It is related that when the waters (i.e. the flood) came one wretched man mounted his wife on one horse, and his daughter on another, and he rode a third. And the waters came on and overtook the two women, and they fell from [their horses] and were drowned. The man himself ran to a tree and climbed up it, and abandoned the horse; and he remained there for several days before the waters subsided. And the lions and the buffaloes were seen together on the top of the hills, with the waters surrounding them, and being utterly stupefied they did not harm each other.

And in the year four hundred and sixty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1074) the Khalifah KAIM died of the disease angina at dawn on the fifth day of the week (Thursday), on the thirteenth day of the month SHA'BAN, at the age of seventy-five years. He was green (or, yellowish-green) in colour, because [he ate] too many figs (?) with his food.

After him rose his son who was called MUKTADI. On this night (i.e. the night of his death), the fear of death was upon him, according to the opinion of the astrologers. For ARIS the lord, his rising was in SCORPIO; in the night he went down to GEMINI, his house of death, by the diameter of KRONOS, which was in SAGITARIUS, and both made a *tetragonisa* (right angle) with the Zodiacal Sign PISCES, which is the Sign of the Zodiac of the completion of the year.

After KAIM, MUKTADI his son ruled nineteen years and five months. And in the year of the ARABS four hundred and sixty eight (A.D. 1075), the ARABS took the new Citadel of MABBUGH from the RHOMAYE; and the greater number of the eight years during which the RHOMAYE were in it they were imprisoned by the ARABS.

And after one year a great war broke out in SYRIA between the troops of the TURCOMANS and the EGYPTIANS, and famine and pestilence clung close to the operation, especially in DAMASCUS, for with the exception of an exceedingly small number, all its inhabitants perished. Only three thousand souls remained in it, whereas formerly the population had been three hundred thousand. There were only two bakers, whereas formerly there had been two hundred and forty. And a quarter (or, mansion) which had been bought for three thousand *dinars* could have been bought for one *dinar*, and there was no one to buy. And there was very little food, and the mice (or, rats) increased over men because of the lack of weasels which had already been eaten up. [254] There was a woman in the city who possessed two mansions, the one was bought for three hundred *dinars*, and the other for four hundred *dinars*. And because of the damage done by the mice, she sold one of them for seven *zuze*, and with them she bought a cat.

And in the year four hundred and seventy of the ARABS (A.D. 1077), which is the year thirteen hundred and eighty-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 1078), MICHAEL was governing the kingdom of the RHOMAYE in a feeble manner. This was caused by a disease of the kidneys (retention of urine?) which had attacked him; he sat in the palace and devoted himself to the physicking of his body, and he was wholly incapable of holding any intercourse whatever with any man. Then did a certain man called NICEPHORUS BOTANICUS rebel

against him. This man was at one time a husbandman, and he rose step by step and ruled first over the ISLAND OF CYPRUS, and then over ANTIOCH. Then he was deprived of his authority (or, dominion), and behold he became poverty stricken. He was akin to a certain Amir of the race of the SALJUKS whose name was 'KATLAMISH', the son of YABAGHU 'ARSLAN, the son of SALJUK, who had fled from Sultan 'ALB 'ARSLAN, and had taken refuge in the dominions of the RHOMAYE. And they besieged CONSTANTINOPLE for four months. And there was so great a famine that two bread cakes were sold for one *dinar*, and a cock for a *dinar*, and fifteen eggs for a *dinar*. And the pestilence followed on the heels of the famine.

One of the men who removed the dead and took them into the sanctuary which was in the great church, and brought the bodies from the naos when it was full, and cast them into the sea, by way of the gate which was by the sea, this man I say related that for every dead person they carried they received one obolus, and that in four months they received one hundred and sixty thousand oboli. The present chronographer (i.e. BAR HEBRAEUS) saith that it is incredible that such a vast sum as this [can have been given], but according to what I have heard so have I written.

And when the Patriarch and the nobles saw that MICHAEL was not able to vanquish the besiegers, they opened the gates, and surrendered the city to NICEPHORUS. And when he entered in MICHAEL went forth openly carrying the crown in his hand, and he said unto NICEPHORUS, 'Take [this], and withhold the sword from the people; and if thou hadst asked me I would have given it [to thee] without war. And he gave orders that he was to be shaved, and having become a monk, and refrained from the eating of flesh, he was healed of his sickness; and he ended his life as a monk in a monastery.

Then NICEPHORUS castrated the two sons of MICHAEL [255] and took his wife to wife. And he was despised by every man, and goodness departed from him and fear fell upon him. And he sat down in his palace, and never went out to war. Then Sultan MALIK SHAH sent BURSUK, his servant, with an army to bring back KATLAMISH. And when he drew nigh to the temple of CONSTANTINOPLE, he sent to NICEPHORUS and asked him to deliver up to him KATLAMISH. And NICEPHORUS said, 'It is not in conformity with our Faith to deliver up the man who hath taken refuge with us, even though we all perish. But behold, this is before thee: if thou canst take him, take him.'

Then KATLAMISH and BURSUK met each other [in battle]. And as very many of the TURKS on both sides were killed, BURSUK sent to KATLAMISH and said unto him, 'Why should the TURKS perish betwixt me and thee? But let us two meet each other in battle, and he who conquereth the other shall be master of all of them. And when KATLAMISH agreed to his [proposition], BURSUK acted craftily, and he dressed one of his slaves in his apparel and armour, and mounted him upon his own horse, and he sent him forth against KATLAMISH, and he himself stood up, with twenty horsemen, like one who was gazing at a theatrical spectacle. And when the slave and KATLAMISH were fighting together, KATLAMISH smote the slave a blow, and hurled him from his horse, and he dismounted to cut off his head. Then BURSUK and those who were with him leaped upon him and killed him. And KATLAMISH being killed in this treacherous manner, BURSUK was able to flatter (i.e. persuade) only a very few men to carry [the news?] to the Sultan. And the remainder, who were very many, cleaved to SULAIMAN, the son of KATLAMISH, and they departed from the territory of the RHOMAYE, and went and captured the cities on the sea coast, viz. ANTARADOS and TARSOS, in the year four hundred and seventy-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1082), and subsequently SULAIMAN, made himself master of ANTIOCH.

And in the year four hundred and seventy-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1083) SHARAF AD-DAWLAH, the son of KURASH, took HARRAN, and he impaled KRASI who ruled over it. And in the year which is the year thirteen hundred and ninety-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1083), on the twenty-third day of the month of ILUL

(SEPTEMBER), PILARDOS, the ARMENIAN, took EDESSA from the TURKS, and of him we will speak a little later. [256]

Now NICEPHORUS having reigned in a contemptible manner for two years, and the affairs of the kingdom having gone to ruin, a certain captain of the host whose name was ALEXIS COMENINUS made a secret agreement with the nobles, and they went to a convenient place outside CONSTANTINOPLE, and proclaimed him king. And they returned quickly to the city, and no man stood up against them, And ALEXIS went in to the palace, and NICEPHORUS went out, and he was rewarded according to what he had done, and he had his fill of disgrace and contempt.

(Continued on Next Page)

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

Concerning the Beginning of the Kingdom of the Saljuks in Persia (continued).

And in the year four hundred and seventy-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1084), BAR MARWAN was ruling from MAWSIL to the banks of the EUPHRATES; he placed his confidence in the armies of the MA'DAYE, and was not as submissive to the Sultan as it was proper for him to be. Then the Sultan MALIK SHAH sent to the Amir 'ARTUK [commanding him] to collect the armies of the TURCOMANS, and to be ready for war. When BAR MARWAN heard this, he sent to SHARAF AD-DAWLAH, the son of KURAISH, the great Amir of the MA'DAYE, [asking him] to come to his help. And they gathered together and came to the neighbourhood of 'AMID; and 'ARTUK also came. And when SHARAF AD-DAWLAH saw the great number of the TURCOMANS he sent to 'ARTUK and said, 'I am the servant of the Sultan, and this BAR MARWAN is also, and why this quarrel? But I ask you to go back, and I will go back, and there shall be peace.' Now although 'ARTUK agreed to that, the TURCOMANS were angry, and they murmured, saying, 'Do ye wish to turn back empty and without spoil?' And at midnight they mounted their horses, and when the day broke they attacked the MA'DAYE and killed many [of them], and the rest fled. And as no other hope remained to SHARAF AD-DAWLAH, he fled to 'AMID, to BAR MARWAN. And the TURCOMANS went to the tents of the MA'DAYE and plundered them, and made the women and children prisoners, and [captured their] goods. And they tied ropes round the necks of the Amirs of the MA'DAYE whom they overtook, and brought them before the wall of 'AMID, and they sold the [best of them] for ten *dinars* each, and the inferior Amirs for less than five *dinars*. And a fine ARAB horse was sold for five *dinars*, and a camel for one *dinar*, and an ass for five *zuze*, and a sheep for half a *zuza*. And they broke more than ten thousand spears, and burnt them under the cooking pots. And when dissension broke out among the TURCOMANS, [257] they left 'AMID and departed. And SHARAF AD-DAWLAH went forth and departed to CALONICUS.

At this time when the kingdom of the YAWNAYE (GREEKS) had become enfeebled, and the TURKS were seizing countries everywhere, a number of ARMENIANS, who were brave and bold men, banded themselves together, and formed themselves into a gang of about fifty men; and they also went into [the territory of the RHOMAYE] and robbed and plundered, And when they were in the country of MARASH, a certain young man, who was also an ARMENIAN, and whose name was PILARDOS, met them. And when they saw that he was strong and cunning, and bold in looting and killing, they took him with them, and he became their leader and chief. And they began and stole (i.e. seized) certain strongholds in the country of CILICIA, and they became a numerous band.

And when the king of the RHOMAYE heard [this] he sent gifts to him. And PILARDOS himself went to CONSTANTINOPLE, and the GREEKS rejoiced in him, and they gave him gold, and weapons of war, and appointed him SEBASTUS. And he went forth and reigned over CILICIA and ANTIOCH, and he became mighty and also captured MARASH, and KHISHUM, and RA'BAN, and EDESSA, and the country of the river GIHON and MELITENE. And there were also in his own army and with him men who were PERSIANS and TURKS, and ARMENIANS. And because he was very unjust he laid his hand on the princes of ANTIOCH, and took their riches and divided them among the troops who were with him. And because of

this the men of ANTIOCH hated him, and he also hated them. And he appointed as governor over them a PERSIAN whose name was 'ISMA'IL', and he left the city and departed. Then when SULAIMAN, the son of KATLAMISH, who was killed in the royal city, as we have already said, heard that PILARDOS had turned aside, he made ready ships for himself, for he had already taken ANTARADUS and TARSOS, and he attacked ANTIOCH on the side of the mountain, and made himself master of it; and the Persian governor gave him help.

And he opened the great church of KAWSYANA (i.e. MAR CASSIANUS, the Martyr), and he took from it the furniture and curtains, and the vessels of gold and silver and the rest of the objects which had been deposited therein by the citizens, a vast quantity, and he made the church into a Mosque. And he proclaimed peace in the city, and suspended the sword, and he prohibited the TURKS from entering the house of any of the Christians, and also from taking their daughters, even by betrothal. And they were not to send out [258] any of the loot which they had taken from ANTIOCH, but were to sell it again in the city, even though they received a very low price for it. And he made happy the hearts of the inhabitants of ANTIOCH; and the governor surrendered the fortress to him, and he reigned [there]. And the inhabitants of ANTIOCH were very much more pleased with him than with PILARDOS, who was nominally a Christian.

And SULAIMAN, the son of KATLAMISH, again invaded the territory of the RHOMAYE, and he captured NICAIA, and NICOMEDIA, and ICONIUM, and he set over them KELIJ 'ARSLAN his son, and he returned and came to ANTIOCH. Over SEBASTIA, and CAESAREA, and PONTUS there ruled a certain Amir whose name was ISMA'IL, the son of D'ANISHMAND, and that country is called after his name to this day, 'the country of D'ANISHMAND'.

These things took place in the year four hundred and seventy-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1084), which is the year thirteen hundred and ninety-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1085), in the month of the LATTER TESHWIN (NOVEMBER). And in this year SHARAF AD-DAWLAH took SAMOSATA from the ARMENIANS, and the uncle of the son of KATLAMISH took the country of MELITENE. And in the year four hundred and seventy-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1085), SHARAF AD-DAWLAH collected the troops of the MA'DAYE and attacked ANTIOCH, and SULAIMAN, the son of KATLAMISH, sallied out and engaged him in battle; and the MA'DAYE were broken and SHARAF AD-DAWLAH himself was killed in the battle. Then 'ARTUK, who, as we have said, conquered the MA'DAYE by 'AMID, perceiving that the intention of the Sultan MALIK SHAH was changed in respect of him, marched off with his company to go to SYRIA. And when he arrived at MAWSIL, the Sultan sent to him two of the nobles together with royal apparel, and a horse, and a Patent of authority, with five thousand *dinars*, so that he might rejoice his heart and return to him. But he would not be persuaded, and said, 'Thou art an enemy of mine in the service of the Sultan, and I know that thou wilt not allow his mind to be sincere with me. And behold, I am going to attack SULAIMAN, the son of KATLAMISH, and I will not permit him to go forth and destroy in the countries of the Sultan.' And they were pleased thus, and they left him and went back.

And in this year there was a great pestilence in PERSIA, and in SEN'AR, and in SYRIA, and many villages were entirely depopulated. For a man when standing up would [suddenly] totter and fall down dead. And for the most part the fatal sickness did not prolong itself beyond six days. [259] One of the Turkish horsemen related the following: 'I passed by a door in MUHAWAL, a village by the side of BAGHDAD; and behold there was a little girl by the door who was weeping and saying, "Who will deliver me from death and take me? For behold, it (i.e. death) hath entered our house and killed my father, and my mother, and my brothers, and my sisters." And when I went in I counted nine dead people in that house. And I was afraid, and I left [the house] and fled, but compassion for the girl awoke in me, and when I went back to take her away, I found that she had fallen on her mother's breast and was dead.'

And on the twenty-seventh day of the month of ILUL (SEPTEMBER) of this year, which was the year thirteen hundred and ninety-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1085), a black wind blew in BAGHDAD, and darkened the air, and a dense [cloud of] dust was raised up between the earth and the sky, and it moved through the air like a great mountain. And a great many men and cattle, and even the wild beasts in the desert, died. And ruffians went into the baths and carried off their furnishings, and they also looted the bazars. And many ships were sunk.

And in the year four hundred and seventy-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1086) war broke out between the Amir 'ARTUK BAG and SULAIMAN, the son of KATLAMISH, the lord of ANTIOCH. And SULAIMAN himself was killed in the war. It is said that when he saw that his party was broken he killed himself with a knife. And it was found to be even so, for he was discovered lying on the ground and there was a knife fixed in his belly. Now when the Sultan heard that SULAIMAN was killed, he transferred himself from KHORASAN to SYRIA. And the Amir 'ARTUK went to JERUSALEM, and he placed his men and the members of his household in the Tower of DAVID, the king, and he made his forces strong therein. And when the Sultan arrived at EDESSA, which was on the side of PILARDOS, the inhabitants surrendered it to him easily. And PILARDOS, because he perceived the hatred which the men of EDESSA bore towards him, set out to go to KHORASAN, to the Sultan. And as the Sultan came by another road, he did not meet him in PERSIA, but he turned back and came and overtook him in BETH NAHRIN, after he had taken EDESSA; and he promised to pay him tribute, and to proclaim the Khalifah and the Sultan. And he became a Muslim by the hands of the Sultan, and he was circumcised, and became sick; and he travelled with the camp of the Sultan during [his] expedition. And because the men of EDESSA hated him, [260] he did not give him EDESSA again, but MAR'ASH. And there that wretched man went and sat down for a certain time, and he perished. And they say that he believed once again in Christ, and that he died a Christian.

And from EDESSA the Sultan went to KAL'AH JA'BAR, where there was a band of highway robbers. And when they went out to fight with the TURKS, three of the TURKS scaled the wall on the other side, where no man thought there was a place which could be scaled, and they cried out the name of the Sultan. And when the robbers heard the voice they were astonished, and their hands dropped down helplessly, and the TURKS seized them and killed their chief JA'BAR. Now the wife of this man was a woman of great strength, and she threw herself down from the wall, and the wind rushed in under her cloak and let her come down gently on the ground, and she was unhurt. And when they carried her to the Sultan, and he asked her why she had done this, she replied, 'I wished to die, and no man other than my husband shall ever have dominion over me'. And he asked her whence she came. And she said, 'I am a woman of DAMASCUS'. And the Sultan commanded, and they set her on a beast and carried her to her kinsfolk. And from there the Sultan went to ALEPPO and ANTIOCH, and he took possession of them. And he turned and came to BAGHDAD because of the scarcity [of food] and the famine which prevailed in SYRIA. And he gave his daughter to the Khalifah to wife. And from there he went to KHORASAN. And the Amir BUZAN was appointed chief of EDESSA and MELITENE, and 'AKSENKUR ('AGHSENKUR?) [was appointed] over ALEPPO.

And in the year four hundred and eighty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1092) the Sultan came from KHORASAN to BAGHDAD. And there was strife between him and the Khalifah because he asked the Khalifah to proclaim that the son who was born of the Sultan's daughter should be Khalifah after him. And when the Khalifah excused himself, the Sultan sent him a message saying, 'Then get thee forth from BAGHDAD'. And the Khalifah replied, 'I will fulfil thy command, but wait ten days for me until I have prepared myself for departure'. And on the ninth day the Sultan had fever, a consuming burning fever, and he died. And it is said that KHURDIK, his slave, made him drink poison. Now TURKAN KHATUN, his wife, because she was a woman of intelligence, administered the affairs of the kingdom, and her son MAHMUD, the son of [261] MALIK SHAH, was proclaimed Sultan in BAGHDAD, when he was five years old. Concerning his intelligence it is related that when the Khalifah sent [his men] and they arrayed the boy in royal apparel, and

seated him on the throne, he stretched out neither a hand nor a foot, and he did not move his eyes, and he neither bent himself nor salaamed, and not one of his members did he move. And his manner of sitting was so much like that of a stone (or, rock) that every man marvelled at him.

And TURKAN KHATUN took her son the Sultan MAHMUD and went to ISFAHAN. Now certain other TURKS gathered together and they brought out another son of Sultan MALIK SHAH, who was born of the daughter of his uncle—now his name was TURKYARUK—and they made him king over them. And he had with him ten thousand [men], and with MAHMUD his brother there were twenty thousand. And when they met each other, the nobles of MAHMUD acted treacherously, and they passed over to the side of TURKYARUK, and were with (i.e. they sided with) him. Also TAJ AD-DAWLAH TATASH, the brother of Sultan MALIK SHAH, reigned over MAWSIL, and NISIBIS, and MAIPERKAT, and over SYRIA and DAMASCUS. And he came to 'ADHORBIJAN, and the Sultan TURKYARUK, his brother's son, went to meet him, and they interviewed each other in the country of TABRIZ, in a village, the name of which was 'SA'IDABAD', and TATASH returned to DAMASCUS, and the Amirs 'AKSENKUR and BUZAN went into the service of TURKYARUK. And TURKYARUK himself went to BAGHDAD, and he was received by the Khalifah, who arrayed him in royal apparel, and wrote a Patent of authority for him, and proclaimed him Sultan.

And in the year four hundred and eighty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1094), when the Khalifah MUKTADI was reclining at his table and was eating a roasted cock, hallucinations came to him. And he said unto the handmaiden who was standing before him, 'What are these [men] who have come upon us without command?' And she turned herself round and saw no man. And she replied to him, and then she saw that he had fallen backwards and that he was dead before he could wash his hands. In this wise he died suddenly, and his son MUSTATHER rose up after him.

After MUKTADI, MUSTATHER, his son, [ruled] twenty-five years and five months. And in this year TURKAN KHATUN, the mother of Sultan MAHMUD, died. This woman was courageous and wise, [262] and she was descended from 'APDASYAB, the first king of the HUNS. Her father was TAPRAGH, king of the KHAZARAYE (or, KHARZAYE). And only 'ISFAHAN remained with her son.

And after a little Sultan TURKYARUK went to 'ISFAHAN with only a few of his troops. And the nobles of his brother Sultan MAHMUD shut the gates in his face; later they decided that they would let him come in and lay hands upon him. And when they opened [the gates] and he went in, and had lived there for one day, a violent fever attacked his brother MAHMUD, and in his day he died, being seven years old. And the nobles made their peace with TURKYARUK, and they made him king over 'ISFAHAN.

And in the year four hundred and eighty-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1095), which is the year fourteen hundred and six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1095), KELEJ 'ARSLAN, the son of SULAIMAN, the Sultan of ICONIUM, came and encamped against MELITENE, and made war upon it. Then a certain chief minister who was with the Sultan approached as an ambassador [from him] and wished to talk with the holy man of the city; that is to say with SA'ID BAR-SABUNI, who was called MAR JOHN of his Liturgies (?), a holy and marvellously learned man. And when the holy man drew nigh by the command of GABRIEL, an accursed GREEK (YAWNAYA) and the governor of the city, that minister said unto him in the Syriac language, 'The Sultan saith unto you: Ye must surrender the city, and will do good things for you (i.e. treat you handsomely). If ye will not, he will take it with the sword, and God will require from you your own blood and the blood of all the people.' The holy man replied. 'Talk not foolishly. No man is able to capture this city—by God's might! For there is bread enough in it for ten years, the waters flow through and out of it, and the soldiers, who are mighty men of war, in it are many, as thou seest.' And whilst the holy man was saying these things, that accursed GABRIEL was standing behind him listening, And when the minister

departed, the holy man said unto GABRIEL, 'Behold, thou didst hear, my lord, the things which I said. It is better for us to make this Sultan to pass us by with peaceful words and gifts, so that he may go away from us, because thou seest in what tributation we are placed, the rich [263] and the poor [alike].' Then this accursed governor felt a bitter feeling in his heart against the holy man, and after one day he commanded one of the soldiers that he must be killed. And the holy man ran to him to make supplication, and he found him riding between the two walls. And when the accursed one saw the holy man, he became furiously angry, and reviled him, and smote him with the spear which was in his hand and killed him. And after two days the believers were able to take possession of him, and they prepared him for burial and buried him in the great church. And when the Sultan heard of the arrival of the FRANKS, he left [the place] and departed.

And in the year four hundred and eighty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1095), which is the year fourteen hundred and seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1096), the astrologers concluded that a flood similar to that which took place in the days of NOAH was about to come. And the Khalifah MUSTATHER called BAR 'ISAN the astronomer, and asked him whether this was so. And the astronomer said unto him, 'In the days of NOAH the Seven Wandering Stars (i.e. the Planets) were gathered together in the Sign of the Zodiac PISCES, and that great flood took place. And this year CHRONOS alone is not in PISCES, and if he was side by side with them, it is very possible that a flood like that [of NOAH] might take place. Yea, I myself declare that in a certain country there will be gathered together many peoples from many countries, and they will all be lost in the waters.' And after some days the report arrived that a mighty storm had come upon those who were going to worship in MAKKAH, and that all of them were drowned. And in this year, when GABRIEL the GREEK was ruling in MELITENE, he killed by means of a deadly poison a man whose name was 'ABU SALIM, an orthodox prince and kinsman of the children of 'ABU 'IMRAN. And a year later that accursed man killed the believing and God-fearing merchants BAR SAWMA BAR-DAIRAITA, and his two sons, and BASIL of HAWA and the martyr-deacon of TIANITINI. And he took from their homes, and from [the house] of 'ABU MANSUR BAR-MALKA, gold, and silver, and furniture, and from the church of the holy man, crosses, and censers, and a box of MURON oil, and all the curtains and furniture, and he destroyed their houses. And he built the fortress and the wall.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

The History of the Crusades.

And in this year, which is the year fourteen hundred and eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 1097), two Frankish kings, and seven Counts, sallied forth, and they came against ANTIOCH and took it from [264] the TURKS. The reason for their expedition was as follows: When the TURCOMANS were ruling over SYRIA, and PALESTINE, and all the [other] countries, they made the Christians who were coming to pray in JERUSALEM to suffer very many serious evils, and especially those who were coming from ROME (RHOMI) and other countries of ITALY. Then the FRANKS became filled with rage, and they collected troops, and went forth first of all to SPAIN, and they took possession of the cities there and they shed much blood in them. And they cut off the ears, and noses, and lips of many of the ARABS, and they blinded their eyes. Then they came against CONSTANTINOPLE, and because ALEXIS, the king of the GREEKS (YAWNAYE), would not grant them a passage, they made war on the city for seven years. Then they went forth and came and encamped against ANTIOCH, and they made war on it for nine months, but they were unable to capture it. And they made a secret arrangement with the PERSIAN whose name was 'RUZBAH', who guarded the tower which was by the side of the ravine which is called 'KASHKARUF', and they promised [to give] him gold, and iron poles were laid across this ravine, and upon them a tower was built. And the FRANKS came by night and went in by that place, and others by means of ropes scaled the wall. And when there were many of them in number they blew blasts on the horns during the last watch of the night.

And the Turkish governor, whose name was GAISGAN, being woke up, thought that the FRANKS were in possession of the Citadel, and fear and trembling fell upon him. And he opened the gate of the city and fled along the ALEPPO road with thirty men. And when the day dawned he began to gnaw his fingers, saying, 'How was it that I left the city, and my men, and my family, and my possessions, and came away?' And he turned and looked towards ANTIOCH, weeping. And by reason of the greatness of his sorrow he fell from his horse. And those who were with him having lifted him up upon his horse several times, and he continuing to fall, they left him and departed.

And there came along a certain man who was an ARMENIAN, who was a wood-cutter in the mountain, and he cut off the head of GAISGAN and carried it to the FRANKS. And the FRANKS, having gained possession of the city, plundered the ARABS and the TURKS who were in it, and they killed many of them. And BAIMOND (BOEMUNDUS), [265] one of the Counts who were with them, ruled over it (i.e. the city). And the FRANKS remained in it for thirteen days, without finding anything to eat, and many ate their horses. And when Sultan TURKYARUK heard [of this] he sent one hundred thousand horsemen to ANTIOCH, and they came and encamped on the BAGHRAS. And one of the kings of the FRANKS saw a dream. And they opened a certain place in the church of MAR CASSIANUS, and they found there some splinters of the Cross of our Lord, and they made out of them a cross, and the head of a spear, and they took them and went forth

against the TURKS. And God gave victory to the FRANKS and they filled (i.e. covered) the ground with the slain.

And they came and encamped against the city of MU'ARAH, and took possession of it. And they killed more than one hundred thousand souls, and having remained in it for forty days, they carried off a vast quantity of spoil. And from there they went to the MOUNT OF LEBANON, and they killed therein a great multitude of those who are called 'NUSIRAYE'. And they came and encamped against 'ARKA, which is by the side of TRIPOLI, and they fought against it four months, but were unable to capture it. And they left it and departed to SHAIZAR, and BAR MUNKED, the ARAB who was in it, submitted to them, and he gave them tribute, and they departed from him. And they went to EMESA, and JANAHA AD-DAWLAH, who was there also, went out to them and became subject unto them.

And they left him and went to JERUSALEM, and they fought against it for more than forty days. And there was there a certain chief, a man from the quarter of the EGYPTIANS, whose name was 'EFTEKHAR AD-DAWLAH. And the FRANKS set up two wooden siege towers, one on the south side at a place which is called 'SEHYON' (SION), and the other in the middle of the eastern gateway, that of MAR STEPHEN. And when the ARABS had set fire to the tower at SION, before the burning was finished, a cry went up, and the FRANKS rushed in from the east side, and they put the population to the sword for a Sabbath of days. And in the Temple of SOLOMON they killed more than seventy thousand ARABS, and they took from the SAKHRAH (i.e. the stone which JACOB set up at BETHEL) forty silver lamps, each lamp weighing three thousand six hundred *zuz*. And [they took] other small lamps, one hundred and fifty, and of these twenty were [made] of Egyptian gold. And they also took [266] a silver furnace for lamps, the weight of which was forty *litre* (the Syrian *litra*), which is equal to six BAGHDAD *litre*, together with other vessels, and many other things.

And the first king of the FRANKS [who began to] reign in the city was GONDOPRE (GODOFREDUS), in the year fourteen hundred and nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 1098), and he reigned two years. And after him BAGHDUIN (BALDUINUS, or BALDWIN), seventeen years. And when the EGYPTIANS in EGYPT heard what had happened, 'AFDAL, the son of the captain of the soldiery, went forth with a numerous army, and the FRANKS came and engaged them near ASCELON, and the ARABS were defeated. And the FRANKS killed a great number of them, and the remainder fled and went to ASCELON. And the men of ASCELON having given them twelve thousand *dinars*, they left them and returned to JERUSALEM.

And in the year four hundred and ninety-two of the ARABS (A.D. 1098) the Turkish nobles rebelled against the Sultan TURKYAROK because the Wazir MAJD AD-DAWLAH treated them cruelly, and they killed the Wazir. And they left TURKYARUK and went to his brother MAHAMMAD, and made him king over them. And he was also accepted by the Khalifah, and a Patent of authority was written for him and he was proclaimed GHAYATH AD-DUNYA WA AD-DIN ABU SHUJA' MAHAMMAD SULTAN. And TURKYARUK fled to BAGHDAD and Sultan MAHAMMAD pursued him; and they met in battle on several occasions and broke and were broken.

At this time, namely in the year four hundred and ninety-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1099), YAHYAH, the BAGHDAD physician, the son of JAZLAH, died. He was the author of the famous book of MENHAJ, which is in the hands of the physicians of our time; it treateth of medicines and foods both simple and compound. This man was a Christian, and he learned rhetoric from an Arab rhetorician whose name was 'ABU ALI BAR-WALID. And persuading himself sophistically that it is impossible, as the NESTORIANS assert, to understand bodily and personal unity in connexion with the Divine Nature, he fell into error and became a Muslim. It is said that he was a rich man, [267] and that it was only his friends whom he visited without demanding a fee when they were sick.

Then GABRIEL the GREEK, who was ruling over MELITENE, being oppressed by the Amir BAR-DANISHMAND, who came from SEBASTIA in the summer, and laid waste the country, and ate up the crops, and went away in the winter, sent [messages] to the FRANKS and promised them three times that he would give them MELITENE. And trustingly king BOHEMUND set out to go to MELITENE. Then the ARMENIANS, who from the days of PILARDOS had held certain places, and one Khoj (i.e. lord) BASIL, that is to say thief, who held KHISHUM and RA'BAN, and the sons of RUFIN who held places in ARMENIA, being afraid lest the FRANKS would become their masters, and expel them from their places, sent secretly to 'ISMA'IL, the son of DANISHMAND, [asking him] to make an ambush for the FRANKS. And he also, the accursed one of GABRIEL, when the Frankish king arrived at the village of GAPNA, which is above MELITENE, began to lead him astray and made to pass day by day until the son of DANISHMAND could arrive. And he laid ambushes before the king, and he bound him in fetters and sent him to SEBASTIA. And he himself came and encamped against MELITENE, and made war upon it. And GABRIEL, the wicked one, added to his wickednesses, and robbed (or, pillaged) unmercifully those who were in the city. Then two of the soldiers became inflamed with wrath, and they surrendered the city to the TURKS, on the fourth day of the week, the eighteenth day of the month ILUL (SEPTEMBER), in the year fourteen hundred and thirteen of the GREEKS (A.D. 1102). In certain Arabic manuscripts we have found, fourteen hundred and twelve. And when the TURKS went in to MELITENE, the wretched (i.e. unfortunate) place, they plundered all its wealth, because BAR-DANISHMAND had [already] given to his troops all its wealth, with the exception of the inhabitants. He did not leave one soul to perish, for he took the people upon himself, and he sent them back to their houses; and he brought wheat and oxen, and other necessities, from his own country and gave them to them. And very many blessings came to MELITENE in his days, and he appointed in it a 'Kataban' (i.e. Governor), a man whose name was BASIL, and who was just and God fearing.

Concerning GABRIEL, justice woke itself up, and the TURKS and also the Christians made him to suffer terribly, especially when they made him to remember the murders of the holy man and the governors who were wrongly accused. And [268] when they had made him to suffer (?) insults, they carried him to the front of the fortress of KATI'A, wherein his wife had been placed. And though the TURKS ordered him to tell his wife to surrender the Citadel, he still with his devilishness deceived the TURKS. And he said to his wife 'Surrender the Citadel. And this shall be to thee a sign. Some days ago I sent to thee a young man whose name is "MIDAS", that is to say, "Thou shall not give it," in the Aramean tongue.' And when the TURKS knew this they killed him and cast him to the dogs.

And BAR-DANISHMAND brought BOHEMUND, the Frankish king, to MELITENE, and he sold it for one hundred thousand *dinars*. And BOHEMUND gave ANTIOCH to his sister's son and he went back to his own country.

And in the year fourteen hundred and fourteen of the GREEKS (A.D. 1103) SANJEL (SAINT GILLES) was in the city of TARSOS. And the ARABS heard that the soldiers with him were few in number, and the armies of the TURKS that were in TRIPOLI, and DAMASCUS, and EMESA gathered together against him. And the Frankish king, because he only had three hundred horsemen with him, sent out one hundred against the DAMASCENES, and one hundred against the TRIPOLITANS, and fifty against the troops from EMESA, and he kept fifty with him. And when they met in battle the men of EMESA and the DAMASCENES quickly fled towards the mountains, and they were more than five thousand men. But the troops of the TRIPOLITANS, who were about three thousand in number, maintained the struggle. And when SAINT GILLES saw that the TURKS were getting the upper hand, he attacked them in person, together with the fifty FRANKS who were with him, and he broke them. And he also pursued those who had fled and killed about seven thousand ARABS. And he sallied out from CILICIA and came and encamped against TRIPOLI, and he made fierce war upon it; he captured ANTARADUS, and killed all the ARABS who were in it, and he made war on other fortresses. And another Count also came by sea and besieged 'AKKO, and he afflicted it greatly.

And they took possession of EDESSA, and they began taking and plundering the countries of SYRIA which were in the hands of the ARABS and TURKS.

And in the year four hundred and ninety-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1104), when various diseases, phthisis, and fistulas, and other painful ailments, increased their attacks upon Sultan RUKN AD-DIN TURKYARUK, [269] and he perceived that he was going to die, he made his nobles swear fealty on behalf of his little son MALIK SHAH, and he sent him to BAGHDAD. And he was proclaimed JALAL AD-DAWLAH MALIK SHAH SULTAN when he was four years old. And TURKYARUK died and was buried in 'ISFAHAN. And when MALIK SHAH, the son of TURKYARUK, was in BAGHDAD, his uncle Sultan MAHAMMAD also came there. And the people of BAGHDAD feared greatly lest they should be dragged into the strife which would take place between the two of them. And because the Amir 'AYAZ, unto whom was committed the management of the kingdom [of MALIK SHAH], was a man of understanding, and all the troops of TURKYARUK were under his command, and were subservient to him, he took from Sultan MAHAMMAD an oath and said, 'This child is thy brother's son, and it is especially right for thee to show care for him. And thou must not deprive him of the kingdom and the inheritance of his father, any more than [thou wouldst deprive me of] what is mine.' And the Sultan said, 'This [child] is my son'; and he promised him good treatment. And the Amir 'AYAZ ('ANAZ) went out to the Sultan and was received with honour.

And the day after 'AYAZ the Amir made a great feast, and he invited the Sultan to be present thereat, and the Sultan accepted and went. And by ill luck there happened to be among the assembly of the Amir 'AYAZ a certain scribe who was wearing a coat of mail under [his ordinary apparel], and he was standing with those who were serving, and he could only move with difficulty. And when the Sultan cast his glance upon him, he said unto one of the little slaves who were standing before him, 'Go and search that man and see what he has on him, [and why] his going and coming is impeded in this manner'. And when the young man had gone, and according to the narrator, had searched him, he came and said to the Sultan, 'He is wearing a coat of mail under his apparel'. And the Sultan said, 'When scribes wear coats of mail, what will the Turkish horsemen wear?' And he thought that there was treachery in the heart of 'AYAZ, and he commanded the soldier-scouts who were before him and they cut off his head. Then when the TURKS of 'AYAZ heard this, they took what they were able to take of their own property and that of others, and they fled to SYRIA. And in the year four hundred and ninety-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1105), which is the year fourteen hundred and seventeen of the GREEKS (A.D. 1106), in the [270] month of 'ADHAR (MARCH) a rising of the rivers took place, and the river EUPHRATES (sic) was swollen, and it destroyed very many houses (or, quarters) of BAGHDAD. A certain rich man in BAGHDAD, when the waters reached his threshold, was afraid that the whole house would be destroyed. And he made ready two boats, and loaded them with his goods, and his wives, and his children, and his handmaidens. And he commanded the sailors to carry them to higher ground. And when they had travelled a little way one ship sank; now there were in it nine noble handmaidens, and a young woman, one of seven, whose mother had made her flee with them. And they were all drowned, and the many treasures that were with them were lost. And when those who were in the other boat saw the catastrophe, they went back to their house. And on the morrow the waters abated, and men praised the incomprehensible judgements of God, and they knew that the deliverance which is of man is an empty thing.

And in this year TANUSHMAN died in SEBASTIA, having reigned two years over MELITENE. And on the twenty-eighth day of the month of HAZIRAN (JUNE), KELEJ 'ARSLAN came and encamped against MELITENE. And he set up battering rams against the round tower on the north-east of the city. And after very severe fighting he took it on the second day of the month of ILUL (SEPTEMBER), in the year fourteen hundred and seventeen of the GREEKS (A.D. 1106), not by the sword but by oaths. And when he had gone in and was reigning there, he harmed no man.

(Continued on Next Page)

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

The History of the Crusades (continued).

And in the year five hundred of the ARABS (A.D. 1106), when GABARMISH (JAGARMISH) the Turkish Amir was ruling over MAWSIL, and was plotting rebellion against Sultan MAHAMMAD, the Sultan made ready another Turkish Amir whose name was JAWALI, and gave him MAWSIL, and sent him [there] with his troops. And when JAWALI came to the country of 'ARBIL, JAGARMISH collected his army and went and met him in battle there, and he was defeated and made a prisoner. Then the men of MAWSIL swore oaths of fealty to the son of JAGARMISH, whose name was ZANGI, and they made ready for war with JAWALI. And they sent to KELEJ 'ARSLAN, the son of SULAIMAN, the son of KATLAMISH, the Sultan of ICONIUM, and they asked him to come to their help. Then JAWALI came and encamped against MAWSIL, JAGARMISH being a prisoner with him. And he dug a pit (or, cave), and therein he placed him, because he was afraid that the men of MAWSIL would kidnap him; and there JAGARMISH died. [271]

Now there was present with JAGARMISH at the breaking (i.e. defeat) a certain native of MAWSIL, whose name was 'ABU TALIB, the son of KUSAIRATH, who had fled to 'ARBIL, and JAWALI asked BAR MUSAK, the lord of 'ARBIL, to send him to him. And when he was sent to him, JAWALI released the son of the lord of 'ARBIL, who was a prisoner in his hands. Now when the son of KUSAIRATH came to JAWALI, he promised that he would surrender MAWSIL to him, and that he would collect for him a large quantity of gold from places of which he knew. And he kept him with him in honour. Then the Judge of MAWSIL, whose name was BAR WAD'AN, because enmity existed between him and the son of KUSAIRATH, sent to JAWALI, and promised to surrender MAWSIL if he would kill the son of KUSAIRATH. And when he answered his request, he sent to him the head of his enemy.

Now the action of BAR WAD'AN vexed the TURKS who were in MAWSIL, and they leaped upon him and killed him. And in this way within a few days one evil was avenged by another.

And in those days KELEJ 'ARSLAN came from the territory of the RHOMAYE to the ISLAND OF KARDU. And JAWALI left and fled, and went and took the city of BALADH. And he departed to SYRIA. And KELEJ 'ARSLAN came against MAWSIL and very soon took possession of it. And he did no harm to ZANGI, the son of JAGARMISH, nor to those who were with him, nor to any of the citizens. On the contrary, he commanded saying, 'Whosoever calumniateth a man to me shall die the death'. And he sent back the Judge 'UBAID ALLAH, the son of KASIM, of SHAHRAZUR, to his former office. And he annulled the proclamation of the Sultan MAHAMMAD in MAWSIL, and they proclaimed him after the Khalifah. And he set in the fortress of MAWSIL a man whose name was 'BAZMISH'. And he left his son MALIK SHAH, being a boy eleven years old, in MASWSIL, and called him 'king', and the mother of the youth was also with him in the palace.

And he made straight his way towards the HABUR, and with him were five thousand horsemen. Then the Amir JAWALI came to terms with RADWAN, the lord of ALEPPO, and he collected four thousand

horsemen, and they were bold and courageous men, and they came and met KELEJ 'ARSLAN on the HABUR. And when the battle was set in array, KELEJ 'ARSLAN performed an act of splendid bravery. For he went in among the host [272] of JAWALI by himself, and he smote the hand of the standard-bearer and cut it off, and he smote JAWALI also with the sword, and he preserved the coat of mail which he was wearing uninjured. And when the partisans of JAWALI and RADWAN saw that KELEJ 'ARSLAN by himself had displayed such might, their hearts were stirred up against his partisans, and they made them to break and flee. Then when KELEJ 'ARSLAN saw that his troops had fled, and had left him by himself, he feared for his life. For although these men would not kill him, yet when he was bound and carried to the Sultan, he would certainly not allow him to live, because he had made an end of the proclamation of him in MAWSIL. Therefore as he was riding along he cast himself into the river HABUR, and he shot arrows at those who were pursuing him when he was in the water. And because of the weight of the iron armour which was on himself and his horse, and also because those who were behind him were shooting arrows at him, the horse stuck fast in a deep hole in the river, and both he and the horse were drowned. And after some days he was cast up on the river bank by the waters, and he was taken and buried in the village which is called 'DAMSHAM' (?).

And when RADWAN went against CALONICUS, JAWALI came to MAWSIL. And the men in the bazar opened the gates immediately, and he went into the city. And he seized a certain eunuch among the slaves of JAGARMISH, and he took from him forty thousand gold *dinars*. And he sent a message to BAZMISH to surrender the Citadel and to send back everything which he had taken from MAWSIL, and to return to his own country in peace, with whatsoever had come with him. Now BAZMISH was unable to resist, because all hope had been cut away from him by the death of KELEJ 'ARSLAN, his lord. But he went down quietly, and he took the wife of KELEJ 'ARSLAN, and all their people, and they went to MELITENE, with the exception of MALIK SHAH, the son of KELEJ 'ARSLAN, because JAWALI had sent him to the Sultan.

And he went to JAZARTA (i.e. the 'ISLAND'), and besieged it. And when HABASHI, the son of JAGARMISH, gave him six thousand *dinars* and an Arab horse, he left him and went back to MAWSIL. And he dismissed BAR SHAHARZURI from his judgeship, and he appointed to the office 'ABI BAKR, of ARBELA. Because such a splendid victory as this had come to JAWALI, he became puffed up in spirit, [273] and diminished his service to the Sultan, and he did not send to him what he had been wont to send of the spoil which he had captured. For this reason the Sultan GHAYATH AL-DIN MAHAMMAD was offended with him. And he sent against him the Amir MAWDUD, together with other Amirs, and a large army in the year five hundred and two of the ARABS (A.D. 1108). And when JAWALI heard that they were coming to attack him he fortified MAWSIL. And he left in it his wife, who was a sister of BURSUK, one of the Amirs who had come to attack MAWSIL. And he set in order the fighting men on the wall, and he himself left and went forth ostensibly to bring other men to his help, so that he might not be shut up in the city. And he brought out with him also BO'DWIN, a Frankish Count, who was a prisoner with him in MAWSIL. And he stipulated that he should receive for him seventy thousand *dinars*, and that he should set free the Arab prisoners who were with him; and that whenever the occasion called he should come to his assistance with an army of the FRANKS. And he sent him to KAL'AH JA'BAR that he might be there until he had fulfilled his promises.

When BO'DWIN had come out, he sent and brought JOSLIN (JOSCELYN?), his sister's son, and established him as a hostage in his place, and he himself departed to make ready the gold. Then the wife of JAWALI, who had been left in MAWSIL, began to ill-treat the natives of MAWSIL, and to afflict them with heavy taxes. And because of this certain men of the city, that is to say, the workmen who make *gipsin* (i.e. lime for building purposes, which is made by the lime-burners), made themselves masters of one of the towers, and they cried out '[Long] live the great Sultan GHAYATH AL-DIN', and so likewise for the Amir MAWDUD, and those who were with him. And they made themselves masters of MAWSIL. And the wife of JAWALI

went forth to her brother BORSUK. Then JAWALI went to 'ILGHAZI, the lord of NISIBIS and MARDIN, whilst he was in 'ARABAN, a village of the HABUR. And he struggled greatly to come to an agreement with him, but 'ILGHAZI was unwilling to do so, on the contrary, he departed and went up to the fortress of MARDIN.

And JAWALI attacked RAHBUTH, and he made war upon it for seventy days. And he sent and brought JOSCELYN from KAL'AH JA'BAR, and arrayed him in royal apparel, and gave him the horse on which he was riding, and sent him to BO'DWIN, his uncle, that he might hasten the making ready of the gold, and the setting free of the prisoners. And when JOSCELYN went to ANTIOCH, TACRITH (TANCRED?), the king of ANTIOCH, gave him [274] thirty thousand *dinars*, and sent [them] to JAWALI with one hundred Arab prisoners, men and women, from the country of ALEPPO. Then JAWALI, leaving RAHBUTH, went and encamped against CALONICUS, and he made war upon it for many days.

Then the Sultan GHAYATH AL-DIN sent an Amir to him, a man whose name was HUSAIN BAR-'ATABAG, [ordering him] to submit, and to return to MAWSIL to the office which he had held formerly. But he would not obey, and he went and encamped against BALASH; and he captured it and plundered it, and wrought great destruction therein. Then RADWAN, the lord of SYRIA, being defeated by JAWALI, who had laid waste his countries, sent and asked for help from TANCRED, the king of ANTIOCH. And he came to him with fifteen hundred Frankish horsemen, and six hundred Turkish horsemen of the troops of RADWAN. And JAWALI also sent to BO'DWIN and JOSCELYN to come to his assistance. And when they came, the battle was set in array by the side of TELL BASHIR. And the FRANKS and TURKS of RADWAN prevailed over the FRANKS and TURKS of JAWALI, and broke them. And many of the TURKS were killed during the fight; now the FRANKS did not kill FRANKS, but only threw them off their horses. And BO'DWIN and JOSCELYN fled and went to TELL BASHIR, and with them were certain TURKS who were partisans of JAWALI. And when they had treated their wounds with medicines, they sent them to JAWALI. But JAWALI, being defeated, found that he could do nothing except to take refuge again in the mercy of the Sultan.

And having disguised himself, and concealed his name, he, together with a few men, came quickly from SYRIA to KHORASAN—three hundred and sixty parasangs in seventeen days! And when he arrived at the Camp of the Sultan he said unto those who patrolled the roads, 'I, even I, am JAWALI, and I beg you to conduct me, to the tent of the Amir HUSAIN'; it was he who had been sent by the Sultan when he was encamped at RAHBUTH. And HUSAIN took him and conducted him to the Sultan, carrying his cloak (?). And the Sultan had compassion on him and gave him the word of peace, and he entered his service.

Then BAZMISH, having taken the wife of KELEJ 'ARSLAN from MAWSIL and gone to MELITENE, proclaimed king TUGHREL 'ARSLAN, the little son of KELEJ 'ARSLAN. And there was there [275] another Amir whose name was 'ARSLAN, and the mother of the young man made an agreement with him and he killed BAZMISH, and he took her to wife. And as he made the people of MELITENE to endure many evil things in respect of the collecting of gold, the mother of the young man made an agreement with the young man her son, and they seized 'ARSLAN, and shut him up, and it was thought that he had been killed. And after a year they brought him out and sent him to the Sultan GHAYATH AD-DIN in KHORASAN. And the Sultan sent MALIK SHAH, the son of KELEJ 'ARSLAN, to MELITENE, and he was proclaimed king. And he dismissed TUGHREL 'ARSLAN, his younger brother, and shut up in prison his two other brothers, MAS'UD and 'ARAB. And MALIK SHAH, having remained for many years in MELITENE, and being troubled by BAR DANISHMAND, went to ALEXIS, the king of the GREEKS, so that he might help him. And he was received joyfully, and much gold was given to him. And when he went forth BAR DANISHMAND laid an ambush for him, and captured him, and he blinded his eyes. Then the Amirs who were in MELITENE brought out MAS'UD from prison, and proclaimed him Sultan. And MAS'UD left

'ARAB and TUGHREL 'ARSLAN, his brothers, in MELITENE, and he went to ICONIUM and made it the seat of his kingdom.

And in the year fourteen hundred and twenty-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1110) the FRANKS took TRIPOLI from the ARABS, having made war on it for seven years. And after a year TANCRED, the king of ANTIOCH, went forth with a large army of FRANKS, and they captured many fortresses, and took them from the ARABS, and they killed every one they found in them. And they came to MABBUH and they found no one in it. And in BALASH they also found no one, and they set it on fire and burnt it. And they returned to TRIPOLI that they might feed their horses on hay in the springtime and return [later]. And the ARABS, who had been reduced to a state of great fear of the FRANKS, were unable to do anything except to pacify the FRANKS with gold. Therefore REDWAN, the lord of ALEPPO, sent to the Frankish king TANCRED thirty-two thousand *dinars*, and twenty Arab horses, and forty bales of costly stuffs. And the lord of TYRE sent to him seven thousand [276] *dinars*, and the lord of ASCALON four thousand *dinars*, and BAR MUNKED, the lord of SHIRAZ, four thousand *dinars*, and 'ALI the KURD, the lord of HAMATH, two thousand *dinars*. And they made peace, but only until they had reaped the harvest, [when] they were to deliver the crops.

And in this year the JENWAYE (i.e. GENOESE) FRANKS attacked many of the ships of the ARABS which were coming from the cities of TANNIS and DAMIETTA, and they made prisoners of seventy Arab merchants, and they sold them at very high prices. And they took from them four hundred boxes of Egyptian sugar, and fifty loads of bales of Damietta cloth, and other things.

And at that time a certain man who was an ARAB, and a master of Muslim Law, a native of ALEPPO, came to BAGHDAD, weeping, and shrieking out lamentations concerning the error which had prevailed through the FRANKS. And the peoples (or, crowds) gathered together and went into their great Mosque on the Friday, where they smashed the pulpit, that is the rostrum, and stopped the prayer. And they complained bitterly of the Khalifah and the Sultan, because they were not inflamed with zeal for the Faith. Then when the Sultan heard these things, he made ready 'ABU AL-FATH MAS'UD, the son of the Amir MAWDUD, and a great army, and he sent them to MAWSIL so that they might be there ready for war with the FRANKS.

And in the year fourteen hundred and twenty-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1111), the 'ATABAG of the Sultan of MELITENE took the country of the river GIHON from the FRANKS. And in the year five hundred and five of the ARABS (A.D. 1111) the Amir MAWDUD, the lord of MAWSIL, went to SYRIA with a large army. And on his road he captured certain Citadels in the country of SHABAKTAN, and he killed the FRANKS who were in them. And he came and camped against EDESSA for a certain time, but was unable to capture it; and he left it and went to TELL BASHIR, which was in the hands of the FRANKS, and he was unable to capture that also. And having left it and gone to ALEPPO, REDWAN, the lord of ALEPPO, shut the gates in his face. And he left ALEPPO and went to DAMASCUS, and TUGHTAKIN, the Amir, went out and showed him kindness; but subsequently he was afraid of him, lest he should act treacherously, and take possession of DAMASCUS. And TUGHTAKIN sent to the FRANKS and made peace with them, and acted boldly towards MAWDUD (or, treated him with contempt).

In this year GHAZAZ 'ALI, the great teacher [277] of the ARABS, died, and he was buried in TARSUS of CILICIA. This man abused the ARABS greatly in his teachings because they were careful only concerning ablutions and the adornment of the body, and were careless about the purity of the heart from whence sins spring. And he urged them strongly concerning abstinence and poverty, and in his great compilation he brought forward many proofs (or, examples) from the lives and conversations of the [Christian] fathers who lived in the desert; it is for this reason that we make mention of him.

And in the year fourteen hundred and twenty-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1113) the wife of KELEJ 'ARSLAN, the Sultan of MELITENE, sallied forth, and went to BALAK, the lord of the fortress of BULA. For, she said [to him], 'I have on many occasions heard the Sultan praising thee and saying, "Among all the Turkish Amirs there is none so wise or so mighty a man as BALAK", and therefore I wish that I and my sons may be protected by thy name.' And thus she was protected.

And BALAK increased in power greatly, and he became the husband of the wife of the Sultan. And when the Khaton herself returned she drove out the 'ATABAG, and she and her son sat down in the Citadel of MELITENE. And another TURK also, who was ruling over the fortress of ZAID, and was afflicted by BALAK, sold the fortress to the Sultan of MELITENE. And after a little [time] the son of Sultan MAHAMMAD (MAHMUD?) of KHORASAN came, and he took the fortress of ZAID from the Sultan of MELITENE. At this time the natives of MELITENE showed great compassion, and they bought many prisoners from the country of the fortress of ZAID, and from the country of 'ARKA from the TURKS, and set them free.

And in the year five hundred and seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1113), which is the year fourteen hundred and twenty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1114), TANCRED, the lord of ANTIOCH, died, and ROGER reigned after him. And MAWDUD, and the seven thousand horsemen who were with him, met in battle BO'DWIN and JOSCELYN with two thousand foot-soldiers, and the few Frankish horsemen who were with them, by the side of the SEA OF TIBERIAS; and the FRANKS were broken, and thirteen hundred of their foot-soldiers were killed. And then help came to the FRANKS from TRIPOLI with BAR SANJEL, and ROGER, king of ANTIOCH, came and his army. And the FRANKS marched up on a certain mountain which overlooked the ARABS, and both sides remained there for twenty-six [278] days, without encountering each other [in battle]. And from there the FRANKS came down to the river JORDAN. Then the ARABS, who were suffering from the pangs of hunger, for they were far away from their towns, left and went and encamped in the neighbourhood of DAMASCUS. And on the Friday the Amir MAWDUD went into the great Mosque to pray. And when he had finished the prayer, he and the Amir TUGHTAKIN took hold of each other's hands, and gazed earnestly at the marvellous buildings. Then a certain man leaped upon MAWDUD and stabbed him with a knife four times. And having been lifted up and carried to the house of TUGHTAKIN he ended his life. And the slaves of MAWDUD hacked the man who murdered him limb from limb on the spot. And some people have thought that REDWAN, the lord of ALEPPO, sent the ISHMAELITE. And others think that it was TUGHTAKIN himself who incited the murderer, who was one of the evil-doers who were shut up in prison, and that he promised him gifts to do this, because he was afraid for his city by reason of MAWDUD.

And MAWDUD being dead there rose up a captain of the soldiery, the Amir 'AKSENKUR BURSUK and he and fifteen thousand men encamped against EDESSA for two months.

And in the year five hundred and eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1114) the FRANKS were always sallying forth from EDESSA and killing the ARABS. On one occasion they went out and captured eleven ARABS and brought them into the city. And they impaled them on the wall in sight of the TURKS, after they had cut off their hands and their feet. And 'AKSENKUR, being grieved that matters were thus, brought fifty Frankish prisoners and killed them. And the TURKS, being sorely afflicted by hunger, left EDESSA and went to SAMOSATA, over which the wife of KHOGH BASIL, the ARMENIAN, ruled, together with MAR'ASH, KHISHUM, and RA'BAN. The husband of this woman being dead, she ruled over these countries with great wisdom. And she gathered together a large army of horsemen and footmen, and each month she gave twelve gold *dinars* to [each] horseman, and three *dinars* to [each] foot-soldier. Now the Sultan of the ARMENIANS was this kind of man. When the GREEKS (YAWNAYE) prevailed somewhat, and recovered from the ARABS certain of their countries, [279] although they were wholly unable to resist the TURKS, they invaded

their inner countries. And those ARMENIANS who were governed by the GREEKS remained and entrenched themselves strongly in the mountains and in inaccessible places.

Now in CILICIA there were the two brothers, the sons of CONSTANTINE, the son of RUFINUS. And in GARGAR and BETH BULA there were MICHAEL and IOHANNIS. And in KHISHUM, and RA'BAN, and in BETH HESNE, and in KAL'AH RHOMAYA, KHOUGH BASIL, that is 'THIEF WASIL.' And also in the district of SAMOSATA, CONSTANTINE and TABTUG. And in YASTAFOR the sons of SANBIL. These were SYRIANS who had gone forth to KHOUGH BASIL and DHEGHA BASIL, that is YOUNG BASIL, who was the steward of the wife of KHOUGH BASIL. And KHURTIG (KHURDIK?), who was the administrator of this woman. This man was wicked and a hater of the SYRIANS. For he took DAIRA SUMAKTA, near KHISHUM, and gave it to KHRIKORIOS (GREGORIUS?), the Catholicus of the ARMENIANS, and he also made the five monasteries of BETH KENAYA, which is in the mountain of ZABAR, into villages. And the Citadel of 'ARNISH was [originally] a monastery, and KHURTIG drove away the monks and placed therein soldiers and a guard. And he tortured the monks, demanding from them two thousand *dinars*. And TANCRED, the king of ANTIOCH, made war upon KHISHUM for two years, and only with the greatest difficulty was he able to capture it. For KHURTIG was very crafty, and the FRANKS were wholly unable to overpower it until they devised a scheme and gave to him a Frankish woman, in the same way that the PHILISTINES [gave a woman] to SAMSON, and that Frankish woman, whose name was KALAMARI, killed him by poison.

Then when the wife of KHOUGH BASIL saw the Turkish troops who had invaded her country and were laying it waste, she sent to 'AKSENKUR, the Amir of HABURA, and promised him love and help. And he sent to her an envoy, a man whose name was SENKUR DHE-RAZ, that is 'long'. And she sat on the royal throne, and set round about her her young handmaidens arrayed in gorgeous apparel. And when SENKUR entered her presence, she set a throne for him before her, and discoursed craftily with him in humble phrases in ARABIC. And when the TURKS who were with SENKUR were pitching their tents outside the city, she said unto him, 'Command thy men to go into the city. [280] Do not let them pass the night outside [it], for my spies have informed me that the FRANKS are waiting ready to capture them.' And SENKUR in [his] pride paid no attention to her, and would not accept her advice, and seven hundred Frankish horsemen came and captured the TURKS, and only a few of them escaped. And after this she sent SENKUR DHE-RAZ carefully with gifts and presents to 'AKSENKUR, the Amir. And he removed from her country and went to SERUGH, and fought against it for five days, and the troops that were with him ate up its vegetables and crops. And from there he went to SHABAKTAN, and he made a great feast. And there came to him MALIK MAS'UD, the son of the Sultan, who had remained in HARRAN, and he did not cross the EUPHRATES with MAWDUD. And then he made prisoner 'AYAZ, the son of 'ILGHAZI, the son of 'ARTUK, the lord of MARDIN, and he also took the land of MARDIN.

And in this year, which is the year fourteen hundred and twenty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1115), on the twenty-ninth day of the month of the LATTER TESHWIN (NOVEMBER), which is the twenty-ninth day of the sixth month of the ARABS, a terribly violent earthquake took place, and the whole city of MAR'ASH sunk underground and became the tomb of the inhabitants thereof. And very many houses fell down in SAMOSATA. CONSTANTINE, the lord of GARGAR, was present in the town, and he, together with many others, was suffocated in the ruins. And there fell down thirteen towers of the wall of EDESSA; and portions of the wall of HARRAN; and a hundred houses and one-half of the Citadel of BALASH; and two churches of KHISHUM, viz. the church of MAR JOHN, and the church of the Forty Martyrs. And through the care and solicitude of DIONYSIUS, its bishop, they (i.e. the churches) were rebuilt,

And in the year five hundred and nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1115), which is the year fourteen hundred and twenty-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1116), ROGER, the lord of ANTIOCH, burst forth with five hundred

horsemen against 'AKSENKUR, the Amir, between ALEPPO and MU'ARAH. And he and ZANGI, his brother, fled, and they went up on a certain mountain (or, hill). And the FRANKS occupied themselves with the killing of TURKISH soldiers, and with the robbing of the merchants and shopkeepers in the bazars who were with them. And 'AKSENKUR and his brother fled with a very few followers, and the FRANKS pursued them for about a parasang, but did not overtake them. And they returned and made prisoners three thousand TURKS, and they smashed the boxes, and the poles of the tents of the TURKS, and they burnt them, [281] and they burnt all the young children and the feeble old men who were useless for work; and the remainder of the people they carried off with them to ANTIOCH, bound in fetters. And they sent to REDWAN, the lord of Aleppo, because he was their friend, eight fast-running (i.e. trotting) camels, and three horses, and two mules, and two men learned in the Law, and two young TURKS, and the head of 'ABU AL-WAFA, one of the Amirs of the TURKS. And there was great joy in ANTIOCH.

And in the year five hundred and eleven of the ARABS (A.D. 1117) the Sultan GAYATH AD-DIN MAHAMMAD, the son of MALIK SHAH, died in 'ESFAHAN; and there rose up after him his son Sultan MAHMUD. And in this same year also the Khalifah MUSTATHER died in BAGHDAD. And there rose up after him his younger son MUSTARSHID. And in this year also, which is the year fourteen hundred and twenty-nine [of the GREEKS, A.D. 1118], died ALEXIS, the king of the GREEKS, in the month of 'AB (AUGUST). He was a wise and strong man, and by his wisdom he saved CONSTANTINOPLE from the FRANKS. And his son 'IWANI (JOANNES) reigned after him. And his brother, and sister, and mother acted treacherously in respect of him. And having cast out his brother and sister into exile, and tonsured his mother and established her in a nunnery, the kingdom was established for him. And in this year the lord of EGYPT died, and the lord of GAZNAH also. And after a short time ROGER, the lord of ANTIOCH, was killed. Thirteen kings died within two years. Before they died a violent earthquake took place, and the death of the kings followed soon after it.

After MUSTATHER, MUSTARSHID his son [ruled] seventeen years and eight months. When he (began to) reign, he found many jars of wine which were his father's, and he smashed them all and scattered [the fragments]. And he expelled the singing men and singing women from the palace. And in a dream he saw his father, who said unto him, 'Take me out from being near thee, so that I may not take thee to myself'. And trembling he took him out and buried him in another place. And he began to show signs of modesty (or, chastity). And he seized the palace of 'ABU TAHIR, the son of 'AHMAD the treasurer, and he found therein a church and all the furnishing for an altar. And when he was spoken to on the subject, he replied, 'I have a Christian wife, and she hath done this without my knowledge'.

(Continued on Next Page)

Bar Hebraeus'

Chronography

X

The History of the Crusades (continued).

And in the year five hundred and twelve of the ARABS (A.D. 1118), the Amir [282] 'ILGAZI, the son of 'ARTUK, took HARRAN, and he made prisoners of the famous sages who were therein and its judge. And in this year, which is the year fourteen hundred and thirty of the GREEKS (A.D. 1119), although the lord of ALEPPO gave much gold to ROGER, the lord of ANTIOCH, he was able to make peace with him for four months only, viz. until they had reaped the harvest and heaped up the barns. Then ROGER came and encamped against ALEPPO, and the people of ALEPPO took refuge with the Amir 'ILGAZI, the son of 'ARTUK, the lord of MARDIN. And he collected seven thousand TURKS, and came and met the FRANKS in battle, and he broke them, and ROGER the king was himself killed in the fight. And those FRANKS who escaped during the war fled to ANTIOCH. And the TURKS took possession of the country of ANTIOCH and, killed many monks in BLACK MOUNTAIN. And at length BO'DWIN (II, the king of JERUSALEM, heard of it, and he pursued the TURKS. And the Frankish foot-soldiers having destroyed an ambush of the TURKS, king BO'DWIN went back against them, and made an end of them all. And he turned again and pursued 'ILGAZI, and he snatched the loot from the hands of the TURKS, and went to ANTIOCH.

The blessed MAR MICHAEL saith, 'GHAZI, the son of DANISHMAND, broke the FRANKS and slew ROGER'; perhaps the mistake is due to the similarity of the name. And in this year the Sultan of MELITENE subjugated the country of GHIHAN and 'ABLESTIN, and he made himself master of the fortress of KATT'A. And in the month of SHEBHAT (FEBRUARY) of this year the FRANKS took the country of MELITENE, and the TURKS took the country of GARGAR. And the Sultan of MELITENE took the country of KAMAH, and the lord thereof went and took refuge with the GREEKS in TRAPIZON (TREBIZOND), and GABRAS came with him. And the Sultan and BALAK met the GREEKS in battle and conquered them. And GABRAS was captured, and he bought (i.e. ransomed) himself again for thirty thousand *dinars*, and he went to his own country. And 'IWANI (JOANNES), king of CONSTANTINOPLE, took three fortresses from the TURKS. And 'ILGAZI burnt the crops in the country of EDESSA, and he also took the country of ANTIOCH. And TUGHTAKIN, the lord of DAMASCUS, died. And his son sitting in his stead, a certain TURK, whose name was 'ALTUNTASH, leaped upon him and killed him, and he made himself king over DAMASCUS.

And in the year five hundred and fifteen of the ARABS (A.D. 1121), MALIK [283] MAS'UD in MAWSIL rebelled against his brother Sultan MAHMUD, and the Amir ZANGI did not agree with him. And MAS'UD having collected an army met his brother in battle, and the Sultan broke him, and seized him, and bound him with iron fetters. And he gave MAWSIL to an Amir whose name was BURSUKI, together with JAZIRAH, and SHIGHAR (SINJAR), and NISIBIS, and he sent him there.

And at this time the Greek king of CONSTANTINOPLE sent to 'ILGAZI, the son of 'ARTUK, and said, 'Behold, there is a great host of people coming out of the sea to SYRIA, therefore prepare to fight them. And behold, I can help thee with thirty thousand [men] if thou hast need [of them].' Then 'ILGAZI made haste and went and seized the harbours, and they killed many FRANKS, and the rest returned to FRANK-LAND. And

this took place through the treacherous GREEKS. And at this time the ARMENIANS of GARGAR were secretly laying waste the country of the Citadels of ZAID, and of BULA, and of MELITENE. And BALAK, the Turkish Amir, sent to MICHAEL, the ARMENIAN, the lord of GARGAR, [a message], saying that he would give him every year one thousand loads of wheat, and three villages in his country, if he would restrain his thieves. And MICHAEL swore oaths to BALAK several times, but he did not stand on (i.e. observe) his oaths; on the contrary, the wheat was sent to him and his thieves burnt the villages in HANZIT. Then BALAK devised a plan, and in the month of SHEBHAT (FEBRUARY), when the mountains were covered with heaps of snow, he crossed over the ice of the EUPHRATES to GUBOS. And he made one thousand unharnessed horses to take a straight path over the high mountain which is called 'KERYONA' and the snow was trodden flat. And the armies of the TURKS crossed the mountain, and one day they arrived before the monastery of MAR BAR SAWMA. And during the night they crossed the mountain which is called 'ESETHA'. And in the morning he burst out on the wretched country and took it on the second day of the week, at the beginning of the month of the LATTER KANON (JANUARY), in the year fourteen hundred and thirty-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1121), and he seized the people, and the cattle, and everything and went forth. And the Amir behaved most mercifully towards the soldiers (or, peasants) who were Christians, and he did not make them slaves, but he settled them in the country of HANZIT and gave them everything which belonged to them. And he made them to swear that they would not go back to GARGAR, and if they did so a second time, when he came in he would not spare them.

And in the year [284] fourteen hundred and thirty-three [of the GREEKS] (A.D. 1122), the Sultan MAHMUD sent a great army to the country of the IBERIANS, and when the TURKS went in the king of the IBERIANS shut the fortifications and destroyed many of them. And JOSCELYN the FRANK took the country of GUBOS. And in the year five hundred and sixteen of the ARABS (A.D. 1122), 'ILGAZI, the son of 'ARTUK, died. And JOSCELYN, his wife having died, took a second wife, the daughter of ROGER, the lord of ANTIOCH, and he wished to take her to EDESSA. BALAK, however, laid an ambush for her, and he took her and carried her to BULA. MICHAEL, the ARMENIAN, being defeated by the TURKS, gave GARGAR to king BO'DWIN, and took a town in his country.

And in the year five hundred and seventeen [of the ARABS] (A.D. 1123), BAR-SHAHARZURI, the Judge of MAWSIL, came to BAGHDAD, and he presented to the Khalifah five thousand *dinars*, and he took possession of all the country on the west of the TIGRIS, from MAWSIL to BASRA. And in the year fourteen hundred and thirty-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1123), whilst the FRANKS were encamped on the river SANGA, there burst upon them troops from an ambush laid by BALAK the TURKISH Amir. And they smote the camp of the FRANKS and captured king BO'DWIN on the fourth day of the Week of White Apparel. Then Counts JOSCELYN and GALERAN made ready during the whole summer to meet the TURKS in battle, and when they did so in the month of ILUL (SEPTEMBER), the FRANKS were broken, and JOSCELYN and GALERAN were made prisoners at dawn of the day of the Festival of the Cross. And BALAK shut the three of them up together in a cave in the fortress of ZAID.

Then the Armenian workmen who were in the city, knowing that there were very few soldiers in the fortress, gathered together at the gate [of the city], and when grumbling about their pay, they leaped up suddenly and seized the swords that were there, and killed the Turkish guards. And they ran towards the cave, and they brought out king BO'DWIN, and JOSCELYN, and GALERAN. And they killed the ARABS, and they reigned over the fortress of ZAID, that is KHARTABERT (or, KHARAT-BARAT). And JOSCELYN made a plan, and he went out during the night with an Armenian, to go and fetch the army of the FRANKS, so that if it were possible they might guard the fortress, and if not they would take it for the king.

And JOSCELYN having gone forth, [285] BALAK came and set up engines of war against the fortress and captured it. And he killed seventy FRANKS and ARMENIANS, and he took BO'DWIN, the king, and

GALERAN, his sister's son, and he went and encamped at MABBUUGH. And whilst he was fighting against it, he was shot by an arrow from the wall and he died. And his troops fled to ALEPPO, and they set up as chief over them his uncle's son whose name was TIMURTASH. And he ransomed the king and his sister's son for one hundred thousand *dinars*, and BO'DWIN the king returned to JERUSALEM. And SULAIMAN—of the family of BALAK—took the fortress of ZAID, and the Sultan of MELITENE took MASARA and GARGAR. And a great star appeared, the length thereof was from south to north, and the width thereof was like the neck of a horse; and it was visible for two months.

And in the year fourteen hundred and thirty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1124), on the thirteenth day of the month of HAZIRAN (JUNE), on Friday, the Amir GAZI, the son of DANISHMAND, the lord of SEBASTIA, burst forth against MELITENE; and he took the whole country and afflicted the city for one month. Then in the great village of SAMAN he left his son MAHAMMAD, with a large army, and he commanded them to attack as far as the gates every day, and not to allow any man to go in or to come out. Now 'ARAB, because he was always sallying out spoiling the country of DANISHMAND after the manner of a brigand, was not present in the city. Then the city was stricken sorely with cruel famine, for a *kepiza* that is to say an ass's load, of wheat was sold for thirty-six gold *dinars*. Finally, all food of every sort and kind came to an end, and men began to steep worn-out leathers in water, and the bindings of books and shoes (or, sandals) and stew them and eat them. As for cats and dogs and even a dead donkey, where were they to be found? Now the city, which was to be compassionated, was smitten with three bitter blows. From the outside by the sword, which destroyed every one who fled, and from the inside, by the famine which put an end to every one, and by the mother of the Sultan, a second JEZEBEL, the woman who was saved from MAWSIL. She tortured the sons of free men for gold, so that she might plunder [them] and flee. She was prepared to kill the whole population and then to go forth. And stars appeared which fell from heaven.

Then the Lord had mercy [286] on the remnant of the Christians, and at dawn on the fourth day of the week, on the tenth day of the month of the FIRST KANON (DECEMBER), in the year fourteen hundred and thirty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1125), that accursed woman and her son went forth, and GAZI, the Amir, came in. And when he saw those who had been left by the famine, [who looked] as if they had come forth from the tombs, he comforted them. And he gave the peasants wheat to sow, and he brought herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, and the city began to be prosperous [again]. And the blessed MAR MICHAEL saith concerning this year, that the Khalifah MUSTATHER died, and his son MUSTARSHID rose up (i.e. succeeded); and it is possible that he made a mistake because of the inequality in the course of the lunar years of the ARADS, and the solar years of the GREEKS.

And in the year fourteen hundred and thirty-seven [of the GREEKS, A.D. 1126], the lord of HAMATH was killed by the FRANKS at KEFAR TAB. And the FRANKS took GABALA, and besieged TYRE until ships of the VENETIAN FRANKS arrived. And the king of JERUSALEM also came to their help, and after a fierce war they took it. And MALIK 'ARAB collected an army and attacked his brother MAS'UD, the Sultan of ICONIUM, because he had made an agreement with DANISHMAND. Then MAS'UD fled to CONSTANTINOPLE, and he was received joyfully by 'IWANI, the king of the GREEKS. And he gave him an army, and much gold, and he went forth and came to GHAZI, and the two of them attacked MALIK 'ARAB. Then 'ARAB fled to TOROS (THEODORUS?), the ARMENIAN, the governor of CILICIA.

In this year, which is the year five hundred and twenty of the ARABS (A.D. 1126), ten ISHMAELITES leaped upon 'AKSENKUR BURSUK, the Amir of MAWSIL, in the great old mosque in MAWSIL, and with his own hands he killed three of them and then was himself killed. And there ruled in his stead 'AZ AD-DIN MAS'UD his son, over MAWSIL, and the island of KARDU, and BETH NAHRIN, and HAMATH, and other places. And living for one year he died, and his younger brother rose up, and the Amir JAWALI, who was a Turkish Amir, and was one of the slaves of his father BURSUKI, became his administrator.

And JAWALI sent the Kadi of MAWSIL, who was 'ABU AL-HASAN 'ALI, the son of SHAHARZURI, and SALAH YAGUBSANI, as ambassadors to BAGHDAD, to the Sultan, in order to confirm the dominion of the younger son of BURSUKI. And when they went they said unto the Sultan, 'MAWSIL hath need of a warlike man [287] who is able to stand up against the FRANKS, for behold they make the whole Arab people to tremble'. And they hinted at 'ATABAG ZANGI, the son of KASIM AD-DAWLAH 'AKSENKUR, who was the governor of WASIT and BAGHDAD. The Sultan agreed, and he gave a Patent of Authority to ZANGI and sent him to MAWSIL, and he went. First of all he took possession of BAWAZIGH (BETH WAZIK), and from there he went to MAWSIL. And JAWALI sallied out to meet him; he gave him RAHBUTH and sent him there. And ZANGI went to MAWSIL, and he gave the governorship of the fortress to SALAH YAGUBSANI, and the judgeship of MAWSIL and of all the country over which he was master to the son of SHAHARZARI, to him and his seed for ever. And ZANGI took JAZIRAH, and ARBIL, and SHIGHAR, and RAHBUTH, and ALEPPO, and HAMATH, and EMESA.

And in the year fourteen hundred and thirty-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 1127), GAZI and 'ARAB met again in battle, and 'ARAB was conquered. And GAZI pursued him and looted his tents. And he went and encamped against KUMANA and ANCYRA, and he fought against them violently and took them, and he brought out his son MAHAMMAD, who had been shut up therein by MALIK 'ARAB. And 'ARAB again collected an army, and met GAZI in battle, and he was conquered; And as he was fleeing to the GREEKS he perished (or, was lost), and no news of him went forth.

And in the year fourteen hundred and thirty-eight (A.D. 1127), BOHAIMOND, the son of BOHAIMOND, went forth from RHOMI, and he came and reigned over ANTIOCH. And dissension (or, strife) fell among the FRANKS, and JOSCELYN took the whole country of ANTIOCH. Then their Patriarch was wroth, and he shut the doors of the churches, and he stopped the ringers of bells and prayers until JOSCELYN gave back the whole of the spoil.

And in the year fourteen hundred and thirty-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 1128), when the fear of JOSCELYN fell upon the ARABS of ALEPPO, they undertook to give him each year twelve thousand *dinars*, and he was not to oppress them. Then the TURKS of ALEPPO bribed the Frankish cooks of JOSCELYN with gold, and they made him and the six horsemen who were with him to drink deadly poison; the six horsemen died, but by God's providence and the treatment of the physicians, JOSCELYN was saved, and he killed those who had given him the poison and their sons. And in [that] year TUGHREL 'ARSLAN, from whom MELITENE had been taken, [288] invaded the country of MELITENE; and he took some of the outer frontiers and departed, and was not seen again.

And in the year fourteen hundred and forty (of the GREEKS, A.D. 1129] JOSCELYN went to the country of 'AMID, and he plundered the TURCOMANS and the KURDS who were in the mountain of 'ASHOMA, and he looted the villages up to the gate of the city.

And in the year five hundred and twenty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1128), when ZANGI, the Amir of MAWSIL, heard that the Sultan wished to give MAWSIL to DUBAIS, he came to BABYLON to the Sultan, and behaved towards him with humility; and he offered one hundred thousand *dinars* to the Sultan and entreated him not to supersede him. And similarly he offered many gifts to the Khalifah so that he might not permit DUBAIS to have dominion over any place (i.e. town) whatsoever.

Now we are not equal to recording the many wars which took place between the Khalifah and this DUBAIS, the king of the MA'DAYE (NOMADS), and how DUBAIS clung to the Sultan and vexed the Khalifah, and how he came to BAGHDAD; and how he began to ride, and to go in and to come out fearlessly, and to show that he did not tremble before the Khalifah; and how after a little, when the Sultan was sick, DUBAIS

kidnapped the youngest son of the Sultan and fled; and how he took KUFAR, and BASRA, and HILLAH; and how he collected much gold; and how he had with him ten thousand horsemen; and how he took them and went into the desert; and the rest of his cunning devices, because this brief summary will not permit of it, It is related that during one of the fights which took place between DUBAIS and the Khalifah, when DUBAIS was defeated, he alone escaped while all his companions fell by the sword. And as he was crossing the EUPHRATES by the swimming of his horse, a certain old nomad woman saw him, and she said unto him boldly, 'Dubair (that is to say, unlucky one), hast thou come?' But he was not angry, and he replied to her pleasantly, saying, 'Dubair (that is to say, unlucky one) is he who cometh not'.

And in this year the FRANKS met the ISHMAELITES in battle, and they broke about ten thousand of them, and they made themselves masters also over very many fortresses which they had in PHOENICIA. And all the ARABS who were in SYRIA trembled before the FRANKS. And they went and encamped against DAMASCUS and besieged it closely. And having decreed that the DAMASCENES were to pay as yearly tribute twenty thousand *dinars*, they left them (289) and departed. And at this time the FRANKS were masters of the country from MARDIN and SHABAKTAN to 'ARISH, which is on the border of EGYPT. And in all SYRIA there remained to the ARABS nothing except ALEPPO, and HAMATH, and EMESA, and DAMASCUS, which paid tribute. For from the country of ALEPPO they took one-half of the crops, and they went so far as to take it from the mill which is by the gate of ALEPPO and is called 'Gate of the Gardens'. And they sent envoys to all the Christian slaves who were in DAMASCUS, and counted [them], and they took him that did not wish to dwell with the ARABS from his masters without (paying) the price [of him]. And their chiefs came as far as 'AMID, and NISIBIS, and RAS 'AIN, and the people of CALONICUS and HARRAN were reduced through them to complete helplessness, and only with the greatest difficulty were the ARABS able to travel by the desert road from the east to DAMASCUS.

And in the year fourteen hundred and forty-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1130), TOROS, the governor of CILICIA, died, and LEON his brother rose up after him. And BOHAIMOND the FRANK, the lord of ANTIOCH, quarrelled with him. And on the eighth day of the month 'ADHAR (MARCH) of this year, which is the year five hundred and twenty-four of the ARABS (A.D. 1129), there was a violent earthquake in BAGHDAD, and many houses were reduced to ruins. And in MAWSIL a great cloud rose up, and there were torrents of rain; then coals of fire came down out of the air to the earth, and it burnt up many houses with their furniture. And this was a frightening and terrifying sign. And in this year the satrap of the GREEKS, whose name was CASIANUS, went out to the Amir, GAZI, the son of DANISHMAND and transferred to him many fortresses in the country of PONTUS, and he ruled over all CAPPADOCIA. And he collected many troops and went into CILICIA to plunder it. And it happened that in the same day BOHAIMOND, the lord of ANTIOCH, went in there from another side, and neither knew of the presence of the other. And straightway the TURKS and the FRANKS met each other in battle. And LEON the ARMENIAN evaded a fight with them both. Now the TURKS conquered the FRANKS, and they killed BOHAIMOND, because they did not know that he was the king. Then LEON shut the fortifications against the TURKS and destroyed many of them.

And in the year five hundred and twenty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1130), the lord of DAMASCUS took prisoner DUBAIS, the MA'DAYA (i.e. nomad ARAB), and gave him to ZANGI, [290] the lord of MAWSIL, and he took his son who was a prisoner with ZANGI.

And in this year, which is the year fourteen hundred and forty-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1131), the king of JERUSALEM and JOSCELYN came from JERUSALEM to ANTIOCH to reign over it. But the people of ANTIOCH shut their gates in their faces, until they swore that ANTIOCH should be kept for the daughter of BOHAIMOND, until she grew up and could be married to a man who should be lord of ANTIOCH. And the Amir GAZI, the son of DANISHMAND, invaded CILICIA, and captured fortresses. Then LEON the

ARMENIAN humbled himself before him, and swore that he would never again send raiders to his country, and that he would give him tribute each year. And when he had gone forth LEON lied and gave him nothing. And ISACIUS (?), the brother of the king of the GREEKS, went to LEON in CILICIA, and gave him his daughter to wife, and MASISTA(MOPSUESTIA) and 'ADANA [as] a dowry. And afterwards strife took place between them, and ISACIUS (?) and his son fled to MAS'UD, the Sultan of ICONIUM.

And JOSCELYN died, and JOSCELYN II reigned over EDESSA. And in this year when Sultan MAHMUD went forth from BAGHDAD to go to KHORASAN, MAS'UD his brother came to him, and humbled himself before him, and he carried before him a *ghashyah*, that is the covering of a saddle. And they embraced each other, and Sultan MAHMUD transferred to him countries and troops (or, armies). And he himself went to HAMADAN, and there he died, being eight-and-twenty years old. Then there quarrelled together DAWUD, the son of Sultan MAHMUD, and the two brothers of MAHMUD, MAS'UD and SALJUK SHAH, the sons of MAHMUD, and TOGHREL their brother, who was with MALIK SENJAR, their uncle. And they sent to the Khalifah, and each one of them asked for the Sultanate on his own behalf. Now the Khalifah approved of SENJAR at the beginning, and sent to the others saying, 'He who wisheth for MALIK SENJAR, the son of MALIK SHAH, and to whom he giveth a writing of agreement, let him come to me and he shall be received'. And to SENJAR he sent saying, 'Besides thyself we seek no other; therefore do not permit one of these two to rule. When MAS'UD heard the answer of the Khalifah he came to ZANGI in MAWSIL, and he asked him [291] for gold and help to make war on the Khalifah. And he also asked for DUBAIS, the Amir of the MA'DAYE, that he might carry him to the Khalifah and heap benefits upon him. Then ZANGI replied, 'Gold I can give unto thee, fifty thousand *dinars*, and as many slaves and handmaidens and horses as thou pleasest, but DUBAIS I cannot give thee, because an order of the Sultan SENJAR hath reached me, saying, Thou shalt deliver him up to no man, and I cannot transgress his command'.

Then MAS'UD being offended, crossed [the TIGRIS] and encamped in the western suburbs of MAWSIL. And ZANGI shut the gates of the city, and he expelled all the poor folk who were unable to live under restraint, and he entrenched himself strongly in the fortress of MAWSIL. MAS'UD did not make war on MAWSIL, but went down to BAGHDAD. And MALIK MAS'UD sent to the Khalifah, saying, 'If thou wilt proclaim me, behold I am your friend and subject; and if thou wilt not, I have nothing except the sword for you'. And the armies of BAGHDAD went out and met the armies of MAS'UD in battle, and they broke and were broken. And whilst they were struggling, the reports of SENJAR arrived, saying: 'he hath arrived in BAGHDAD with armies'; and the people of BAGHDAD were afraid. And the Khalifah saw that he was more able to subjugate MAS'UD than SENJAR, and he gave the word of peace to MAS'UD, and brought him in and made him lodge in the royal house; and every one made ready for war against SENJAR.

And in the year five hundred and twenty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1131) SENJAR came and took HAMADAN, and he proclaimed therein TUGHREL, the son of MAHMUD, who was with him. Then MAS'UD KARAJA, the captain of the host of the Khalifah, went to HAMADAN, and he pursued the troops of SENJAR. And they sent to the Khalifah, saying that he himself in person should go to the war against SENJAR. And when he was ready and had gone out, there arrived the report that ZANGI and DUBAIS, the MA'DAYA, have made a covenant with each other, and behold they are coming down to BAGHDAD. For this reason the Khalifah turned back and went into his quarter, and he prepared for the war with DUBAIS and ZANGI. And he went out and met them in battle with two thousand men, and he conquered them. And ZANGI fled to TAGRITH, and DUBAIS to the banks of the EUPHRATES. And ZANGI sent as an envoy to the Khalifah, the Judge, the son of SHAHARZURI, and asked forgiveness. And he asked for authority to come to [292] BAGHDAD, and to be therein the governor from the quarter of SENJAR. Then the Khalifah replied, 'We have no sovereignty in respect to SENJAR, and we do not receive (i.e. acknowledge) its governor. If ZANGI wisheth for peace from us, let him deliver DUBAIS to us, and he shall dwell in MAWSIL in peace. If he will not, behold we are going against him.'

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

The History of the Crusades (continued).

And in the year five hundred and twenty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1132) Sultan MAS'UD invaded BAGHDAD. And he was proclaimed, after the Khalifah and his son, SENJAR, then MAS'UD, and then DAWUD his brother; the three of these Sultans were proclaimed at one time. And the Khalifah MUSTARSHID went against MAWSIL, and he invested it for eighty days, but was unable to capture it. And the report came to him that Sultan MAS'UD had rebelled against him, and he left MAWSIL and returned to BAGHDAD.

And JOSCELYN II took the fortress in SHABAKTAN, and he uprooted it utterly. And 'IWANI (JONNES), the king of the GREEKS, went forth and took the fortress of KASTAMUNA from the TURKS peaceably, and he took also two other fortresses by fighting and destroyed them. And BO'DWIN, the Frankish king of JERUSALEM, took by fighting the fortress of KUSAIR, which is by the side of ANTIOCH, and he went to IAM, and there the TURKS were gathered together against the FRANKS as [numerous as the] locusts. And at first the FRANKS fled before the TURKS until they drew them out to the plain. Then they came down and asked each other's pardon; and [the FRANKS] turned back upon the TURKS, and made a great slaughter of them until the evening. These things took place in the year fourteen hundred and forty-five of YAWAN (A.D. 1134).

In this year the locusts came in great swarms in the country of EDESSA. And the Christians took asylum with the chosen man MAR BAR SAWMA, and they sent and brought the coffin wherein was the right hand of the saint. And with its arrival a miracle took place, and the locusts removed themselves without having done any harm whatsoever in any part of the country. Then the GREEKS, who were burning with jealousy, stirred up PAPYAS, the Metropolitan of the FRANKS, to open the coffin so that the right hand might be visible. And when the monks were unwilling to do this, the GREEKS burst out laughing [293] and said, 'They have nothing in the coffin'. And the monks being thus forced to do so, opened the coffin in the church of the FRANKS. Then suddenly there was a terrifying peal of thunder, and dark clouds obscured the sky, and heavy hailstones smote the ground, and the bazars were filled therewith. And all the people began crying out, *Kuryalaison*, i.e. 'Have mercy upon us, O chosen one of God'. Then the GREEKS fled and hid themselves. And when the hail ceased, all the people gathered together, and made prayer for three days,

And when the ARABS of HARRAN saw the miracle, they asked [the monks] that the right hand might go to them, but the FRANKS would not allow this, and they sent it back to the monastery with honour. And the natives of MELITENE came and carried the right hand to their city with services of prayer and hymns. And at the same time the mouth of the locust was fettered, and he did no harm at all to the crops.

And on the twenty-third day of the month of ILUL (SEPTEMBER) the lightning burnt seven oxen and one young man, and in SIMNADU it burnt one TURK. And a severe earthquake took place in ARMENIA and the city of DOGODAP fell. And there was a hard winter in MELITENE and red snow fell.

And in the year fourteen hundred and forty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1135) there went forth from ITALY a FRANK whose name was BEDEWI (RAYMOND of POIOTIERS?), and he took to wife the daughter of BOHAIMOND, the lord of ANTIOCH, who was killed, and he reigned over ANTI0CH. And in the year BO'DWIN II the king of JERUSALEM died, and he took to wife the daughter of a man whose name was FUG (FOLK = FOULQUES?), and he reigned over JERUSALEM.

And in the year which is the year five hundred and twenty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1134), ZANGI, the lord of MAWSIL, sent his son to BAGHDAD, and with him the keys of MAWSIL, and also some of his wives as hostages. And he swore oaths of fealty and promised submission, and he was received with honour. And the Khalifah also made friends with Sultan SENJAR, and sent him a crown and a collar and a horse which was shod with shoes of gold. And SENJAR rose up and kissed the hoofs of the horse, and said, 'I am a slave and a subject'. At this time the Catholicus of the NESTORIANS who was called 'BAR GABBARA', on going out one night into the garden, trod upon a snake, and [the reptile] bit him and he died. And some people say that he was not bitten at all, but that he died of fright. And in the year the Khalifah sent to GHAZI, the Amir, the son of DANISHMAND, [294] the lord of MELITENE, a collar of gold for his neck, a sign of subjection, and a staff of gold, and four black flags, and drums which were to be beaten before him. And GHAZI was proclaimed Malik. And when the envoys arrived they found him sick, and after some days he died. Then they fulfilled [the ceremonies] for his son MAHAMMAD, and went away.

Then this Malik MAHAMMAD restored CAESARAEA of CAPPADOCIA, which had been destroyed for a long time, and there he dwelt. And he came to MELITENE because he was afraid lest [the people] would give help to his brother, and he took with him hostages, the sons of free men, and he departed. He met YAGHAN his brother and killed him. Another brother, DAWLATH, he carried off to the country of MELITENE.

And in the seventh month of this year the Khalifah stopped the proclamation of Sultan MAS'UD. And he collected troops, seven thousand men, to make war upon him, because he heard that he had only fifteen hundred men with him. At that time there were five thousand with the Khalifah, and with MAS'UD there were fifteen thousand. And they met each other in battle, and the side of the Khalifah was broken, and the Khalifah himself, MUSTARSHID, was taken prisoner; and the treasure that was with him was looted. And there were with him seventy mule loads of gold and silver, and five thousand camel loads, and four hundred mule loads of bales of cloth, and apparel, and supplies for the road. It is said that there were with him more than forty thousand turbans and head coverings, and sewed tunics with sleeves. Then MAS'UD commanded the heralds to proclaim [to the soldiers], 'The goods and all the wealth are yours, and the blood is mine. Whosoever killeth a man, I will kill him on behalf of him that he has killed.' Therefore, with the exception of five souls, no man was killed. And he also caused to be proclaimed, 'Every man who was among the adherents of the Khalifah and who remaineth here, assuredly I will kill'. Then the men of BAGHDAD crushed each other, and without sandals and naked, they fled to the right hand and to the left.

And the Sultan MAS'UD sent his governor to BAGHDAD, and told the Khalifah that he must write [and send] with him a letter containing a Confession of the Faith for BAGHDAD, and that he was [held] in honour by MAS'UD, and that behold he would come to them quickly. Now when the governor went and took the letter, the men of BAGHDAD knew that [295] the Khalifah had written such things as these unwillingly and through fear. And a great tumult broke out, and about one hundred and fifty of the mob were killed; and [the people] only became quiet with difficulty.

And in those days frequent earthquakes began to take place in BAGHDAD, five or six times each day. Then Sultan SENJAR sent an envoy to Sultan MAS'UD, and with him were two letters. One was a secret letter in which he reviled MAS'UD and made a mock of him, and [asking him] 'Why didst thou not kill the Khalifah

during the confusion of the war?' And the other letter was an open one in which he said unto him, 'At the time when thou art reading these lines, [my] son GHAYATH AD-DUNYA WA-AD-DIN MAS'UD, thou shalt go in to the Amir of the Faithful, and thou shalt kiss the ground before him, and shalt ask for forgiveness of thy folly. Because I cannot endure the signs (or, portents) of the heavens and the earth, which God is making because of this, [viz.] storm winds, and thunders, and lightnings and quakings of the earth. And behold to all the Arab peoples there is the suffering of the Evil One. Prayers have ceased, the gates of the Mosques are closed in all PERSIA and SEN'AR. Therefore without pretext and excuse send him with honour to his throne, and deliver DUBAIS that he may work out his will on him, for he himself is the cause of all these evils.'

When MAS'UD understood these [words], he gave orders and they pitched the great tents, and he made the Khalifah to sit in them, and he carried the saddle cloth before him about half a parasang, and he made him to encamp in the great royal tent, and he asked for the forgiveness of his folly. And he brought DUBAIS before him bound with fetters, and there were with him a sword and burial equipment, and he said, 'He hath done everything. And behold I deliver him over into thy hands; command thou that there shall be done unto him according as he hath done.' The Khalifah knowing that he said these things with his lips only, and not from his heart, extended forgiveness to DUBAIS also. Then MAS'UD began to urge the Khalifah to go to BAGHDAD, but the Khalifah excused himself, saying, 'I will not go unless thou wilt go with me in person', And MAS'UD said, 'I will send with thee Amirs who shall be in thy service, and thou shalt go with honour and shall dwell in thy palace'. But the Khalifah was unwilling [to go], for he was afraid that they would lay an ambush for him on the road, and would kill him treacherously, because they could not kill [296] openly the head of their Faith.

Then MAS'UD made his way direct to 'ADHORBIJAN to make war upon DAWUD, his brother's son, and he took the Khalifah with him. And again SENJAR sent envoys to MAS'UD whilst he himself was encamped at the gate of the city of MARAGHA, and he urged him to send the Khalifah to BAGHDAD without delay. And there also came many troops from SENJAR, and with them were seventeen ISHMAELITES. And on the fifth day [of the week], at noon on the sixteenth day of the eleventh month of the year five hundred and twenty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1134); whilst he was sitting reading their Book inside the tent, fifteen men rushed in upon him with knives in their hands, and they killed him, and with him were three other men from among his nobles. Then MAS'UD rode away and closed the tents, and they killed those who had killed him. Some say that SENJAR did not know [about] the ISHMAELITES, but the truth is that it was he himself who sent them. But MAS'UD did not know.

After MUSTARSHID his son RASHID [ruled] one year. The Khalifah MUSTARSHID having been killed, Sultan SENJAR sent to the governor of BAGHDAD, and ordered that the nobles, and judges should be gathered together, and that they should swear fealty to RASHID, the son of the Khalifah MUSTARSHID, and seat him in the place of his father. And thus they did. And at [this] time DUBAIS, the son of SADAKAH, acted treacherously in respect of Sultan MAS'UD, and he wrote a letter to ZANGI and said, 'Behold, I am scheming to go forth from the presence of this man, and I will come to thee, and will gather together armies of the MADAYE, [in number] like the sand on the sea shore,' (and the two of them made a covenant) 'and we will do to MAS'UD what will be had in remembrance by the generations to come.'

Now this letter fell into the hands of someone who brought it to MAS'UD. Then one day when the nobles were gathered together about MAS'UD, and he had given them sweet water to drink, according to custom, they rose up to go out. And the Sultan made a sign to DUBAIS, saying, 'Remain, for I have a secret matter [to discuss] with thee'. And when the others had gone out, and DUBAIS remained, MAS'UD rose up and went into the inner part of the chamber. And he gave a letter to an ARMENIAN slave who carried a sword, and he said unto him, 'Go forth and take [this letter] to DUBAIS, and when he beginneth to read it, do thou smite him from behind [297]' and cut off his head'. Now when the slave went out he found DUBAIS prodding the

earth with his finger and saying, 'Death is better than life without rest'. And the slave handed out to him the letter, and when he had taken it and opened it and was beginning to read [it], the slave smote him from behind on his neck and cut off his head. This was the end of DUBAIS, the cunning, warlike man. He was killed thirty-five days after the murder of MUSTARSHID the Khalifah, his enemy.

And in the year five hundred and thirty of the ARABS (A.D. 1135), which is the year fourteen hundred and forty-seven of the GREEKS [A.D. 1136], MICHAEL the ARMENIAN, who in the days of BALAK had sold the fortress of GARGAR to the FRANKS and had evacuated it, came back and stole it from them. And he fought with them and robbed their villages. One day the TURKS caught MICHAEL the ARMENIAN in the district of the village of ZIZONA, which is on the banks of the EUPHRATES. And as they had surrounded him on all sides he was unable to escape and he cast himself from a rock into the river. And as he was wearing a coat of iron mail he sank to the bottom of the waters; but he rose again, and through the ferry (?) which was there he escaped, and did not die. It is said that he did not even throw away the shield which was in his hand. Then he gave GARGAR to JOSCELYN II and he took from him the place which is called SOPROS. And JOSCELYN sold GARGAR to BASIL, the brother of the Catholicus of the ARMENIANS.

And MICHAEL collected an army and went and took the country of KHISHUM. And the FRANKS laid an ambush for him and killed him. And DEGHA BASIL went to LEON in CILICIA and became his son-in-law. And he collected ARMENIANS and came to make war on the FRANKS who were in KEPHAR-ZAMAN, and many of the ARMENIANS were killed. In this year, in the month of the LATTER KANON (JANUARY), there was such a hard frost that the birds of the mountains, partridges and such-like, and also the wild beasts of the desert, oryxes and such-like, fled [from their nests and dens] and came into the towns, and especially into the city of 'AMID. And the governor commanded that no man should harm them, and the people gave them food until the month of NISAN (APRIL), and then he drove them out. It is said that before the frost came, from [the time of] autumn, the birds and the beasts began to go into caves, and this sheweth [298] that God hath implanted in irrational creatures a knowledge as to what kind of weather is about to come before the changes take place.

And in this year Sultan MAS'UD sent to the Khalifah RASHID and demanded from him the three hundred thousand *dinars* which his father MUSTARSHID had promised him when he was with him, and also the three hundred thousand *dinars* which, he said, 'he had collected for me as assistance from the people of BAGHDAD', and send me also the sum which, according to custom, is due to me [as beginning] a new Khalifate'. Then the Khalifah collected his nobles and took counsel with them, saying, 'What reply shall we make?' And they advised [him] saying, 'We will gather together troops and meet the TURKS (?) in battle'; and he accepted their advice. And he opened up his treasuries, and brought out much gold, and enlisted very many soldiers. And he sent to the envoy of MAS'UD and said unto him, 'The gold which my father promised was intended [to pay] for his saving (or, deliverance) from you. And ye killed him, and I am ready to take vengeance for him on you. There is nothing for you with me except the sword.' When the envoy heard these things he left and fled. And the Khalifah devoted zealous care to the building of the wall and towers.

And in those days ZANGI, the lord of MAWSIL, came to the assistance of the Khalifah, and DAWUD, the son of the brother of Sultan MAS'UD, also came. And the Sultan wished to stop the proclaiming of MAS'UD and to proclaim DAWUD. But ZANGI did not wish [it] and he said, 'Ye shall not traffic much with MAS'UD'. And they replied to this young man, 'Go and fight thine uncle. If thou conquerest and art confirmed we will proclaim thee.' But the Khalifah did not accept this, and he suppressed the name MAS'UD, and proclaimed DAWUD Sultan.

Then MAS'UD sent to the Khalifah and said unto him, 'We have no longer any need of thee. Behold, we will set up a suitable Khalifah of the family of 'ALI. Do thou then look out for another place for thyself, and get

thee gone and depart whithersoever thou wishest.' Then was the Khalifah agitated, and he sent to BAHRUZ, the Amir of TAGRITH, and asked him to let him go to him, and make himself safe in the fortress of TAGRITH. And BAHRUZ replied, 'I myself am a servant of MAS'UD, and if he should demand, thee of me I should be unable to stop him'. Then the Khalifah was compelled to prepare for the war of MAS'UD, and he brought his tents outside BAGHDAD, and with him were ZANGI and the rest of the nobles. Then arrived the report, [299] 'MAS'UD hath arrived with a great army'. Then ZANGI spake with the nobles and said, 'Ye know what happened to MUSTARSHID because of the dissension of his nobles, and that neither he nor they obtained any benefit. Therefore if your object (or, intention) is honest (or, upright), and ye are ready to make war on Sultan MAS'UD willingly, tell me so that I may know; and if not why meet him in battle and be plundered and broken? Get you gone, every man to his country, keeping for yourselves the property which is yours.' And although the mouths of all of them were silent, and they made no reply, but each one of them was looking, ZANGI knew that they were traitors, and he told the Khalifah [so]. And they all stood up again and went into the city, and they pitched their tents within the wall. Then ZANGI departed immediately and went to MAWSIL. And the Khalifah also seeing him depart was unable to restrain himself, and he fled with ZANGI to MAWSIL.

Then Sultan MAS'UD went into BAGHDAD, and he treated the people thereof with kindness, and he did not wish to loot a single house. And he gathered together all the nobles, and he produced and showed them the document of the Khalifah RASHID [in which was written], 'On the day in which I collect troops, and go forth to fight even one of the Amirs of Sultan MAS'UD, I shall be dismissed from the Khalifate'. And as the witnesses who had signed the document were present, and their testimonies were confirmed, they dismissed RASHID legally from the Khalifate. And they brought other charges against him, namely, 'That he had had union with his father's concubines, that he drank wine, that he neglected prayers, that he played with balls, that he was unjust and an oppressor, and that he shed innocent blood'.

After RASHID, MUSTAFI his uncle, the son of MUSTATHIR, [ruled] for twenty-four years and two months. RASHID being dismissed, the Sultan called SHARAF AD-DIN ZAINI the Wazir, and committed to him the choice of the man who was to succeed. But he chose his uncle, who had been dismissed, because he was his son-in-law and the husband of his daughter. And Sultan MAS'UD went into the palace with the nobles and brought MUSTAFI, and they gave assent to his election after he had testified concerning him that he would give to the Sultan one hundred [300] and twenty thousand *dinars*. For at that time there was not one *dinar* in the Khalifah's treasury, whilst the Khalifah MUKTAFI had ten thousand *dinars* before he began to rule, and from them he supplied his need in connexion with taking his seat on the throne. And the proclaiming of RASHID and of the Sultan DAWUD ceased, and the proclaiming of MUSTAFI and of Sultan MAS'UD succeeded. It is said that when the Sultan went out from the palace of the Khalifah, he called the Wazir to him and blamed him for his choice. And he said, 'Thou hast done wrong in making to succeed a full grown, middle aged man with intelligence. If thou hadst set up a young man and trained him, he would have looked upon thee with a kindly eye, and the command and the administration of the kingdom would have remained in thy hands for a long time, that is until he attained to the estate of completed manhood. Believe [me], believe [me], thou wilt not benefit by this choice of thine, and thou wilt see [that I am right].'

(Continued on Next Page)

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

The History of the Crusades (continued).

And when the year five hundred and thirty one of the ARABS [A.D. 1136] began, the son of DANISHMAND, the lord of MELITENE, sent an envoy to the Sultan in BAGHDAD in order to persuade him to let him return again to his office. And when they brought the envoy to kiss the door-sill according to custom, he objected, and refused [to do so], and said, 'I am not going to kiss the door-sill, from which the lord thereof hath been expelled'. Then ZANGI collected an army and came to TAGRITH, and smote the cavalry (?) of Sultan MAS'UD and returned to MAWSIL. And the Khalifah MUKTAFI sent to ZANGI and promised to give him ten famous places (towns?), and [told him] that he must not help RASHID. And ZANGI replied, 'I have sworn an oath that I will not deliver him into thy hands, not even if ye give me these places. I will proclaim you, and agree with you; and although I will not help this man, I will not drive him forth from me.' And the ten places were given to him, HARBI, and HADIRAH, and SARIFAYN, and HILLAH, and others. And ZANGI proclaimed MUKTAFI and Sultan MAS'UD. And he made RASHID to dwell in a quarter of MAWSIL which is called 'the Golden'.

At this time there was in BAGHDAD an old woman, the wife of a certain man, and she was living as a servant in the house of a wealthy merchant, near the Gate 'AZGHA (BAB AL-'AZAJ). When the merchant went on the road, [301] his wife and his daughter remained in the house. And the old woman took her son and some other young men who were thieves, and they came by night and went into the house of the merchant, and stole everything [in it]. And when they had gone out the old woman said to the wife of the merchant, 'Blessed be God who hath made blind their eyes, and they did not open the casket (i.e. safe)'. And when the thieves heard this, they turned back and opened the box and took from it four thousand *dinars*, and precious stones, and pearls and departed.

And MA'UD and DAWUD met each other in battle. And MAS'UD was broken, and many of his partisans were killed. In this year, which was the year fourteen hundred and forty-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 1137), 'IWANNI (JOANNES), the king of the GREEKS, went forth in wrath against LEO the ARMENIAN, and he captured TARSOS, and 'ADANA, and MOPSUESTIA. And he took LEO, and his wife, and his sons, and sent them to CONSTANTINOPLE. And he departed and went down to ANTIOCH, and being unable to capture it, JOSCELYN came, and they agreed that 'IWANNI should take ALEPPO and other cities of SYRIA and give [them] to the FRANKS and that they should give him ANTIOCH. And they were of one mind. And they came and encamped against ALEPPO, and took the fortress of BUZAI'AH, and posted warriors against SHAIZAR. Then MAS'UD, Sultan of ICONIUM, attacked CILICIA, and he captured the city of 'ADANA, and he took all the people and the bishop; and brought them prisoners to MELITENE. When 'IWANNI the king heard these things he burnt the engines of war, and went back to CILICIA, and made peace with MAS'UD, the lord of ICONIUM, and went to CONSTANTINOPLE.

And MALIK MAHAMMAD, the lord of MELITENE, drove out his brother DAWLAH (DAWLATH), and he took from him ABLESTIN and the land of GHIHAN. And DAWLAH crossed the HANAZIT, and went

from there to 'AMID, and from there to JOSCELYN, and went about from place to place. At this time, the Amir 'ISA, the lord of SIBABARAK, which is SABUKT, a descendant of BOGHOS, the ARMENIAN who went to BAGHDAD and became a Muslim, collected an army, and went to plunder the country of GARGAR. And when he saw that the country had already been laid waste, he set his face against the monasteries and Convents. And he attacked the Monastery of MAR (302) 'ABHHAI, which is DAIRA DHE SEBHLATHA. And being unable to enter on the side which was on the bank of the EUPHRATES, he went up on the top of a rock and he let men down from there. And the monks were afraid and went out to him. And he took possession of everything, and carried off all the equipment and furniture [of the church] which he found, the chalices and phials of silver, and the crosses, and everything which had been there from the time of MAR JOHN the Patriarch, the son of 'ABHDON; and he took also the piscina. And he transferred RABBAN DAVID, the anchorite, and his companions to the convent of SHIRA, and no one remained except 'ABU JALIB at the table of the king.

And in the year five hundred and thirty-two of the ARABS (A.D. 1137), RASHID the Khalifah abandoned MAWSIL, and went to KHORASAN, to Sultan DAWUD, and he received him with honour; and the two of them went and took HAMADAN from sultan MAS'UD. From there RASHID attacked 'ESFAHAN, and he became sick with a severe sickness; and whilst he was [lying] ill four men of KHORASAN attacked him and killed him by the gate of 'ESFAHAN. It is said that even if he had not been killed he would very soon have died of his illness, because deadly poison had been administered to him three times. And he was buried by the gate of 'ESFAHAN, where he was killed, even as his father was buried by the gate of MARAGAH, where he was killed.

And in the year fourteen hundred and forty-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 1138), when EDESSA was besieged by the TURKS, three hundred Frankish horsemen assembled, and about four thousand fighting foot-soldiers, and others, and they sallied out from SAMOSATA, and they went to take food into EDESSA. And an ambush of TEMURTASH, the lord of MARDIN, attacked them, and the greater number of the Christians were killed, and the remainder were carried off as slaves. Present with the was 'ABU SA'D, a minister, physician and philosopher, and MICHAEL, the son of SHMONA, and his son. And TEMURTASH also took the fortress of KESOS from the FRANKS. And MAS'UD of ICONIUM attacked the country of KHISHUM, and he captured and burnt the villages.

And in the year five hundred and thirty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1138), in the second month, there was a severe earthquake in GANZAH, a city in Persian territory. And there perished therein two hundred and thirty thousand souls, and the whole city was completely engulfed, and black waters burst up from the ground; and those who escaped [303] went out and took up their abode in the cemeteries and bewailed their [dead] relations.

And in the year fourteen hundred and fifty of the GREEKS (A.D. 1139), MALIK MAHAMMAD, the lord of MELITENE, went to the country of CILICIA, and captured the two fortresses BAHGAI and GABNUPIRATH. And he invaded also the country of KASINOS, which is on the coast of the SEA OF PONTUS, and he plundered and made captives of all the people and sold them into slavery.

And in the year fourteen hundred and fifty-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1140) the earth was rent in the country of CALONICUS, and it swallowed up forty horsemen with their horses, and only one who had turned aside to make water was saved. And the sound of the groans of men and their horses came up for a long time.

And in the year five hundred and thirty-four of the ARABS (A.D. 1139) the word which Sultan MAS'UD spake to the Wazir SHARAF AD-DIN was actually fulfilled; now he said that he had been foolish in the choice of a Khalifah. For that Khalifah began to meddle in political matters without the advice of the Wazir,

and the Wazir was cut off in his house. And when he brought him he discussed matters with him disingenuously. And the hand of the Wazir was suppressed in very many affairs, and after a little the Khalifah dismissed him finally from his office of Wazir.

And in the year five hundred and thirty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1140), which is the year fourteen hundred and fifty-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1411), in the month of the FIRST TESHWIN (OCTOBER), the TURKS of MELITENE attacked the monasteries of BETH ZABAR, that is of BETH KANYA, and they looted them and went away. And in the month of 'IYAR (MAY) the FRANKS came to take vengeance, and they came to ZOBATRA and to 'ARKA, and they carried off the possessions of the Christians, and they killed many TURKS and took their children and women prisoners. And the TURKS went forth with great haste from the country of HANAZIT to invade the country of the FRANKS. And they met a holy man of KALISURA as he was crossing the mountain of 'ABHDAHAR, and they seized him and those who were with him and tied them up to kill them. And suddenly there fell upon them the terrifying sound of the FRANKS, and they left the monks and fled. And the FRANKS came and unbound their fetters.

And 'IWANNI (JOANNES), the king of the GREEKS, went forth and came to NEO-CAESAREA. And the camps of the GREEKS and TURKS who had already encamped faced each other for six months, and they separated without fighting a battle. At that time every Christian who mentioned the name of the king [304] of the GREEKS or of the FRANKS, even unwittingly, the TURKS slew. And because of this many of the people of MELITENE perished.

And in the year five hundred and thirty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1141) KHAWARAZM SHAH sent to the king of the HUNS the men who had not gone back to Islam, who were called 'Turk kafir' by the ARABS (i.e. Turkish infidel), and he invited and summoned him to war with Sultan SENJAR, because Sultan SENJAR had killed the brother of KHAWARAZM SHAH. And whilst those HUNS were satisfied with three hundred thousand men, SENJAR collected one hundred thousand, and crossed the river GIHON. And he met the HUNS in battle, and his partisans were utterly broken. It is said that SENJAR escaped with six souls [only]; and he came to the city of BALKH. And his wife and his daughter's daughter, and four thousand other women, were carried off captives. And of that hundred thousand not one escaped the sword or capture as a prisoner.

And in the year fourteen hundred and fifty-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1143) MALIK MAHMUD died in CAESAREA, and he commanded that DHUAN-NON, his son, should reign in his stead. Now his wife brought his brother YA'KUB 'ARSLAN, and she became his wife; and he reigned in SEBASTIA. And DHUAN-NON fled to SIMNADU, and ruled over CAESAREA. And DAWLAH, another brother, came, and YUNUS, the lord of the fortress of MASARA, made a covenant with him, and they attacked MELITENE, but they could not take it, and they left and went and encamped against 'ARKA. Then the KHATON, who was with YA'KUB 'ARSLAN, sent for two thousand [men] to come to MELITENE and protect it, and to expel the TURKS who were therein and send them to SEBASTIA. Then the TURKS who were therein rebelled, and they smashed the gate of the city which was called BURIDYAH with axes, because the governor would not allow them to go out; and they sallied out and put to flight those two thousand [men]. And on [that] day they sent and brought DAWLAH, and made him ruler of MELITENE.

Then Sultan MAS'UD of ICONIUM came against SEBASTIA, and he captured it and destroyed it. And he also came against MELITENE, and encamped against it on the seventeenth day of the month of NISAN (APRIL), and he set up engines of war, and afflicted it with fighting. And DAWLAH also, who was inside, made the chiefs of the Christians to suffer terribly through the heavy taxes which he took from them and gave to the combatants. And suddenly, after three months, [305] at dawn, on the day of the Feast of the Cross, in

the month of ILUL(SEPTEMBER), the Sultan burnt his engines of war and departed, and the people of MELITENE had relief.

And in the month of NISAN (APRIL) of this year, 'IWANNI, the king of the GREEKS, when hunting in CILICIA, was gored by a wild boar and died. And because his eldest son was not present, he commanded that MANUEL, his younger son, should reign. And he [began to] reign in NISAN (APRIL) of the year fourteen hundred and fifty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1144). And when he went in to CONSTANTINOPLE his brother received him and did homage to him, and he was confirmed in the kingdom. And the king of the FRANKS of JERUSALEM, also when hunting, fell from [his] horse and died. And his younger son BO'DWIN [III] reigned, and because he was very young his mother administered the kingdom.

And in the year fourteen hundred and fifty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1144), DAWUD, the governor of the fortress of ZAID, died, and his younger son KARA 'ARSLAN rose up after him. And because 'ARSLAN TOGHMISH, the eldest son of DAWUD, was with ZANGI, the lord of MAWSIL, ZANGI came that he might expel KARA 'ARSLAN and appoint 'ARSLAN TOGHMISH. Then KARA 'ARSLAN went to Sultan MAS'UD of ICONIUM, and took asylum with him. Then he gave him twenty thousand horsemen, and he took them and went against ZANGI. When ZANGI heard [this] he returned to his country. And MAS'UD of ICONIUM also came and encamped against MELITENE for three months, and he left it and departed.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

The Taking of Edessa from the Franks.

In the year fourteen hundred and fifty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1145), when JOSCELYN the lord of EDESSA went to ANTIOCH, the men of HARRAN informed ZANGI, the lord of MAWSIL, that EDESSA was empty of troops. And ZANGI collected armies, and on the third day [of the week], on the twenty-eighth day of the month of the LATTER TESHWIN (NOVEMBER), came and encamped against EDESSA. And they pitched their camps by the Gate of SHA'E, close to the Church of the Confessors. And they set up seven engines of war against it, and troops who shot in arrows [as thick] as drops of rain. And all the natives of the town, great and small, and the monks of the mountains were standing on the wall and fighting. And all the women were on the wall also, and they were pushing out stones, and water, and food for the combatants. And whilst those who were outside had dug underground, and had reached the wall, [306] those who were inside had dug underground and went forth against those who were outside. And they killed those whom they found in the excavations, and went back and built up a wall before the part which was breached. Then those outside dug under two other towers.

And when the towers were nigh to fall, ZANGI sent 'ATABAG to the EDESSEANS and said, 'Take ye two of our men with you, and give us two men of yours so that they may see that the towers are nigh to fall; surrender the city before ye are captured and perish by the sword'. Now PAPYAS, the chief of the FRANKS who were in EDESSA, because he was confident that JOSCELYN and the king of JERUSALEM would arrive to help them, was not convinced, but he scoffed at and made a mock of ZANGI. Then those who were outside [the wall] set fire to the posts of wood which supported the towers, and they fell. And when the TURKS began to pour in through the breach, the people of the city, and PAPYAS, and the holy men took their stand inside the breach, and prevented the TURKS from coming in. And the breach was filled with heaps of the slain of those who were inside and those who were outside.

And all the people being huddled together at the breach, the TURKS saw that the wall was emptied of combatants, and they placed ladders in position and went up. And when those who were inside saw that the TURKS were masters of the wall, their hands dropped, and they began to flee to the Citadel of the city. And from that moment—what mouth would not be hampered in narrating, or what finger would not tremble in writing, the account of the awful and horrible happenings which took place at the third hour of the day of the Sabbath, on the third day of the month of the LATTER KANON (JANUARY)—the TURKS pushed in with drawn swords, which drank the blood of old men and young men, of strong men and women, of priests and deacons, of monks and anchorites, of nuns and virgins, of children of tender years, and of bridegrooms and brides. O what a bitter history ! The city of ABHGAR, the friend of CHRIST, had become a thing to be trampled under foot because of our iniquity! Woe on the tribulation! Sons denied their fathers, and fathers their sons! The mother forgot to show mercy to her children! And every man ran to the top of the mountain. And when the aged priests who were carrying the coffins of the martyrs saw the wrath of which the prophet said, 'I will bear the wrath of the Lord because I have sinned' (Micah, vii. 13), they neither fled nor did they

cease to pray until the sword [307] silenced them. And afterwards they were found with the blood mingled in their vestments. And a great many mothers collected their children about them as a hen collects her chicks, expecting to die altogether by the sword, or that they would be carried off into slavery in a body.

And the guards of the Citadel would not open the doors to those who fled there until they saw the face of PAPYAS, and as he did not flee to come with the first [fugitives], thousands were suffocated in the crush. And when he arrived he was unable to enter because of the piles of dead bodies that were before the door of the Citadel. And there he was shot by an arrow from the TURKS and he died. And when ZANGI saw the horrible sight, he stopped the sword. Then the holy man BASILIUS was found naked and shoeless, and he was dragged along by the TURKS with a rope. And when ZANGI saw him he recognized the graciousness which was in his face and he asked who he was. And when he knew that he was the Metropolitan, he commanded and [his servants] clothed him, and he had him brought into his tent. And he began to chide the holy man because he had not surrendered the city and spared the wretched people from being killed. And the holy man replied: 'Divine Providence wished this to take place—that such a victory as this should be thine, and a great and splendid name among thy fellow kings. And there is openness of face with us poor folk (i.e. we are innocent) towards the Lord, for we have neither acted treacherously nor broken our oaths.' And his words pleased the ATABAG, and he said unto him, 'Thou speakest truth, O Metropolitan, for those who keep their oaths are honoured by God and by men, and especially those who endure to the death.' As for those who were in the Citadel, after two days they received the promise that their lives should be spared, and they surrendered it. Now wherever the TURKS found a FRANK they killed him; but they left alive our people and the ARMENIANS that were left. Now it is not for such as I am to relate the history of this calamity, but the prophet JEREMIAH and those who are like unto him. Let men read the wise dirges which they have composed, and the lamentations with [their] mournful songs and thoughtful comments concerning the people which are to be pitied. For on the day in which EDESSA was taken, fire broke out in the Monastery of KARARIT, which is in the country of KARSHENA, and it burnt up all the cells and one old monk, and the others escaped as from a furnace of fire. And on that same day a village in the country of MAR'ASH was also burnt. And fire broke out in the Monastery of [308] MAR BAR SAWMA. When three cells had been burnt out they were able, though with considerable difficulty, to extinguish the fire. Now the pious MAR DIONYSIUS BAR-SELIBHI composed two discourses on the capture of EDESSA, and MAR BASIL, a native of EDESSA, composed three discourses, all of them in the metre of MAR JACOB.

And ZANGI having taken EDESSA went and encamped against BIRAH, a rebel fortress, which overshadowed the EUPHRATES. And whilst he was harassing it with war, there came to him the report that dissension had broken out in MAWSIL, and that his deputy there, NASIR AD-DIN, had been killed. Then he left BIRAH and returned to MAWSIL. And the FRANKS who were in BIRAH, being afraid lest ZANGI would come back and attack them again, sent [a letter] to HUSAM AD-DIN TEMURTASH, the son of 'ILGHAZI, the son of 'ARTUK, the lord of MARDIN, and delivered the city over to him. But 'ILGHAZI, fearing lest ZANGI would come and attack his country, and capture the fortresses thereof, and rule by means of them over all his country, destroyed many of the fortresses himself, namely, that of HUR'BHAR and that of TELL-BESME, and that of THUMA, and that of TELL-SHIH, and that which was near the Monastery of MAR HANANYA which is called 'Of the woman'. And at that time TEMURTASH took the fortress of HATHKHA from a certain KURD, after he had encamped against it for one year and four months, by means of the oaths (i.e. assurances), and gold and villages which he gave to the KURD its lord. And 'ARSLAN TOGHMISH, the son of DAWUD, the lord of the fortress of ZAID, went forth from ZANGI and encamped against TELLA of 'ARSANYAS, and he wanted them to surrender it, but they did not wish [to do so] because their sons were hostages in the fortress of ZAID. And having made war upon it he captured it quickly. And about fifteen thousand souls were found in it, captives from all parts of the country. And he commanded, and they all, together with their bishop TIMOTHY, became slaves, and were sold.

And in the year five hundred and forty of the ARABS (A.D. 1145), ZANGI sent an army against the fortress of PANAK, which is by the side of the island of KARDU, and is called [after] the 'Sons of 'OMAR'. This was a rebel fortress which overshadowed the TIGRIS, and it had been in the hands of the BASHNAWAYE KURDS for a period of three hundred years. And in the year five hundred and forty-one of the ARABS (A.D. 1146), ZANGI, having made peace with the natives [309] of MAWSIL after the murder of his deputy NASIR AD-DIN, went to ALEPPO, because it belonged to him, and he collected an army and went and encamped against the fortress of KAL'AH JA'BAR. And one day when he was sitting in his tent with the metal workers who had made for him a bowl of gold which they had brought to him [for inspection], he bowed his head and was examining it. And one of the slaves who were his armour-bearers smote him with a sword from behind him, and cut off his head. And others say that one night when he was sunk in a drunken sleep three of his slaves killed him. And they fled to the base of the wall [of the city] and said to the sentries [on top], 'Pull us up that we may give you some good news'. And the sentries let down an earth basket and pulled them up one by one with a rope. And when they reached the top they said to the men of the fortress, 'We have just killed ZANGI, and at present no man knoweth anything about it, therefore do ye inform them'. And the sentries blew the horns, and cried out to those who were below, saying, 'Rise up and bury ye your lord who hath been killed, before he stinketh'. And when they went to ZANGI they found him dead.

Then MAHMUD his son, who was called NUR AD-DIN, because he was with him, attacked the fortress with greater violence, and when he and those who were inside it were wearied by the struggle, he said unto them, 'Hand over to me my father's murderers and there shall be peace to you'. And they handed over the three slaves to him. And after cruel torturings they killed them and burnt their bodies.

Now there remained to ZANGI four sons and one daughter: SAIF AD-DIN GHAZI, NUR AD-DIN MAHMUD, KUTB AD-DIN MAWDUD, NUSRATH AD-DIN, Amir of the Amirs, and their sister. Now ZANGI built the royal palaces which are in MAWSIL, because before his time there was only one royal habitation there, namely that which is opposite the Stadium, that is to say the Maidan. He raised the walls thereof, and he deepened the ditch thereof. And he opened the gate which is called 'EMADI after his name. And he also planted gardens round about it. It is said that formerly vegetables (or, fruits) and grapes were so very scarce in MAWSIL that when the waiter in the tavern was cutting bunches of grapes to sell, he would cut the bunch off with a razor, taking care that not a single grape should fall upon the ground. [310] And it was he who multiplied therein all kinds of fruits.

And he had in the palace of the Sultan men who gave him hints secretly about everything which was done there by day and by night. And when an ambassador came to him he would never permit him to hold converse with any of the members of his administration and his city. And one day he gave a precious object to one of the slaves and said unto him, 'Guard this for me'. And the slave took it and wrapped it up in a kerchief and placed it in his bosom, and it was with him for a full year. And after a year the 'ATABAG said unto him, 'Where is that precious object?' And straightway the slave brought it forth Out of his bosom, and handed it to him. And the service of this slave pleased him, and he said, 'In like manner it is meet to fulfil the guardianship of the fortress'; and he gave him the governorship of the fortress of KAWASHI, and sent him thither. And he possessed also other [remarkable] characteristics, [e.g.] modesty coupled with great ability, and severity in dealing with offenders, but because of the length [of a summary of them] we must leave them. He ruled over SYRIA nineteen years.

And when the 'ATABAG ZANGI was killed at KAL'AH JA'BAR there was with him a great and wise man whose name was 'ASAD AD-DIN SHIRKUH. This man approached NUR AD-DIN, the son of ZANGI, and said unto him, 'Behold I see the Wazir of thy father leading astray all the troops together with thy brother SAIF AD-DIN, whom he wisheth to carry to MAWSIL, that he may reign there. Because of this what I now propose is better for thee; viz. that I should carry thee to ALEPPO, so that thou canst reign there, and through

that place canst reign over all SYRIA. When this happeneth [thou wilt reign over] the East also, that is MAWSIL, and its clime will be subject unto thee. And this operation was carried out. And the heralds made a proclamation to [this effect] among the armies of SYRIA, and they all gathered together to NUR AD-DIN, and they took ALEPPO, and NUR AD-DIN ruled over it, and over its Citadel. And SAIF AD-DIN, his brother, took MAWSIL and ruled therein. And Sultan MAS'UD, because he loved SAIF AD-DIN—now during his father's days he had served the Sultan greatly—sent to him royal apparel and confirmed him in the Sultanate of MAWSIL. Now NUR AD-DIN was afraid of his brother SAIF AD-DIN, [311] and he showed by gifts and other kinds of homage that he was afraid to meet him. And after [swearing] oaths, when SAIF AD-DIN went to SYRIA, NUR AD-DIN came to him. And when they met each other NUR AD-DIN bowed down and kissed the ground before his brother, and SAIF AD-DIN also bowed down, and they embraced each other and wept. And SAIF AD-DIN said unto NUR AD-DIN, 'Why didst thou not come to me? Is it possible that thou wast afraid of me? Believe me, my brother, there hath never entered into my mind the thought which thou hast imagined. What good would life and countries be to me if I worked evil on my brother?' And thus being reconciled to each other, each returned, to his own place.

And at the time when ZANGI was killed, BAYMOND (RAYMOND?), the lord of ANTIOCH, went forth to the country of ALEPPO and HAMATH, and he made a great slaughter of the ARABS. And having made many captives, SHIRKUH overtook him, and sent them back. And MUJIR AD-DIN, the lord of DAMASCUS, went against B'ELBAK, and harassed it with war, and took it from NAJM AD-DIN IYUB, the father of SALAH AD-DIN. And he gave certain villages to NAJM AD-DIN, and carried him with him to DAMASCUS.

And in the year fourteen hundred and fifty-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 1147), in the month of the FIRST TESHWIN (OCTOBER), JOSCELYN and BO'DWIN the lord of KHISHUM came to EDESSA. And during the night the Frankish foot-soldiers ascended by ladders the two towers through the plan which they had made with certain ARMENIANS who were guarding the walls, and the TURKS fled to the Citadel. And in the morning the Water Gate was opened and JOSCELYN went in. And when the FRANKS had remained in EDESSA six days, NUR AD-DIN, with ten thousand TURKS, burst out upon them. Then JOSCELYN harassed the wretched people of EDESSA, and he seized men, and women, and youths, and maidens, and expelled them with violence at the second hour of the night. And, when the day broke the TURKS overtook them, at the same time raining upon them arrows like hail-stones, and wounding them seriously. Alas for the cloud of wrath, and the day which was without mercy! Alas for the night of death, and the dawn of GEHENNA! Alas for the day of destruction which burst upon the wretched citizens and natives of the city which had been envied!

For the horsemen of the FRANKS, since they could not stand against the TURKS, left and fled. [312] And the foot-soldiers of the FRANKS who were unable to flee fixed their gaze on the great ruined fortress which is called the 'Star', and went up there. And there remained the hapless people (or, mob) who were to be pitied, and the sword of the TURKS mastered them as fire mastereth straw. And when the TURKS were exhausted through slaughtering, they stripped those who remained of their shoes and apparel, and they tied cords to them, men and women alike, and they forced them to run naked with horses. The number of the killed on the first onrush and on the second onrush amounted to thirty thousand, and sixteen thousand people were carried off as captives. And those who escaped with the foot-soldiers of the FRANKS into the ruined fortress were one thousand men. Not a single woman or child was saved, and those who did not perish were sold into slavery in foreign countries. And EDESSA remained a waste place, and saturated with blood, and filled with the limbs of her sons and her daughters; and the sirens used to go into it during the nights to feed upon the flesh of the slain, And it became a habitation for jackals. Even the dead body of BO'DWIN, the lord of KHISHUM, was not found, and the accursed JOSCELYN escaped to SAMOSATA. Our holy man BASIL was saved by flight, but he of the ARMENIANS was seized, together with many others.

Now when the FRANKS heard of the disaster which had taken place in EDESSA, they were greatly moved, and many armies rushed out from ITALY, the king of ALLEMAGNE (GERMANY, CONRAD?) with ninety thousand horsemen, and the king of 'AFRANZIS (FRANCE), whom the ARABS call FONIS (LOUIS?), with fifty thousand [horsemen], and an endless number of foot-soldiers.

And in the year of the GREEKS fourteen hundred and fifty-nine(A.D. 1148) they waged war against CONSTANTINOPLE, because they knew the treachery of the GREEKS. Then king MANUEL, after much gold which he gave to them, swore that he would guide them without treachery. And straightway he deceived them, sending before them guides who took them into difficult mountains where there was no water. And when they had remained in this state for five days and had wandered about, their guides having fled, myriads of them died of thirst, both they and their horses. And the TURKS heard [of this], and they rushed out on the FRANKS who were scattered about [313] among the mountains, and when they found them in groups they destroyed them. And the countries of the TURKS were filled with the spoil of the FRANKS, and talents of silver were sold as if they were lead in MELITENE. And those of the FRANKS who escaped returned to the sea-coast of PONTUS. The GREEKS mixed lime with the flour of wheat and gave it to the FRANKS to eat [in their bread]. And whilst they were eating company after company of them fell down and died.

The king of GERMANY, with three Counts, alone escaped, and came to JERUSALEM, and he prayed and was blessed by the Holy Tomb. And after he had rested a few days he came against DAMASCUS with ten thousand horsemen and sixty thousand foot-soldiers. Now the TURKS and the ARABS were in number about one hundred and thirty thousand foot-soldiers, besides horsemen. And the FRANKS, seeing that the ARABS and TURKS though very numerous, were not formidable, plucked up courage and approached until they pitched their camps by the rivers and among gardens. Now MU'IN, the lord of DAMASCUS, seeing that his hope had already been cut off, sent secretly to the king of JERUSALEM a letter of flattering words and gold, viz. two hundred thousand *dinars*, all of them [being] copper (or, brass) plated with Egyptian gold, and he sent likewise to the lord of TIBERIAS (?) fifty thousand [*dinars*] made of this adulterated gold, which was tested and discovered [to be base] having gone into circulation. And this gold crumbled away. Although I have read through five different Arabic manuscripts, I have not found this story in them; it is only the blessed MAR MICHAEL who hath recorded it in writing.

Now when the great king of GERMANY perceived the treachery, he left DAMASCUS and went back to his own country in great sadness, And this was the evil end which came upon that great people. And when the king of SICILY understood about the treachery of the GREEKS he was furiously angry. And he came against the city of THEBES and took it and destroyed it; and he made the GREEKS who were therein to perish by the sword. And he also treated thus ADRIANOPLE, and PHILIPOLIS, and he came also to CONSTANTINOPLE, and laid waste the whole of its surrounding lands.

And LEO, the ARMENIAN, the governor of CILICIA, died at this time in CONSTANTINOPLE, and his son [TOROS] fled on foot like a beggar and came to CILICIA. And he went to [314] our holy man MAR ATHANASIUS and asked for help from him in prayer so that God might restore to him the heritage of his fathers. And whilst he was praying over him he gave him as a blessing (i.e. a gift) the price of a horse. And having acquired a mount there joined him twelve men, ARMENIANS, and they went first of all and attacked the fortress which is called 'AMUDHA'. And when the men of the fortress saw their lord outside, they surrendered the fortress to him quickly, and he went in and killed the GREEKS who were in it. And the fear of him fell upon the GREEKS who were in the rest of the fortresses, and he captured many positions without difficulty. And the ARMENIANS and the GREEKS joined themselves to him, and they met the TURKS in battle, and destroyed about three thousand of them. And he was triumphant, and renown accrued to him. And the TURKS also took good heed to him and never contended with him. Then he also reigned over the cities, 'ANAZARBA and the rest.

And in this year NUR AD-DIN, the son of ZANGI, took APAMEA and other fortresses from the FRANKS. And the lord of ANTIOCH laid an ambush for him, and killed many of his army; but NUR AD-DIN himself, together with a few men, escaped and went to ALEPPO.

And in the year fourteen hundred and sixty of the GREEKS (A.D. 1149), which is the year five hundred and forty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1148), NUR AD-DIN went against HARIM, and he took the suburbs thereof and laid waste the buildings which were outside its fortress. And when PRAYNS, the lord of ANTIOCH, sallied forth to drive him away from HARIM, the FRANKS were conquered by the TURKS, and PRAYNS himself, than whom, among all the kings of the FRANKS, there was none more feared by the TURKS, was killed. And dissension broke out among the men of ANTIOCH, and many of them wished to surrender the city to NUR AD-DIN. Then others of them sent hurriedly to the king of JERUSALEM, and he arrived quickly, and gave courage to the remnant of the horsemen who remained [there]. And he appointed their Patriarch to be their governor until BOHAYMOND, the son of PRAYNS, who had been killed, grew up. And the lord of KHISHUM was killed at this time, and JOSCELYN reigned over KHISHUM and over BETH HESNE.

And in this year the son of MAS'UD, the Sultan of ICONIUM, whose name was KELEJ 'ARSLAN, encamped against MAR'ASH, and he took it from the FRANKS. And having allowed the Frankish horsemen, and the bishop, and the elders to depart [315] to ANTIOCH, because forsooth of the oaths which he had sworn to them, he dispatched the TURKS to attack them [whilst they were] on the road, and they killed them. During this capture the furniture and equipment of our church which was in MAR'ASH perished by the hands of the elders who were rebelling against the bishop, namely, the box of Muron [oil], and the chalices and phials, and the silver censers, and the curtains and the draperies.

And the lord of the fortress of ZAID, that is KARA 'ARSLAN, took BABHULA from the FRANKS and sent raiders to the country of GARGAR. And when they saw that the whole people with their riches were hiding in the mountains of MAR BAR-SAWMA, they laid an ambush in three places, and at dawn they burst forth and took the beasts (i.e. sheep and goats) and cattle. And three of the vassals of the monastery were killed, and two of the TURKS. And the TURKS sent a message to the monastery, saying, 'Give us the men of GARGAR so that we may give back to you everything which we have taken. For we reverence this saint, and to him we pay vows, and we have not come to do evil to his monastery. As for the people whom we have taken, it is not to carry them off into slavery, but to remove them and transport them to their villages so that they may do work on the farms for us.'

And dissension broke out in the monastery, and some of the monks said, 'Let us surrender [them]', and others said, 'No, [we will not]', and at length the men of the monastery were nearly ready for a sword to descend between them. Then an aged monk took two persons from each of the two parties, and they went out to the TURKS, and the old man said unto them, 'If what ye say is true, and ye really wish to have these men to do work on the farm and not as slaves, let some of you come with us, and we will go to the Amir who is your protector, and whatsoever he in his justice commandeth we will do'. Then their treachery was laid bare. And the [two parties of] monks agreed together and with one voice they all cried out, 'We will not surrender [them]'. Then the TURKS burned the wine presses and the props of the vineyards, and they left [the place] and departed. And the monks went to the fortress of ZAID and appeared before the Amir, and God placed mercy in his heart, and he had everything which had been taken given back.

And in [that] year JOSCELYN went forth from TELL-BASHIR to go to ANTIOCH with two hundred horsemen, who were hoping to meet with a ship, and as they were journeying along by night a few TURCOMANS met them; and they trembled at the mere sound of the word (i.e. name) and fled. And the TURKS pursued and overtook them, [316] and captured JOSCELYN, and they brought him to NUR AD-

DIN, the lord of ALEPPO, and he bought him from them for one thousand *dinars*, and he bound him in fetters and imprisoned him. And he lived in prison for nine years, and although they were constantly urging him with promises and threats to become a Muslim, he never yielded.

But he persisted in his Faith, and he confessed saying that it was because of his sins and because he had taken the Monastery of MAR BAR SAWMA, as by God's help we will show in [our] 'ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY', that the Lord had punished him. And when his end drew nigh, he asked for the Bishop, and they brought him to him, and he offered confession; and the Bishop administered to him the Holy Mysteries, and there in a cave he ended his life. And when JOSCELYN was made a prisoner, the TURKS plucked up courage, and took many places from the FRANKS, GARGAR, and GHAKHTI, and also HSEN MANSUR and TIGHINKAR, which is by the side of the monastery. Now when JOSCELYN fell, the FRANKS who were in TELL-BASHIR set up his son, a youth, in his place; and he also was called JOSCELYN.

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Bar Hebraeus'

Chronography

X

The Taking of Edessa from the Franks (continued).

And in the year fourteen hundred and sixty-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1150), when the men of KHISUM saw the growing power of the TURKS, they sent the holy man MAR 'IWANNIS (JOANNES) to MAS'UD, Sultan of ICONIUM, and received a pledge concerning the FRANKS who were with them, that they should depart in peace to 'AINTAB; and this actually took place. And the Sultan of ICONIUM himself reigned over KHISHUM and BETH HESNE, and RA'BAN and PARZAMAN, and MAR'ASH. And when he encamped against TELL-BASHIR, NUR AD-DIN, the son of ZANGI, came to him, and the Sultan gave him his daughter to wife. And he left her at TELL-BASHIR, and departed, because he was unable to take her. Then came the king of JERUSALEM, and he expelled the wife of JOSCELYN, and his children, and all the FRANKS, and carried them to JERUSALEM; and he established in TELL-BASHIR certain men of the king of the GREEKS. And these GREEKS also ruled over 'AINTAB and 'AZAZ. And afterwards, when NUR AD-DIN harassed them with war and famine, they handed over to him these places peacefully.

And TEMURTASH, the lord of MARDIN, ruled over BIRAH, and SAMOSATA, and KHURIS, and KEPHAR SUT. Now there was in that Rhomaytish castle a certain man, an ARMENIAN, whose name was MICHAEL. [317] This man sent a message to the wife of JOSCELYN and to his son, [ordering] them to command GREGORIUS, the Catholicus of the ARMENIANS who was in DAIRA DHE YAMETHA, to come and dwell with him and be his helper. And when he came he acted treacherously towards MICHAEL, and he took all his possessions and drove him out, and he himself remained, in that Rhomaytish castle.

And in the year which was the year five hundred and forty-four of the ARABS (A.D. 1149), SAIF AD-DIN, the son of ZANGI, the lord of MAWSIL, took the city of DARA from TEMURTASH, the lord of MARDIN, and he also went and encamped against MARDIN. Then TEMURTASH, being defeated by him, gave him his daughter to wife, and made peace with him. And when SAIF AD-DIN went back to MAWSIL he fell sick and died.

And after him KUTAB AD-DIN MAWDUD, his brother, rose up in his place, and he took to wife the daughter of TEMURTASH. Then certain nobles sent to NUR AD-DIN in ALEPPO and asked him to come to them. And forthwith, without any delay, NUR AD-DIN with seventy horsemen came to SHIGHAR, and [the men] thereof surrendered it to him. And he sent to KARA 'ARSLAN, the lord of the fortress, and promised him the fortress of HAYTAM that he might come to his assistance. And KUTAB AD-DIN, his brother, collected an army and went out to TELL 'AFAR to meet NUR AD-DIN in battle. Then the nobles spake to him and he gave EMESA, because it belonged to SAIF AD-DIN, to NUR AD-DIN. And NUR AD-DIN gave back SHIGHAR to KUTAB AD-DIN, and he left and went back to ALEPPO.

And in this year there was a flood in the fortress of ZAID, on the twenty-third day of the month of 'AB (AUGUST), and it carried away a child and his mother, and two mules, and two buffaloes, and a donkey, and they were all drowned.

And in the year fourteen hundred and sixty-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1151), the wife of the lord of 'IZANGE strangled him with a bowstring, and she brought her brother from DIBARIGI, and he took her to wife and became king. And a certain Turkish AMIR went up to the monastery of SIRIKHA of the GREEKS of PONTUS, and he took away the gold cross wherein was a piece of the wood of the Crucifixion, and he visited the troops who were in that country. And afterwards he brought back again to the monastery the great amount of spoil which he took from the monks. Then were put to shame, and covered with disgrace, the GREEKS who uttered blasphemies against Saint MAR BAR-SAWMA and said, 'If there was any power in him, why did he permit JOSCELYN [318] to carry off his right hand?

And in this year NUR AD-DIN went to the country of DAMASCUS. And he sent word to the DAMASCENES, saying, 'I have not come to fight with you, but to remove disgrace from you. For behold, ye are yoked under the tribute of the FRANKS, and the sons and daughters of your country are prisoners with the FRANKS, and ye have no helper.' Then the DAMASCENES sent word to him, saying, 'We are at peace with the FRANKS, and we do not need your help. And if thou dost not leave [us] and return to thine own country, behold, we will send for the FRANKS to come, and we together with them will meet thee with the sword.' And when NUR AD-DIN heard such a message as this he was filled with transports of rage, and he wished to and encamp against the city; but God sent violent and destructive rains, and he was unable to march. And the nobles of DAMASCUS went out and pacified him, and they proclaimed him after the Khalifah and the Sultan; and he left them and returned to ALEPPO.

And in the year fourteen hundred and sixty-three of the GREEKS (A.D. 1152), the FRANKS again sallied forth in anger against the treacherous GREEKS and they came and burnt the whole of the country-side of CONSTANTINOPLE. And they also went forth to PALESTINE, and burnt many villages in the country of ASCALON, and they shed much blood of the TURKS and ARABS whom they found. And they also went forth to EGYPT and laid waste and burnt many villages in the west of EGYPT, and then they returned to their own country. And in that year, DAWLAH, the lord of MELITENE, died, and DHU'L-KARNAIN his son reigned after him. And when MAS'UD, the Sultan of ICONIUM, heard [of this] he attacked YA'KUB 'ARSLAN, the brother of DAWLAH. And having subjugated him he encamped against MELITENE, and he destroyed all the beautiful suburbs thereof.

Then the mother of the young man went forth—now she was his brother's daughter—and she entreated him on behalf of her son. And the Sultan said, 'If he will come forth to me and tender his submission, he will be received by me, and the city shall remain his'. Then the young man went forth carrying a sword and a shroud, and the Sultan received him, and confirmed his authority; and then the young man went forth and departed. Then the mother of the young man ruled the city, and she made [the people] thereof to suffer very many evils—not only the Christians but the ARABS, especially in the matter of imposts and levies and taxes. And she gathered together about her women of sorceries (i.e. witches), and women who [319] raised up the dead, and they prophesied to her that she would reign, and could marry anyone she pleased. And because of this she planned to kill the young man her son, but when her plot was discovered, the nobles cast her out and drove her away, and the sorceresses who were her friends. To that woman the word of prophesy applieth: 'Rise thou up now with thine enchantments and thy sorceries, perhaps thou wilt be able to profit therefrom. I am weary with the multitude of thy thoughts' (Isaiah, xlvii. 12).

And in that year violent rains fell, and they washed away great rocks and hills, and a portion of the mountain also was detached and it slid down into the valley of BETH 'ABDAHAR, the Citadel of the village of TARSHANA. And the flow of the EUPHRATES was impeded for three hours, and the waters mounted up to the village of PROSIDIN, which was situated at the top of the mountain. And then the obstacles on the skirts of MOUNT CLAUDIA were burst asunder, and the waters poured down and wrought great destruction in SYRIA. And in this year the plague waxed strong among the natives of MEYAT, and about twelve thousand

persons died, and very many monasteries were emptied, of their inhabitants. And when NUR AD-DIN again attacked DAMASCUS the FRANKS gathered together to help the DAMASCENES. And when NUR AD-DIN heard [this] he returned to ALEPPO.

And in this year, which was the year five hundred and forty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1151), SALAH AD-DIN went forth from NAJM AD-DIN 'IYOB his father, who was the governor in B'ELBAK, and he came to ALEPPO, to his uncle 'ASAD AD-DIN SHIRKUH. And he brought him to NUR AD-DIN, and he received him and gave him sustenance.

And in the year fourteen hundred and sixty-four of the GREEKS, which is the year five hundred and forty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1152), the king of JERUSALEM quarrelled with his mother, and the queen fortified herself in the Tower of DAVID. Then the nobles acted as intermediaries for them, and she abdicated the queenship of JERUSALEM, and left the remaining cities and the troops to the king her son. And the king attacked the city of ASCALON, which was in the hands of the Egyptian ARABS, and he set up against it a wooden tower, and engines of war, and he made a breach in the wall. And four hundred Brothers (Freres?) leaped up and went in through the breach, and the ARABS killed them all; for twenty thousand armour-clad men were standing inside the breach. [320] And the king himself was suffering greatly, and he was about to abandon the place and depart, when a certain warrior captured it. And the FRANKS kept guard over the breach the whole night and did not permit the ARABS to build it up.

And at the time of dawn the king took a cross, and cast it into the city and cried out, 'Any man who will not go in with the cross is no Christian'. And they all leaped up and went into the city. And about fifteen thousand ARABS were killed in ASCALON, and the remainder in thousands fled to EGYPT. Now what is correct is (i.e. the truth is) that in the year five hundred and forty-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1153), which is the year fourteen hundred and sixty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1154), the FRANKS took ASCALON, but MAR MICHAEL states that it was [taken] the year before. And by this triumph which the king of JERUSALEM won the sovereignty of ANTIOCH became his by right, and he took to wife the wife of its lord who was dead. And TOROS, the ARMENIAN, the governor of CILICIA, went forth to the country of CAPPADOCIA, and he made captives of the TURKS and went to his country.

And Sultan MAS'UD of ICONIUM gave his daughter to YA'KUB 'ARSLAN, and they agreed to invade CILICIA, but because all the garrison towns were strongly held by the ARMENIANS, the TURKS returned from the fortifications with shame. Then TOROS increased in power, and he took the places which were left in the hands of the GREEKS from them. And MANUEL, the king of the GREEKS, became hot with anger, and he sent ANDRONICUS, the captain of the host, who belonged to the royal family of CILICIA. And the ARMENIANS and the GREEKS gathered together, and they met the GREEKS in battle at the Gate of TARSOS, and the GREEKS were defeated; and about three thousand of them were killed, and the rest fled by sea.

And in [that] year there was discovered a goat which had brought forth a kid which had three eyes and two mouths. And a terrible pestilence broke out in CILICIA and in ICONIUM. And in the month of TESHRAIN (OCTOBER) of that year, when men and women were crossing the EUPHRATES from the country of the fortress of ZAID to go to the festival of MAR' AGHRIPAS, which was taking place in the country of GUBOS, an abandonment [by God] took place among them, and they all sunk in the water and were drowned. And as very many people were offended, the doctors of the Church made three kinds of apology, viz., FIRSTLY, 'It is not right to scrutinize the incomprehensible judgements [321] of the Creator'. SECONDLY, 'At this time men and women do not throng to the commemoration of the martyrs in order to be blessed thereby, but to make themselves contemptible with [carnal] pleasures.' THIRDLY, 'It is not right to

consider that those people have perished. For God judged that death was better for them than life. The heathen would perish but not the Believers.'

In this year MAS'UD, the great Sultan of KHORASAN, died in the city of RAMADAN, and his brother's son MALIK SHAH, the son of MAHAMMAD, reigned after him, and KHASBAG the Amir became his governor. And in the year fourteen hundred and sixty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1154), MAS'UD, Sultan of ICONIUM, invaded CILICIA with a numerous army of TURKS. And having encamped against TELL HAMDUN and harassed it with war, the Lord smote them with a plague of gnats and flies which was like unto that of the EGYPTIANS in the days of MOSES the Great. And in these days the air which they breathed became foul and stinking, and they and their horses became sick. And when they saw that the plague had begun among them they abandoned all their treasure and fled, And TOROS and the ARMENIANS came down upon them from the mountains, and killed them until they were exhausted. And he also went forth to GABDANYA, which is DAWALU, and plundered the TURKS and went back.

And in this year the FRANKS took ASCALON (according to correct reckoning), and it remained theirs for thirty-five years—until SALAH AD-DIN took it. And in [that] year also, which is the year five hundred and forty-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1153), HUSAM AD-DIN TEMURTASH, the lord of MARDIN, died, and his son NAJAM AD-DIN reigned after him. At the beginning [of his reign] he dealt very severely with the Christians, but at the time of his death he commanded his sons to deal kindly with the Christians, and not to treat them harshly. It is said that Saint MAR 'ABAI appeared to him in a revelation. And another son of his, JAMAL AD-DIN, ruled over HANI, and another [son], SAMSAM AD-DIN, over DARA.

And in the year fourteen hundred and sixty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1155), MAS'UD, the Sultan of ICONIUM, died, and after him his son KELEJ 'ARSLAN reigned. And whilst he only with difficulty could protect his country from the men of the house of DANISHMAND, and especially from YA'KUB 'ARSLAN, NUR AD-DIN attacked PARZAMAN and 'AINTAB, and he took them without fighting. And in this year, which is the year five hundred and forty-nine of the ARABS (A. D. 1154), NUR AD-DIN took DAMASCUS [322] from its lord MUJIR AD-DIN without fighting, having first of all cast dissension between its lord and his nobles. For he wrote to him secretly, saying, 'In respect of so-and-so and so-and-so, beware of their treachery (now they are sending messages to me continually that they will surrender DAMASCUS to me). I am unable to decide whether or not I shall leave the FRANKS and make war on the ARABS.' And whilst he led astray that wretched man with such messages as the above, he killed the captains of his host one by one. And when NUR AD-DIN saw that there remained in DAMASCUS no one who could meet him in battle, he attacked it and took it easily. And he gave unto MUJIR, its lord, certain villages in the country of EMESA, and sent him there. And he dealt kindly with the DAMASCENES, and they rejoiced in him as one who was able to stand up against the FRANKS.

And in this year TAFIR, the son of HAFIT, the Khalifah of EGYPT, died, and his son 'ISA, a child three years old, was made king after him; now he was called FAIZ. And a man whose name was 'ABBAS became his Wazir. And because the great Amir FARIS AD-DIN did not approve [of him], he was wroth and dismissed 'ABBAS [on the grounds that] he acted without his advice. Then 'ABBAS was afraid, and he took everything which he possessed and went forth with three thousand ARMENIANS who were in his service, and he began to flee and to take asylum with NUR AD-DIN. And when the EGYPTIANS pursued him the ARMENIANS turned upon them and killed the greater number of them. And 'ABBAS and those who were with him marched into the desert, where for some days they were in a miserable condition through hunger and thirst, because their guide had deceived them, even as in the time of JULIAN the Apostate. And having brought them out opposite ASCALON, the FRANKS went forth against them. And when the ARMENIANS saw the crosses which were affixed to the tops of the spears of the FRANKS, they threw down their weapons and mingled themselves with the FRANKS. And on that day about five thousand ARABS were killed. And

MUJIR ('ABBAS?) himself was captured and sold by the FRANKS to the EGYPTIANS and they impaled him.

And in that year the Khalifah, who was MUKTAFI, went and encamped against TAGRIT, and he made fierce war upon it and destroyed the district entirely; and he began to fight against the Citadel thereof. Then MAHAMMAD SHAH, the son of Sultan MAS'UD, sent to the Amirs of MAWSIL, and said unto them, 'My fathers, [323] in order that ye may be a help to me, I make you governors over these countries. And now in the whole land of SEN'AR there remaineth to us no territory except this fortress of TAGRIT. And this man, that is to say the Khalifah, wisheth to remove this from our hands; therefore I entreat you to come without delay and to save me from him.' Thereupon the men of MAWSIL straightway gathered themselves together, and they went forth and set their gaze directly on TAGRIT. Then when the Khalifah heard that they were willing and were coming to him fear fell upon him, and he abandoned all his treasure and implements of war, and departed to BAGHDAD. And after some days the Amir, a TURK, collected about twelve thousand men, and he sent and brought out 'ARSLAN SHAH, the son of TUGHREL the SALJUK, from the prison of TAGRIT, for the name (or, fame, renown) which appertained to the royal race of the SALJUKS was with them, and he went forth. And the Khalifah, with his forces, also went forth to meet them in battle. And when they had been encamped facing each other on the side of the road of KHORASAN for eighteen days, they attacked each other. And the party of the Khalifah was broken and wished to flee. Then two of his nobles entreated him to make some small resistance, and they brought him by force to his horse in front. And the men of BAGHDAD plucked up courage and turned upon the TURKS, and broke them, and put them to flight, and captured all their treasure, And it is said that they looted from the TURKS fourteen thousand sheep, besides oxen and camels.

And in this year the waters of the TIGRIS ran very red, like blood, and at various places in the country of WASIT blood bubbled up from the earth; and no man knew why it did so.

And in the year fourteen hundred and sixty-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1156), PRAYNS, the lord of ANTIOCH, fought with TOROS, the governor of CILICIA, because the FRANKS demanded those fortresses which the ARMENIANS had taken from the GREEKS, as they ought to belong the Brethren (Freres?), whose labor was for the benefit of all Christians, because the GREEKS had taken them from the FRANKS. And the ARMENIANS were resisting the demand. And the two parties met each other in battle near the Gate of SUNKRATON (SEKUNTARON?), and the ARMENIANS were defeated, and TOROS fled. And then he made peace and gave the towns to the Freres (?).

And in the year when the lord of MAR'ASH [324] went to make war on a certain village of the ARMENIANS, STEPHEN, the brother of TOROS, collected ARMENIANS, and they came by night and hid themselves in the houses of the ARMENIANS. And in the morning, when the gate of the fortress was opened, they leaped out and went in, and they seized the gate and the outer wall, and they began to dig out those who were inside. And suddenly terror fell upon them because of the report, 'The Amir and many TURKS are coming'. And being afraid lest they should be shut in between the two walls, and that they would have to fight those who were inside, and those that were outside, they looted the city, and set fire to the houses and to whatsoever they were unable to carry away, and they took all the people and fled.

And among those who were taken captive was also the holy man MAR DIONYSIUS BAR-SALIBHI. He was captured by the accursed ARMENIANS, but he escaped on foot to the Monastery of KALASYUR (KALASYUD?). And he composed three DISCOURSES on the destruction of MAR'ASH, because it was at that time his pasture. Now when the TURKS came they entreated mercifully the Christians who remained [there]. And they did not withhold the houses and vineyards and farms from any ARMENIAN who had run away and returned. But the priest, inasmuch as he had had speech (i.e. an understanding) with the

ARMENIANS, they flayed whilst he was alive, and after three days they cut out his tongue, and cut off his hands and his feet, and then they burned him in the fire. And when the ARMENIANS heard [this] they treated certain TURKS in precisely the same way.

And in this same year, also in MELITENE, another priest, who was likewise an ARMENIAN, was flayed alive because he had debauched a maiden of the neighbourhood who had been recently betrothed. He had taken her into the church, and wished to commit fornication with her, and when the miserable maiden began to cry out he placed the palm of his hand over her mouth until he had accomplished his shameful act. And when he rose up from her he found her drawing her last breath, and then he strangled (or, choked) her completely. And he cut off her ears and some of her fingers because they were swollen, and the rings of her fingers and her earrings would not come away from her, and he hid them in the lamps. And he wrapped her body up in a garment and placed it inside the altar. And after an hour, when her kinsfolk and parents began to seek for her, the children who were playing in the street said to them, [325] 'We saw her go into the church'. And when they asked the priest he said unto them, 'Yes, she came into the church, and when she saw that I was in the church she was shy of me and went out hurriedly without stopping for one moment'. And those believing folk believed him as they would naturally believe the priest.

And as they were going round about in the city and making search in the houses of their relatives, they saw the filthy man, who was no priest, with boots on his feet, and he was going out through the gate of the city; and they seized him and carried him to the governor. And when they had beaten him a little he confessed, and showed them the maiden's body and her ears and her fingers. And the whole city assembled there, ARABS and Christians, men and women, and with much weeping and loud lamentations they took the maiden out and buried her. And they flayed the filthy man and dismembered him, whilst he was alive, and [then] they burnt him.

And in the year fourteen hundred and sixty-eight of the GREEKS. (A.D. 1157), PRAYNS, the lord of ANTIOCH, went to CYPRUS, which was with the GREEKS, and he took the whole island, men, and sheep, and oxen, and horses, and all [its] riches. And when they brought them down to the seashore the CYPRIOTES undertook to ransom themselves and their beasts with much gold, and the FRANKS released them, but they took away all the treasure. And the bishops, and the archimandrites, and the governors of the people they carried off with them as hostages to ANTIOCH, until the gold was paid

And in the year fourteen hundred and sixty-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 1158) STEPHEN acted treacherously against TOROS his brother, and he wished to kill him. When TOROS perceived this he seized him and shut him up for ten months. And afterwards, at the entreaty of the FRANKS, he brought him out and he entered the service of the FRANKS. And in this year, which is the year five hundred and fifty-two of the ARABS (A.D. 1157), severe earthquakes took place in SYRIA and they destroyed many towns. As for HAMATH, its fortress and its town and all its large houses fell down upon old men, and women, and children, and tens of thousands of its inhabitants perished therein. And the fortress of SHAIZAR fell, every part of it, and only one woman and one eunuch escaped. And the people of EMESA went forth in great haste and were delivered, but their monasteries and its fortress perished. And in like manner the people of ALEPPO fled from the city, and sat down outside it for days and were delivered, and their houses were thrown down, but only five hundred souls perished in it. And so with KAPHAR TAB, and APAMEA, not one man escaped [326] from them, and many other places as far as RAHBUTH. And also the cities of the FRANKS, HESEN AL-AKRAD and 'ARKA, fell completely. In LAODICEA the great church only remained, and all those who were in it were delivered. And the ground inside it was rent asunder, and a chasm which was full of clay appeared, and in the middle of the clay a molten image was standing upright. And similarly the greater part of ANTIOCH and TRIPOLI was destroyed.

And in the year JOSCELYN died a prisoner in ALEPPO, after a complete repentance, according to what saith IGNATIUS, the bishop of ALEPPO, who administered to him the Mysteries. And in this year Sultan MAHAMMAD, the son of Sultan MAHMUD, came with a numerous army to BAGHDAD, and he encamped against it for four months, and harassed it greatly with war. Then the Khalifah having induced the nobles of the Sultan, by means of bribes, to agree, stopped him from fighting. And then came to them the report that MALIK SHAH, his brother, had captured HAMADAN and plundered it, and had taken also the wives of the nobles. Then the Sultan ceased to fight and he removed from BAGHDAD. And the armies of the people of BAGHDAD pursued him, and every one of the TURKS whom they captured they killed without mercy, because those TURKS had wrought great damage in the western side of BAGHDAD, where they were camped. And they used to commit fornication with married women in the Mosques in the sight of their husbands, and the murders which they committed, and the burnings of houses (or, quarters of the city) which they carried out were many.

And in this year Sultan SENJAR, the son of MALIK SHAH, the son of 'ALB 'ARSLAN, the son of DAWUD, died, after he had been saved from the hand of the GHUZZ who had made him prisoner. And in the year fourteen hundred and seventy of the GREEKS (A.D. 1159-58), MANUEL, the king of the GREEKS, went to CILICIA, and TOROS, the ARMENIAN, fled. And he, the king, ruled over TARSOS, and 'ANAZARBA and the other cities, and he remained there the whole winter. And the king of JERUSALEM and of ANTIOCH, together with the Patriarch of the FRANKS, came to him and they made an agreement with him; And they made peace between him and TOROS, and they brought him to him, and he made him captain of the host of all the cities of the GREEKS which are on the seashore. And all the Christians banded themselves together, GREEKS, and FRANKS, and ARMENIANS, to go and attack ALEPPO, [327] and DAMASCUS, and all SYRIA. Then came a report of treachery from CONSTANTINOPLE to the effect that they (i.e. the people) wished to appoint another king. Then MANUEL, the king, returned hurriedly to CONSTANTINOPLE, and the plan which they had planned did not come into effect. And in [that] year, in the month of NISAN (APRIL), a flood took place in BAGHDAD, and the waters destroyed a part of the walls of the palace of the Khalifah. And the people fled to the western part [of the city] carrying the sick, and the aged, and the young children on their shoulders, because wrath hurried them. And the hire of a boat for one journey amounted to four gold *dinars*.

(Continued on Next Page)

Bar Hebraeus'

Chronography

X

The Taking of Edessa from the Franks (continued).

And in the year fourteen hundred and seventy-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1160), the son of JOSCELYN, the prisoner, used to go out from HARIM continually and plunder the country of ALEPPO like a thief. And NUR AD-DIN laid an ambush for him, and caught him, and he was deposited in the cave wherein his father had been placed.

And in the year five hundred and fifty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1160), on the second day of the third month, in the month of 'ADHAR (MARCH), the Khalifah MUKTAFI died of the disease of angina, and his son MUSTANJID reigned after him. After MUKTAFI his son MUSTANJID [ruled] twelve years. When his father was dead this man rose up to go into the place where the dead body was laid. And his father's wife, that is to say, the mother of his young brother, who was a Turkish woman, prepared her handmaidens, and they took knives and were ready to kill MUSTANJID when he went in, so that the kingdom might come to the younger son. And one of the women went out and informed MUSTANJID. And he collected soldiers (or, scouts), and he captured his brother and bound him in fetters and imprisoned him. And he also attacked those women, and he shut up each one of them in a certain place apart, and he killed whichever he pleased. And the Khalifate was confirmed on him and he was proclaimed.

And in the year fourteen hundred and seventy-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1161), SIR (SIRE) AMORI (AMAURY), the brother of the king of JERUSALEM, went to the country of EGYPT; and the FRANKS seized great riches (or, treasure) and went away. And after a short time FAIZ, the Khalifah of EGYPT, died. And in connexion with this the EGYPTIANS undertook to give tribute to the FRANKS every year one hundred and sixty thousand gold *dinars*. And GEORGE, the king of the IBERIANS, sallied forth and captured [328] the great city of 'ANI from the TURKS, and he took great spoil, and very many Arab prisoners, and returned to his own country.

And the Amir JAMAL AD-DIN, who was in MAWSIL, now he was a most merciful man and his alms were abundant, sent the MAPHRIAN IGNATIUS as an envoy to GEORGE to buy (i.e. ransom) the Arab prisoners. And he went and was received honourably, and a large number of prisoners were given to him for nothing. And he was sent [by him] with gifts to the lord of MAWSIL, and he also sent with him an Iberian envoy at his own expense. And when they came and arrived in MAWSIL the governor went forth to meet them. And the MAPHRIAN and the envoys went in to MAWSIL with crosses hanging on the heads of their spears. And there was consolation both for the Christians and the ARABS, because of the freeing of the prisoners. And in [that] year there was a certain FRANK who was a robber in BAGHRAS, and because the FRANKS wanted to seize him, he fled and went to NUR AD-DIN; and he took TURKS and came to plunder the country of ANTIOCH. And the FRANKS laid an ambush for him and captured him and burned him in the fire.

And in the year fourteen hundred and seventy-three of the GREEKS (A.D. 1162), in the month of the FIRST TESHRAIN (OCTOBER), DHU'L-KARNEN, the governor of MELITENE, died, and his son, who was a

child, rose up after him. And Sultan KELEJ 'ARSLAN of ICONIUM, seeing that YA'KUB 'ARSLAN and the rest of the Amirs wished to dismiss him and appoint his brother, went to CONSTANTINOPLE, and he was honoured greatly by the GREEKS. And he remained there eighty days, and twice each day food was sent to him in vessels of silver and gold without [his being obliged] to send back the vessels, all of which were left with him; and two meals were sent to him in other vessels which were new. And on the last day, when the king and the Sultan reclined at the same table, all the vessels and the table decorations were given to the Sultan, together with the other gifts which were given to him and to the one thousand TURKS who were with him. And when the Sultan went out YA'KUB 'ARSLAN was afraid, and he humbled himself before him and there was peace. And at [this time] when STEPHEN, the brother of TOROS, the governor of CILICIA, was bidden to a feast with ANDRONICUS the GREEK, the governor of TARSOS, [329] he was found to have been killed and [his body was] lying by the gate of the city. Then TOROS became furiously angry with the GREEKS, and he killed more than ten thousand of them. And the king of JERUSALEM came and made peace between the ARMENIANS and the GREEKS.

And in the year fourteen hundred and seventy-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1163), KARA 'ARSLAN, the lord of the fortress of ZAID, encamped against 'AMID, and he made cruel war on it. And afterwards dissension broke out among his troops, and he left and departed. And YAK'UB 'ARSLAN also went to his own country, and he took the fortress of SHUMUSHKI, and he carried away into captivity about one hundred thousand souls, and he left the village deserts. Then the pious 'IGNATIUS of TELLA OF ARSENIUS was carried off captive as far as KAMAH, and being released he came to MELITENE. And the saint of the fortress of ZAID was seized, and after two days they let him go free. At [that] time the wife of PRAYNS, who had been captured and shut up in ALEPPO, quarrelled with her son and did not want him to reign. And being vexed by the opposition of the nobles she sent to the king of the GREEKS, who was her son-in-law, to come, and she handed over ANTIOCH to him. And when the Patriarch and the nobles perceived this they sent and brought TOROS from CILICIA. And he went into ANTIOCH, and drove the queen out of the city, and confirmed her son in the kingdom.

And in [this] year, which is the year five hundred and fifty-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1162), NUR AD-DIN collected a numerous army of TURKS, and went and encamped against the Citadel of the KURDS ('AKRAD), pretending that he intended to go in and take the country of TRIPOLIS. And one day, at the time of noon, when the Turkish people were lying in ease and comfort in their tents, the crosses of the FRANKS burst upon them, and terror fell upon the TURKS. It is said that when NUR AD-DIN saw the banners of the FRANKS he jumped up and went out from his tent, in his agitation, without his tunic (or, coat of mail). And he leaped on his horse, which was tethered [close by] according to custom. Then a KURD came and cut the tetherings of the horse, and NUR AD-DIN fled and saved himself. And the FRANKS pursued the KURD and killed him. And they destroyed many of the TURKS and put them in fetters, and they captured spoil and went into TRIPOLI.

And in the year fourteen hundred and seventy-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1164), YA'KUB 'ARSLAN died suddenly on the river KANGAR (SANGAR), which is on the banks of the [330] river 'ALIS. And there rose up in his place ISMA'IL, the son of his brother's son, and he took to wife the wife of YA'KUB 'ARSLAN, who was the daughter of the Sultan. And NUR AD-DIN encamped against HARIM. Then were gathered together five governors, PRAYNS of ANTIOCH, and the Count of TRIPOLI, and TOROS of CILICIA, and the GREEK Duke of TARSOS, and the MAISTIR (MAISTRE) of the FRIRE (Freres); and with them there were about thirteen thousand horsemen and footmen. And they came and engaged in battle with NUR AD-DIN, and the FRANKS were badly broken. And the Count, and the Duke, and PRAYNS were captured and carried into ALEPPO, and all the Freres were killed, and TOROS escaped to ANTIOCH. And the Patriarch of the FRANKS made a great lamentation, and he broke the bellringers (or, bells) and stopped the prayers.

And NUR AD-DIN took HARIM and DAIRA SEM'AN of the GREEKS, and he made the monks slaves together with the inhabitants of the whole country.

In this year, which is the year five hundred and fifty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1163), NUR AD-DIN sent 'ASAD AD-DIN SHIRKUH, the brother of NAJAM AD-DIN 'AYUB, the father of SALAH AD-DIN, to EGYPT. For these two brothers, SHIRKUH and 'AYUB, the sons of SHADI, were from the district of DAWIN, a city of ARMENIA, and were KURDS by race. And they were in the service of MAJAHID AD-DIN BAHRUZ, the eunuch, the Amir of TAGRIT, who was a lover of the Christians. And SHIRKUH having killed a certain Christian of TAGRIT, who was greatly beloved by the Amir, the two brothers fled to ZANGI in MAWSIL, and he received them and they prospered [whilst] they were with him. And when ZANGI took B'ELBAK he appointed NAJAM AD-DIN 'AYUB governor in its Citadel; and when ZANGI was killed, NAJAM surrendered the fortress to the lord of DAMASCUS. And 'ASAD AD-DIN SHIRKUH, his brother, was in the service of NUR AD-DIN, and he gave him EMESA and RAHBUTH. And 'AYUB also helped, and he surrendered DAMASCUS to NUR AD-DIN, and they lived with him in great honour. And when the occasion demanded that he should send troops to EGYPT, for the EGYPTIANS were helpless, and SHAWIR, the Wazir of EGYPT, came and begged for assistance, he saw that SHIRKUH was the better [man], and he sent him [331] with SHAWIR.

And having departed together and arrived in EGYPT, SHAWIR knew from the actions of SHIRKUH that he was anxious to remove sovereignty (or, the kingdom) from the EGYPTIANS. Therefore he sent and made peace with the FRANKS. He paid no attention to SHIRKUH, and he did not give him any of the gold and the famous towns which he promised him. Then SHIRKUH sent his armies and took the city of BULBAIS. And SHAWIR sent and brought the king of JERUSALEM with a numerous army of FRANKS. And SHIRKUH went and made his position very strong in BULBAIS. And the EGYPTIANS allied themselves with the FRANKS, and they attacked SHIRKUH in BULBAIS, and they shut him up therein for three months. And when the report concerning the FRANKS came, that they had been broken and taken prisoners, near HARIM, the king of JERUSALEM sent to SHIRKUH and persuaded him to go forth in peace and to depart to his own country and leave EGYPT to its lords. And SHIRKUH agreed to this readily, and he went forth and departed to DAMASCUS.

And in the year fourteen hundred and seventy-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1165), KELEJ 'ARSLAN, Sultan of ICONIUM, reigned over GADUG and 'ABLESTIN, and TURANDA, and he began to persecute the sons of DANISHMAND. And NUR AD-DIN reigned over BANYAS and he fortified it strongly. And TOROS the ARMENIAN pillaged MAR'ASH and captured four hundred TURKS. And he sent to NUR AD-DIN, saying, 'If thou wilt not sell the Christian chiefs who are with thee, I will burn them all in the fire'. Then NUR AD-DIN was compelled [to sell], and he sold every one who was with him, and also the young man PRAYNS, for one hundred thousand *dinars*. And BOHAIMOND PRAYNS, having escaped, went to the king of the GREEKS, whose son-in-law he was, in CONSTANTINOPLE, and much riches (or, money) was given to him, and he came to ANTIOCH, and brought with him the Greek Patriarch whose name was ATHANASIUS. And the Patriarch of the FRANKS was offended at this, and he went out and sat in the fortress of KUSAIR, and he sent out excommunications to the FRANKS of ANTIOCH.

And in this year, in the month of SHEBHAT (FEBRUARY), AMIN AD-DAWLAH the son of TALMIDH, a Christian physician, died in BAGHDAD at the age of ninety years. This man was learned in many sciences, but in his time he stood alone in the art of healing. And he was equally skilled in the art of rhetoric, and in the grammar of the ARABS, and in their poetry, [332] he was not inferior to anyone of their eminent men. During the whole period of his life he lived in affluent circumstances, and in the honour [which was paid to him] by kings. It is related that when he was dying his son said unto him, 'What is it that aileth thee?' And he

replied, 'The greatness of these ninety years'. And again his son asked him, 'What dost thou desire?' And he replied, 'That I desire'.

And in the year fourteen hundred and seventy-six [of the GREEKS, A.D. 1165] we heard [the following] wonderful story from the sons of the city of 'ALINAS. When there was a plague in this year in GRUPIA, there was present in that place a certain TURK, and he said unto the people, 'See ye: who was the first person to die of this plague?' And when they knew [who it was] they opened his grave, and they found that after four months his body had not suffered corruption. And his eyes were unclosed, and his mouth was open about one span and four fingers, and the cloth in which his head and breast were swathed was undamaged, and the parts of his beard round about his jaws and chin were shaved as with a razor, and his right arm which came straight down from the shoulder was by his side. Then that TURK brought together (i.e. closed) his mouth, and he drove into it a large peg, and from that day no other man died.

And in the year fourteen hundred and seventy-seven [of the GREEKS, A.D. 1166], MANUEL, the king of the GREEKS, during the war with the BULGARIANS, was wounded, and fell from his horse. And when a certain BULGARIAN stood up over him to kill him, MANUEL informed him that he was the king, and with many strong oaths he promised great gifts to him that had taken him prisoner if he would carry him to CONSTANTINOPLE. And the BULGARIAN believed him and brought him to the city; and the king fulfilled his promise, and added thereto. And it is related that some time MANUEL acted deceitfully towards the queen because she did not bear him a child, and that he killed her with poison. And he took another wife, which it is illegal for a king to do.

And in the year fourteen hundred and seventy-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 1167), which is the year five hundred and sixty-two of the ARABS (A.D. 1166), NUR AD-DIN sent the Amir 'ASAD AD-DIN SHIRKUH, and SALAH AD-DIN, his brother's son, a second time to EGYPT. And because SHIRKUH was greatly inclined and anxious [to go], he arrived in EGYPT with a few footmen. And he crossed the river NILE to the western bank, and he advanced as far as the country of the SA'ID (i.e. UPPER EGYPT). Then SHAWIR, the Wazir [333] of EGYPT, sent for the FRANKS. Thereupon many armies of the FRANKS and of the EGYPTIANS made ready, and they also crossed over to the western bank in pursuit of SHIRKUH. Then the nobles who were with him advised him, saying, 'No other means is left to us except to cross over to the eastern bank, and to go again to SYRIA, because we are wholly without the strength to cope with all these [forces]. And if we meet them in battle we shall undoubtedly know that defeat is nearer to us than victory. And moreover, what place for refuge (or, retreat) shall we have? For behold the peasants, and the soldiers, and all the natives of this country are our enemies.

Then one of the slaves of NUR AD-DIN, whose name was BUNGUSH, a brave and warlike young man, said unto them, 'Believe [me], O all ye nobles, that if ye do not meet the enemy in battle now ye will have to go to NUR AD-DIN [either as] the victors or as the vanquished—and there will have to be on your part a full explanation to him. And he will cut off your rations, and he will withdraw from you what ye have been in the habit of eating for a long time. For he who trembles at the prospect of fighting is not a soldier of the king's, but is a field labourer, or he should dwell with the women in the houses.' And when SHIRKUH heard these [words] he said, 'I myself am also of the same opinion'. And then they all wished to engage in battle, and the EGYPTIANS and the FRANKS came to an agreement quickly, and then, though unwilling, they met in battle.

Then SHIRKUH placed SALAH AD-DIN, his brother's son, and all his valuables, in the middle of the battle array, so as to make their number appear larger. And he commanded them, saying, 'The FRANKS and the EGYPTIANS think that I myself am in the middle, and they will direct the whole of their strength (or, forces) against you. Now, do not contend against them too vigorously, but little by little turn your backs towards

them. And do not be afraid that they will pursue you, because I myself shall be behind them.' And when the battle line was being set in order, SHIRKUH selected for himself certain trained hunting men, on whom he could rely because of their strength and endurance in the stadium. And when the FRANKS and EGYPTIANS met them in battle, those who were in the middle turned their backs, and the FRANKS and the EGYPTIANS pursued them, and then SHIRKUH pursued the pursuers, and the fugitives turned back and the EGYPTIANS and the FRANKS were caught in the midst, and a smashing defeat overtook them; [334] and he who escaped slaughter fled. It is said that those who were with SHIRKUH were only two thousand in number, and that the FRANKS and the EGYPTIANS were ten thousand [in number]. Then SHIRKUH marched against ALEXANDRIA, and he took it without fighting.

Then the EGYPTIANS and the FRANKS gathered together in the city of KAHRAH (CAIRO), and they sent to SHIRKUH and asked for peace. And he agreed on condition that fifty thousand *dinars* should be given to SHIRKUH to go to his own country, and that ALEXANDRIA should be restored to the EGYPTIANS, and that one hundred thousand *dinars* should be given yearly to the FRANKS, and that they should return to their own country. But they were to have an officer and horsemen [stationed] as guards at the gates of ALEXANDRIA, lest they should be prevented from passing through the town by the partisans of NUR AD-DIN. Thus SHIRKUH left and went to DAMASCUS.

And in this year KARA 'ARSLAN, the lord of the fortress of ZAID, went against AMID, and through the treachery of the watchmen he became master of two towers. But those who were inside gained the upper hand, and they killed those who had gone up into the towers. And KARA 'ARSLAN was ashamed, and he returned to his own country in sorrow and disgrace. A little later, on the seventeenth day of the month of TAMMUZ (JULY), he died, and his son rose up (i.e. succeeded him).

And in the year fourteen hundred and seventy-nine [of the GREEKS, A.D. 1168], TOROS, the governor of CILICIA, died in the month of KANON (DECEMBER). He was a monk at the time of his death, and he commanded that his youngest son, a boy, should rise up in his place, and that THOMAS, the son of his aunt, should be his administrator. And he deprived his brother MALIH wholly of [his] inheritance. Then was MALIH angry, and he went forth to NUR AD-DIN, and received from him an army of TURKS, and attacked CILICIA. And he took sixteen thousand youths, and maidens, and men and women, and monks, and bishops, and carried them to ALEPPO. And he sold them to the merchants and gave the price paid for them to the TURKS who were with him. Then the ARMENIANS sent and summoned him to them, and they gave him one-half of the country; and he swore to them that the other half should remain to the young [governor]. And then he broke the oath and took possession of the whole country, both the fortresses and towns; And he put out the eyes of many of the bishops and governors, and cut off their hands and feet, and others he flayed alive and cast their bodies to the wild animals.

And in this year, which is the year five hundred and sixty-three (A.D. 1167) of the [335] ARABS, ZAYN AL-DIN, the Turkish Amir who was the director of affairs of KUTB AD-DIN, the lord of MAWSIL, being old and deaf and blind, handed over the countries which were under his rule to KUTB AD-DIN, that is to say, SHIGHAR, and HARRAN, and the fortress of HAKARIAH, and TAGRIT, and SHAHARZUR. And he left to himself nothing except 'ARBIL, because this was his from the time of the 'ATABAG ZANGI. And he departed thereto and in it he died. And his son, MUTAFAR AD-DIN succeeded him, and MUJAHID AD-DIN became his director of affairs. It is said concerning this ZAYN AL-DIN that he was a Turkish Amir, and to his justice, and almsgiving and generosity there was no end. And though he was the most astute of men, he exhibited simplicity. Now, one of the horsemen came to him, and he had in his hand a horse's tail, and he pretended that his horse was dead. And ZAYN AL-DIN gave the order and [another] horse was given to the horseman, who took the tail and went away and gave it to another horseman. And he also came to ZAYN AL-DIN and pretended that [his] horse was dead. And ZAYN AL-DIN commanded and gave him also [another]

horse. And in this way the tail passed from hand to hand, and twelve horsemen brought that tail to him; and he gave the twelfth man a horse. And unto the last man he said, "Why are ye not as much ashamed of me as I am of you? Behold, twelve times this self-same tail hath been before me, and I recognized it. But I wished that ye should not be ashamed and that ye should keep your self-respect, and that my gift should come to you without subjecting you to any burden, whilst I added to my beneficence, even as one who discharged a liability.' And a certain poet came to him and began to read before him some metrical compositions. And ZAYN AD-DIN replied, 'I do not know what thou art saying, but I do know that thou art begging for something'. And he commanded that there should be given to him five hundred gold *dinars*, and a horse and raiment with five hundred others.

And in the year fourteen hundred and eighty of the GREEKS (A.D. 1169), KELEJ 'ARSLAN, the Sultan of ICONIUM, took CAESAREA of CAPPADOCIA and SIMNADU from the sons of DANISHMAND. And in the year, which is the year five hundred and sixty-four of the ARABS (A.D. 1168), NUR AD-DIN took KAL'AH DHE JA'BAR from SHEHAB AD-DIN, the Ma'dian Amir, from the sons of 'UKAIL, and gave him SERUGH, and MALAHTA, and BAB BUZA'AH, and twenty thousand *dinars*. And when he was once [336] in SERUGH certain of his friends asked him, 'Where now art thou happier; here or there?' And he replied, 'Here there is much money; but we have left honour in KAL'AH'. And in [that] year Sultan KELEJ 'ARSLAN took the city of 'ANKURA (ANCYRA) and KANKAR from the GREEKS.

And at that time the FRANKS who were stationed in EGYPT and in ALEXANDRIA to collect the gold of the tribute and to keep guard over the gates, sent to 'AMORI, king of JERUSALEM, saying, 'This country is empty of troops, and ye could easily take possession of it'. And though all the nobles wished to set out, the king in his wisdom restrained them, saying, 'Behold, the whole of the gold of EGYPT is gathered together with us. If we attack EGYPT, the ARABS in their hatred of us, and inclining more to NUR AD-DIN [than to us], will send and fetch him. And we shall have on our hand war with those who are within and those who are without, and we are incapable of undertaking this.' Now the nobles were not convinced by the advice of the king, but they said, 'We will go and take possession of EGYPT, before it is possible for NUR AD-DIN to muster his troops to come'. And thus their king was defeated, and they collected their troops and departed hurriedly. And they took the city of BULBAIS, and plundered it, and they carried away its inhabitants as captives. And they came and encamped against KAHRAH (CAIRO) and MESRIN. Now the EGYPTIANS being afraid lest what had happened to the people of BULBAIS should happen to them also, encouraged each other, and they manned the walls, and they fought the FRANKS bravely and steadily. And 'ASAD, the Khalifah of EGYPT, cut off the plaits of hair of his wives and daughters, and sent them to NUR AD-DIN and said, 'Behold these! My wives are sighing, and weeping, and groaning, and are entreating thee to come to their help and to deliver them from the hands of the FRANKS.' And NUR AD-DIN spent about two months in collecting troops, and whilst he tarried, the war against EGYPT grew fiercer. SHAWIR, the Wazir of EGYPT, sent to 'AMORI, and to the nobles of the FRANKS, and said; 'Ye know my debt to you, and if I knew that the ARABS would agree that I should hand over EGYPT to you, I would hand it over to you immediately. But [337] I know that if they heard concerning me anything of this kind, they would without the least hesitation destroy me. But this [plan] I see is better, that is to say, that ye should take as much gold as ye wish and depart to your own country, and that ye should be your own deputies and collectors of tribute with us as formerly. And do not let NUR AD-DIN come and take possession of EGYPT, for in that case ye would neither receive country nor tribute.'

And when the FRANKS heard these things they made peace on the condition that one thousand thousands of *dinars* should be given to them. And SHAWIR gave them one hundred thousand *dinars* straightway, and he said, 'If ye will leave the country and depart I will collect the rest [of the *dinars*] and send [them to you]'. And thereupon the FRANKS left and departed to their own country.

Now when NUR AD-DIN heard that the FRANKS had departed from EGYPT, he did not stop the dispatch of troops, for it was not his object to do good to the EGYPTIANS, but to rule over them. Therefore he commanded SHIRKUH to place himself at the head of the army and to set out, and [to take] with him SALAH AD-DIN, his nephew. And SHIRKUH having gone to CAIRO went into the presence of the Khalifah 'ASAD, and was honoured by him. Because the whole administration was in the hands of SHAWIR, the Wazir, the Khalifah put SHIRKUH off with vain words, and he gave no refreshment either to him or to those who were with him. On the contrary, he was plotting to make a feast for 'ASAD AD-DIN, and to capture him and his brother's son by guile, but the son of SHAWIR prevented him. And SALAH AD-DIN was plotting to kill SHAWIR, and his uncle SHIRKUH prevented him. And one day when SHAWIR went according to custom to SHIRKUH he could not find him, because he had gone to receive a blessing at the tomb of one of the Rabbis of their Faith. And on that occasion SALAH AD-DIN was riding with him, and as they were talking together, he suddenly threw himself off his horse and gripped [SHAWIR], but because he could not do so without the command of his uncle, he was unable to kill him. And having made known to his uncle [that it was SHAWIR] he said, 'We cannot do anything without the command of the Khalifah'. And when they made this known to the Khalifah 'ASAD, he urged them to kill him, because there did not remain with the Khalifah any authority whatsoever over SHAWIR. And thus SHAWIR was killed, and his house was plundered, and SHIRKUH himself became [338] Wazir in his place. And he was also called 'King', and 'Captain of the Host', for the Wazirs of EGYPT were called by these names. And when SHIRKUH had lived two months only in his office of Wazir, he died of the disease of strangury, and his brother's son, SALAH AD-DIN, the son of NAJAM AD-DIN 'AYUB, rose in his place. And by the generosity of his gifts he made all his troops his friends, and he ruled over EGYPT.

And to 'ASAD AD-DIN SHIRKUH there remained one son whose name was NASIR AD-DIN, and EMESA belonged to him and his sons. And his brother NAJAM AD-DIN 'AYUB had six sons. The first was SHAMS AD-DAWLAH TURAN SHAH, who ruled over ALEXANDRIA. The second was SHAH EN SHAH, the father of 'EZ AD-DIN FARUKH SHAH, and of TAKI AD-DIN 'OMAR, and to him and his sons HAMATH belonged. The third was SAIF AL-ESLAM TUGHTAKIN, who ruled over the South. The fourth was SALAH AD-DIN YUSIF, who reigned over EGYPT, and PALESTINE, and SYRIA and BETH NAHRIN. The fifth was MALIK 'ADIL ABU BAKR, who succeeded SALAH AD-DIN. The sixth was TAJ AL-MULK TURI, who died when SALAH AD-DIN was encamped against ALEPPO.

(Continued on Next Page)

Bar Hebraeus'

Chronography

X

The Taking of Edessa from the Franks (continued).

And in the year fourteen hundred and eighty-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1169-1170), MAHAMAD, the governor of MELITENE, being hated by the nobles and citizens, because he clung to a woman who was a whore and a sorceress, took the whore and the sorceress and went forth from MELITENE, and he travelled about from one place to another. And the nobles and the citizens set up in his stead his younger brother ABU AL-KASIM. And when the king of JERUSALEM heard of the evil things which MALIH, the ARMENIAN, the governor of CILICIA, made the Christians to suffer, he was filled with indignation, and attacked him, and shut him up in a certain fortress. And MALIH being made to suffer brought forth repentance, and swore an oath that he would live in subjection to the king, and that he would not join the party of the TURKS. And then he left him and departed.

And in [that] year, which is the year five hundred and sixty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1169), died KUTB AD-DIN MAWDUD, the son of ZANGI, the lord of MAWSIL. And he commanded that his son 'EMAD AD-DIN ZANGI, the son of MAWDUD, son of ZANGI, should succeed him. And KUTB AD-DIN had a deputy and administrator of his kingdom who was called FAKHR AD-DIN 'ABD AL-MASIH, [339] who was from the country of ANTIOCH, and he fell into captivity (or, bondage). Now because this 'ABD AL-MASIH hated 'EMAD AD-DIN he shared the opinion of the wife of KUTB AD-DIN, and they changed the command. And they set up SAIF AD-DIN GHAZI, his younger son, in the place of his father, and the nobles swore fealty to him. And 'EMAD AD-DIN departed and went to SYRIA to his uncle NUR AD-DIN, weeping and complaining that 'ABD AL-MASIH had robbed him of his inheritance and his kingdom. And on the second day of the week (Monday), on the twenty-ninth day of the month of HAZIRAN (JUNE), which is the twelfth day of the tenth month of the ARABS, there was a severe earthquake, and the earth rocked like a ship on the sea. [This was] an event (or, happening) the like of which had not been heard of for many generations. For the blessed Patriarch MAR MICHAEL said, 'When we were standing in the temple (i.e. church) of the Monastery of MAR HANANYA during the morning service, on the day of the festival of ST. PETER and ST. PAUL, a sound like heavy thunder was heard from the earth. And we were lying prone on our faces before the holy table, to which we clung, and we were tossed about from one side to the other, And after a long time when, contrary to expectation, we returned as from the graves, and then our eyes like those of a man who is woke up from sleep, began to shed tears, and our tongues [to utter] praise.' And during that earthquake the walls of ALEPPO, and BA'ELBAK, and HAMATH, and EMESA, and SHAIJAR, and BAGHRAS and of their fortresses and great buildings fell down upon their inhabitants. The whole of the great church of the GREEKS which was in ANTIOCH fell down, and the altar of the church of KUSYANA of the FRANKS. As for us, that is to say the remnant of our people, He rendered us great help, having consideration of our feebleness, for there was among us neither king nor governor. Whilst all else in ALEPPO fell down, one church was protected. And in ANTIOCH three churches were protected for us, viz, the Church of the Bearer of God, and the Church of GEORGE, and the Church of MAR BAR SAWMA. And in GABBALA also our

little church was protected, and so also in LAODICEA, for the glory of God, and the heartening of the feeble orthodox remnant. And that earthquake lasted twenty-five days.

And in the year fourteen hundred and eighty-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1171), the governor 'ABU AL-KASIM brought for himself a wife who was the daughter of KARA 'ARSLAN of the fortress of ZAID. And in the course of the rejoicing, and making merry at the wedding feast, [340] they went out to enjoy themselves with feats of horsemanship; and then, owing to the violence of the riding he fell from his horse and died, and their joy was turned to mourning. Then the people of MELITENE set up 'AFRIDUN, his younger brother, in his place, and they gave him his brother's wife, although she was unwilling. Then KELEJ 'ARSLAN, the Sultan of ICONIUM, collected an army and attacked MELITENE, and he was unable to take it, but he carried off into captivity the people of the country, and he turned back to CAESAREA. Then NUR AD-DIN, and the lord of MARDIN and of the fortress of ZAID, and the ARMENIANS of CILICIA, and BAR DANISHMAND, the lord of SEBASTIA, made an agreement, and they all gathered themselves together in SEBASTIA so that they might begin a war with KELEJ 'ARSLAN. And they advanced as far as the Gate of CAESAREA. Now KELEJ 'ARSLAN did not go forth to fight, but he asked for peace, and he gave back the people whom he had carried off from MELITENE. And when they demanded from him the four sons of his brothers who were shut up in prison with him, he did a most accursed thing. He slew one of them, and roasted [him] and set him on a dish, and sent him to his father. And he swore that if they went on to demand the others, he would treat the three of them in exactly the same manner. And thus they left him and went their way.

And in the year which is the year five hundred and sixty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1170), KELEJ 'ARSLAN ruled over all the countries of the sons of DANISHMAND. And in that year, when NUR AD-DIN heard that his brother KUTB AD-DIN was dead, and that SAIF AD-DIN his son reigned, and that 'ABD AL-MASIH was governing the kingdom of MAWSIL according to his own good pleasure, and making heavy the yoke on the people, he became indignant in his spirit and said, 'Is it right that I or 'ABD AL-MASIH should govern my brother's sons?' And he marched from ALEPPO and encamped against CALONICUS and took it, and he had dominion over the whole of HABURA and reigned over NISIBIS also. And MAHAMAD, the son of KARA 'ARSLAN, the lord of a fortress, came to him, and he came and made war on SHIGAR and took it, and he set therein 'EMAD AD-DIN, his brother's son. And from there he came to the city of BALADH, and he crossed the TIGRIS and went and encamped on the east side of MAWSIL, that is to say in the quarter of NINEVEH. And on the day on which he arrived a miracle was performed, for one of the great towers of MAWSIL fell down of its own accord, and it is probable [341] that that tower was shaken during the violent earthquake which had taken place the year before. And, as if by chance, it collapsed that day.

Now when 'ABD AL-MASIH saw that the whole of the Arab people was inclining towards NUR AD-DIN, he was afraid that they would take him by the sword. And he sent and demanded a pledge of safety for his life, that he might deliver MAWSIL to him, but that he would not take it from SAIF AD-DIN. Then NUR AD-DIN replied, 'I have not come to snatch the city or the kingdom from my sons, but that I may save the populace from thy injustice (or, oppression), O 'ABD AL-MASIH. Therefore, beyond my allowing thee to live, and expelling thee from MAWSIL, and carrying thee with me to SYRIA, thou must expect nothing from me.' And so there was peace. And NUR AD-DIN went to MAWSIL, and he encamped in the Citadel thereof. And he left SAIF AD-DIN GHAZI as he was, the lord of MAWSIL. And he appointed as DIZADAR, that is to say, 'Governor,' a certain eunuch whose name was SA'D AD-DIN KUMISHTAKIN. And the riches which his brother had left he divided equally between his sons. And he remitted many taxes to the people, and he built the great Mosque which is called 'NURI.' And he gave to SAIF AD-DIN besides MAWSIL also the island of KARDU. And having tarried in MAWSIL for seventeen days, he returned to SYRIA, and with him was FAKHR AD-DIN 'ABD AL-MASIH. And he changed his name and called him 'ABD ALLAH' (i.e. 'Servant of God') instead of 'Servant of Christ', and gave him other generous allowances whereon to live.

Now although this 'ABD AL-MASIH pretended by his external acts that he was a Muslim, his inner man practised Christianity. And he performed great acts of kindness for the Christians, and he was an open enemy of the ARABS and their teachers. And the blessed Patriarch MAR MICHAEL compareth him to MORDECAI.

And in this year the Khalifah MUSTANJID fell sick through a disease of the colon, and when his sickness waxed sore, certain of the nobles, 'AUSTADDAR and others, gave up all hope of his life, and they opened the doors of the prison, and brought out their brothers who were imprisoned therein. Then the Wazir sent and informed the Khalifah [of this], and the Khalifah was wroth, and he commanded the physician, who was a Christian, that is to say BAR-SAFYAH, who was attending him, to write to the Wazir [ordering him] to arrest these nobles and to cut off their heads. And having written (now the lawyers [342] did not go into the presence of the Khalifah because of the severity of the disease) the Khalifah set his sign (or, mark, or, seal) on the document. And he called to a young eunuch and said to him, 'Take this document, and go out as if thou wast going to amuse thyself, and do not run, and approach the Wazir and give him this'. And when the eunuch had taken the document and gone forth as he had been commanded, the physician remained for a short time [with the Khalifah], and then he went out, ostensibly to relieve himself, and hurried to 'AUSTADDAR and informed him about the matter. And 'AUSTADDAR sent quickly other eunuchs, and they went and found the young eunuch carrying the letter, and he had not yet joined in the games. And they rushed upon him and carried him to 'AUSTADDAR, and he searched him and found the document; and having taken it he killed the young eunuch and cast him into a pit. Then 'AUSTADDAR and his companions rose up hurriedly, and went into the inner apartments (i.e. the harim) of the palace. And when the women cried out in their faces, saying, '[Ye] dogs! How have ye dared to intrude upon us as if we were common women in the bazar', they paid no heed to them and passed on and went into the apartment wherein the Khalifah was lying down. And they said unto him, 'The physician hath commanded us to take thee to the bath', and although the Khalifah was wroth, and said, 'I do not want a bath', they did not listen to him, but they stripped him naked by force, and carried him in and cast him into an inner chamber. And though he was in sore distress through the fever, and he had not strength enough to stand up, and he was moaning and groaning, they kept on hammering on the door so that the sounds of his outcries might be concealed from the women and slaves who were there, for it was impossible for them to drive the women out, so that they might not accuse them of having killed him. And after a time one of the nobles went in and stamped upon his belly with his foot. And when he was nigh to yielding up his spirit, the nobles brought him out whilst breath still remained in him so that the inferior slaves and the women might see that he had not been killed by strangling. And when they went out he begged for some water, and they would not give any to him, saying, 'Thou wilt be harmed by water', then the physician said unto them, 'Give him [water], for as soon as the water touches his lips he will die'. And having given him the water he was unable to swallow it, for his throat was already dried up and tightly closed. And straightway he died.

And we have found [written] in another manuscript that this Khalifah loved one of the women, whose name was [343] BANAPHSHAH (i.e. Violet), very much, and that the wife of the Khalifah was jealous of her. And she stirred up the son of the Khalifah, and she made him to sleep with the handmaiden. And when the Khalifah asked for her according to custom, his wife said unto him, 'That woman is not suitable for thee, because thy son hath slept with her'. When the Khalifah heard about what had happened, he was troubled, and his mind was confused, and he fell ill because of his son. And in a fit of anger he commanded that his son should be killed, but the nobles did the thing exactly opposite, that is to say, they killed him and set up his son in his place.

After MUSTANJID, his son MUSTADI ruled nine years, and those nobles having put to death MUSTANJID in this manner, chose one of his sons who had no prospect of becoming Khalifah because of his gentleness and humility. And they made him swear that he would not kill any of them, and that he would restore to them

everything which his father had taken from them. And having sworn to them, they brought in his brother, and by force and with threats of death made him to swear the same things. And thus they did with all the sons of the Khalifah's family, and they also swore oaths of fidelity to him. And they proclaimed him 'MUSTADI'.

And in the year fourteen hundred and eighty-three of the GREEKS (A.D. 1172) heavy snow fell on the whole country. It was so heavy that even in INDIA, where they had never seen snow, snow fell, according to what is said, to a depth of fourteen spans. The rivers and the wells were frozen hard, and the wild animals and birds perished through hunger and thirst. And men likewise were imprisoned in their houses as in tombs, and they were unable to travel even from one village to another, and many dwellers in tents and [many] travellers on the roads were suffocated by the snow. But in SEBASTIA, where the famine was especially severe, because of the length of the roads [to be travelled over], the nobles begged ISMA'IL, the son of DANISHMAND, the governor of CAPPADOCIA, to give corn to them and to their dependants, so that they might live thereon until the summer and not die, for he had a large number of granaries which were loaded full of wheat. And when he refused and would not give [it to them], they gathered together and killed both him and his wife, who was the sister of KELEJ 'ARSLAN the Sultan, and five hundred people of his household and his slaves, and his women; and they took possession of his barns and store-houses. And they sent to DAMASCUS and brought DUALNON, his uncle, who [344] had fled thither from the Sultan, and he came and reigned over SEBASTIA.

And in this year, which is the year five hundred and sixty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1171), NUR AD-DIN sent a message to SALAH AD-DIN ordering him to cease proclaiming 'ADID, the Khalifah of EGYPT, and to proclaim the Khalifah of BAGHDAD. And SALAH AD-DIN, fearing lest the EGYPTIANS would be stirred up to revolt against him, delayed [in carrying out] the matter. Then NUR AD-DIN brought pressure to bear upon him, and being unable to disobey his command, he took counsel with the nobles concerning the means for giving effect to it. And whilst some of them were saying that it must be, and others that it must not be, a certain PERSIAN who was there, and was called 'Amir' and 'Doctor', said unto them. 'I will make the proclamation first, and do you avoid doing so intentionally'. And when the day of Friday arrived, that man drew nigh and went up into the pulpit, and instead of saying, "ADID BAR 'ALI", said 'MUSTADI BAR 'ABBAS', and no man was able to grumble. And similarly on another Friday the other men who made the proclamation, they being commanded, also made the [same] proclamation in all the Mosques. And thus the mention of the Khalifate of the EGYPTIANS received its conclusion. Now because the Khalifah, 'ADID was ill in those days his people did not inform him of what had taken place, so that it might not grieve him and cause him to die. And he died without knowing the fact.

Then SALAH AD-DIN shut up his sons and the members of his household in prison, and he removed the males among them from the females so that their posterity might be cut off. And even so it came to pass, and he set free his slaves and his handmaidens, and there was joy to the heretical folk of the FATALISTS among the ARABS, and the sovereignty of the heresy of those who assert with certainty [the existence of] free will and self-rule was stripped bare, and who say, 'Their descent was not from 'ALI and FATMAH, but from a man who was a, JEW or a MAGIAN'. And the poets also have composed a multitude of verses, saying, 'The kingdom of PHARAOH hath come to an end, and that of JOSEPH hath begun'. For fourteen of them rose up in the West, three of them in AFRICA, MAHDI, KAIM, MANSUR, and eleven in EGYPT, MU'IZ, 'AZIZ, HAKIM, TAHIR, MUSTANSER, MUSTALI, AMIR, HAFIT, TAFIR, FAIZ, 'ASID.

Then SALAH AD-DIN reigned alone over EGYPT, and there remained to him [345] among the EGYPTIANS no enmity whatsoever like unto that hatred (or, jealousy) with which he was regarded by NUR AD-DIN. Therefore NUR AD-DIN wrote to him, saying, 'Behold I am encamped at KARAK, do thou, without delay, collect thy troops and come there'. SALAH AD-DIN was afraid and he did not go, thereupon NUR AD-DIN was wroth, and he wished to go in person to EGYPT and to drag him out therefrom. Then

SALAH AD-DIN collected his nobles and took counsel with them about the administration of the Government. And as they all held their peace, and did not know what to urge, rebellion or submission, a young man, the son of SALAH AD-DIN'S brother, rose up and said, 'If NUR AD-DIN cometh we will fight him; we will not allow him to come into EGYPT'. And in this manner spake all the young men his companions.

Then the father of SALAH AD-DIN was wroth, and his uncle also, and his father reviled those young men. And he said unto SALAH AD-DIN, 'Is there among all these nobles anyone who is so anxious for thy prosperity (or, welfare) as myself, or thine uncle?' And SALAH AD-DIN said, 'No', and his father said, 'Be very certain that if I myself or this thine uncle were to see NUR AD-DIN, there would be nothing else for us to do except to go down [on our knee] and kiss the ground before him. And whilst we hold this view, who is there among these [nobles] who when he saw NUR AD-DIN would draw his sword against him? And since all these countries of EGYPT and elsewhere belong to NUR AD-DIN, if he wisheth to dismiss thee from [thy] governorship, what need hath he to attack thee with troops? Nay, he has only to send a single person with a couple of strings, who will cast a rope about thy neck and drag thee to DAMASCUS, and he can make governor of his country any man he pleaseth.'

And the old man NAJAM AD-DIN 'AYUB rose up from his place, and rebuked all the nobles and said, 'Rise ye up, we are all the slaves of NUR AD-DIN, and whatsoever he wisheth to do unto us he can do'. And when they had gone forth and departed, that old man said unto SALAH AD-DIN, 'Thou art a child without understanding, and faulty in thine actions. Dost thou not know that when NUR AD-DIN heareth that thou hast rebelled against him, he will leave everything he is doing, and will pursue thee until he hath uprooted thee? And what soldier is there who will forsake him and cleave to thee? And these words which I have spoken will reach him immediately. Do thou also send an envoy, and speak words of humility, [saying] that thou art a slave and [346] one who is in subjection to him, that the affairs of EGYPT are not yet in a settled state, and that fear of the FRANKS preventeth thee from going [to him]. Then will his wrath be appeased, and he will cease to trouble thee.' And as the old man said, even so did it come to pass.

And about that time a great number of people from among the NUBIANS sallied out and they came as far [north] as the country of SA'ID (UPPER EGYPT), and plundered many villages. And SALAH AD-DIN heard [of this] and sent an army there. And the ARABS met the NUBIANS in battle, and on both sides very many were killed; now the party of the BLACKS was exceedingly strong. Then SALAH AD-DIN sent his brother SHAMS AD-DAWLAH TURANSHAH with a numerous army, and when he went [there] the NUBIANS fled. And the ARABS pursued them and looted and killed, and they took possession of the fortress which is called 'ABRIM' (i.e. Primis), and they stationed an Arab garrison therein. And when the army of the ARABS retreated, the NUBIANS returned and [re]captured their fortress, and the king of the NUBIANS sent an envoy to SHAMS AD-DAWLAH when he was in Kus and begged for peace. Then SHAMS AD-DAWLAH replied, 'There will be peace if [thou] payest tribute'. And he sent with the Nubian envoy an envoy of his own who was called MAS'UD, a man of ALEPPO. And he departed and came to the royal city of the NUBIANS which is called DUNUKLA (DONGOLA), and he saw a miserable country, and with the exception of millet the inhabitants thereof had no other grain. And they had a few palms, and they ate bread [made] of their millet with their dates, they having nothing else. And there was in it one large building only, which was the palace of the king, and the remainder of the natives of the towns dwelt in huts (or, booths) and caves. Now that envoy said, 'One day I saw that the king of the NUBIANS went forth naked, and he rode upon a horse which was similarly barebacked. And the king went about in a vestment of *atlas* cloth which was without seams, his head, which was without hair, being uncovered. And when I drew nigh and saluted him he laughed with a chuckle, and he commanded and they burnt a mark like a cross on my hand, and he gave me fifty *litre* of grain and dismissed me.

And in the year five hundred and sixty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1173) this SHAMS AD-DAWLAH, the brother of SALAH AD-DIN, went to the country of the South, and he took possession of it and reigned therein.

And in this year, which is the year fourteen hundred and eighty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1174), in the month of 'IYAR (MAY), [347] NUR AD-DIN died of the disease of strangury in DAMASCUS. One of the skilled physicians who were in DAMASCUS, the famous RAHABAYA (whose two sons I the feeble one met when they were eminent aged physicians), related the following: 'After the disease waxed in strength in him, I and the other physicians were summoned. And when we went in we found him lying in a little house which was very uncomfortable, and we said that a vein must be opened, but he would not allow it. And because he was afraid of every one we were unable to repeat our words, and forthwith he died. His complexion was dark, he was tall, he was beardless and had only a few hairs under his chin. He was simple in his manners and dress. He was a violent hater of the ARABS who were descended from 'ALI. He took more than fifty towns and fortresses from the FRANKS. And he built a great guest-house (or, Khan), and a college in DAMASCUS, and a great Mosque in MAWSIL.' On the death of NUR AD-DIN his son MALIK SALIH ISMA'IL succeeded him. And all the nobles swore oaths of fealty to him, and SALAH AD-DIN in EGYPT also proclaimed him, and stamped his name on the *zuz* and *dinar* moneys.

And when SAIF AD-DIN GHAZI, the lord of MAWSIL, heard that his uncle NUR AD-DIN was dead, there was great gladness in him, and the heralds proclaimed publicly in MAWSIL that every man should drink freely, and get drunk, and enjoy himself [at his expense]. And he collected armies and came to BETH NAHRIN, and took possession of EDESSA, and HARRAN, and other places. And the Amir SHAMS AD-DIN, the captain of the host of ALEPPO, sent to the nobles in DAMASCUS, and said, 'Bring ye me MALIK SALIH to ALEPPO; if [ye do] not, it hath gone out of his hands (or, power)'. But the nobles said, 'We will not give authority to SHAMS AD-DIN to rule the kingdom', and they would not allow SALIH to depart from them. And SALAH AD-DIN sent and rebuked the nobles of DAMASCUS, and asked them how it was that they had been unmindful that countries had been taken and why they had not informed him and called him to come to help. And he also spake unto them, saying, 'If NUR AD-DIN had known that there was among you one who was more vigilant than myself, he would have handed over to him the kingdom of EGYPT. And now behold I am coming, for it is right for me to govern my lord and the son of my lord and not you.'

Then the nobles sent SALIH to ALEPPO, and [348] the eunuch SA'AD AD-DIN became his minister. This eunuch was he who was left by NUR AD-DIN to be the governor of the fortress of MAWSIL, and he fled from SAIF AD-DIN and came to the son of his lord. Then the men of DAMASCUS, being afraid of SALAH AD-DIN, sent and begged for peace from 'AMORI, the king of JERUSALEM, and undertook to pay tribute. And after a few days the king fell sick and died in 'AKKO, in the month of TAMMUZ (JULY), forty days after the death of NUR AD-DIN. And very great mourning took place among the Christians at the death of this righteous king, the terror of whom had fallen on all the Arab peoples of EGYPT and SYRIA. And BO'DWIN (IV) his son rose up in his place.

And when KELEJ 'ARSLAN, the Sultan of ICONIUM, heard that NUR AD-DIN, the supporter of DUALNON, the son of DANISHMAND, was dead, he went to their countries and became master of SEBASTIA, NEO-CAESAREA, and KOMANA. And DUALNON fled to CONSTANTINOPLE and sought asylum with the king of the GREEKS. And thus their headship came to an end after they had ruled for one hundred and twenty-two years. And the ARMENIANS of BETH SASAN, being aweary of the Amir of MAIPERKAT, sent to SHAH 'ARMAN, the lord of KHALAT, and handed over to him all their fortresses. And the king of the IBIRAYE also came back and took the city of ANI from the PERSIANS.

And in the year five hundred and seventy of the ARABS (A.D. 1174), SALAH AD-DIN collected his armies and came from EGYPT to DAMASCUS, pretending that he had come to the help of the son of his lord, and he went in and encamped in the palace of his father. And in secret he flattered RIHAN the eunuch, the governor of the fortress, and he opened the door to him. And SALAH AD-DIN introduced SAIF AL-ESLAM, his brother, and his men into the fortress of DAMASCUS, and he took possession of it without making an end of the proclamation of MALIK SALIH ESMA'IL. And he went forth from DAMASCUS and attacked EMESA and took it. And from there he came to HAMATH and took possession of it. And he came and encamped against the mountain which is called JAWSHAN which is by the side of ALEPPO. Then the Amirs who were in it appointed heralds and collected all the people of ALEPPO, both great and small, in the MAIDAN of the 'Irak Gate, and they advised SALIH to go forth to [349] the people, and to speak [to them] with groanings. And having gone forth he stood up on the top of the MAIDAN and said, 'O sons of ALEPPO, I am the son of your bringing up, for I took refuge among you, and I have neither father nor mother except you'; and saying these words he groaned and almost burst into tears. And all the people wept, and they lifted up their voices in a cry and said, 'We all of us are thy slaves, and before thee we will die'. And the FRANKS also sent envoys to SALAH AD-DIN and they complained, saying, 'This is not a thing which should be done, for thou art awarding evil instead of good to the house of thy lord. If thou dost not hearken unto us and turn aside from ALEPPO, behold we all will come against thee'.

And when SALAH AD-DIN saw that the matter was not to be effected according to his will, and that it was impossible to cajole the sons of ALEPPO, he turned back and went to B'ELBAK, and took it. And he came from there to EMESA, and he also took the fortress thereof. Then the sons of ALEPPO sent [messengers] to SAIF AD-DIN, the lord of MAWSIL, and said to him, 'If thou permittest SALAH AD-DIN to take ALEPPO, do not imagine that MAWSIL will remain thine'.

Then SAIF AD-DIN sent, together with his brother 'IZ AD-DIN MAS'UD, a numerous army, and they came to ALEPPO. And they and the men of ALEPPO gathered together and went and encamped against HAMATH, and they sent an envoy to SALAH AD-DIN at EMESA. And they demanded from him that he should restore all the fortresses which he had taken without his lord's [authority], and that only DAMASCUS should remain his, and that he should only be there as one of the Amirs in subjection to MALIK SALIH. Then SALAH AD-DIN replied, 'I have not come for war with the son of my lord, but to protect him, and I will protect his territories and his treasures. And I will never go forth because of what ye say'. And when they saw that he was inclined for peace they imagined that he was faint-hearted, and they treated him arrogantly and said, 'Thou shalt not even tarry in SYRIA, but shall go into EGYPT. For thee, as far as we are concerned, there is nothing but the sword'. And they went away and encamped against RAS 'AIN. And SALAH AD-DIN also came to meet them, and they met each other in the place which is called KARNE DHA-HAMATH. And the men of MAWSIL and the men of ALEPPO were defeated, and they turned their backs to flee. And SALAH AD-DIN prohibited his armies from pursuing the fugitives over-diligently, and from killing any man. Then [350] MALIK SALIH sent to him and begged for peace, and said that SALAH AD-DIN should rule over DAMASCUS, and HAMATH, and EMESA, and that the rest of SYRIA, viz. OUTER SYRIA, he must leave to SALIH. And when SALAH AD-DIN did not agree to this, he added also MU'ARAH and KEPHARTAB; and he agreed and swore that in all the countries which were under his hand, the proclamation of Sultan MALIK SALIH should be observed, and that whensoever the occasion demanded he would come to help him. And when the Khalifah heard of the victory of SALAH AD-DIN, he sent to him royal apparel, and a sword, and flags, and a Patent of Sovereignty.

And at [that] time KUTAB AD-DIN KAIMAZ, one of the Amirs of BAGHDAD, lifted up his head against the Khalifah MUSTADI, and he collected his men and set in array the battle close by the palace of the Khalifah. Then the Khalifah trembled, and he went up to the roof, and commanded the herald and he cried with a loud voice, 'O men of BAGHDAD, behold the time when ye should help your Lord, and the Head of

your Faith, and should make manifest your zeal for your Belief. And the voice fell in the city, and they all gathered together [armed] with swords, and staves, and bricks, and slings, and they made KAIMAZ and those who were with him to betake themselves to flight. And having departed to the desert they became thirsty. And they found water in a certain tank wherein snakes had drowned themselves, and having drunk therefrom they all and their horses became ill. And they directed their gaze towards MAWSIL, and many of them perished on the road, and even those who arrived in MAWSIL did not live.

(Continued on Next Page)

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

The Taking of Edessa from the Franks (continued).

And in that year, which was the year fourteen hundred and eighty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1175), the Armenian nobles who were in CILICIA rebelled against MALIH, the governor of CILICIA, and they wished to kill him. And when he perceived [this] he fled to one of the fortresses. Now the guards of the Citadel, because they knew the evil things which the Christians had suffered, and were still suffering through him, seized him and hacked him limb from limb and cast him to the dogs. Then the nobles brought his brother's son, RUPIN (REUBEN?), the son of 'ESTAFANA, who [came] from TARSOS, and made him king over them. And he killed those who had killed his uncle MALIH because 'they had cast him to the dogs and did not bury him when they had killed him'.

And in the year five hundred and seventy-one of the ARABS (A.D. 1175), SAIF AD-DIN, the lord of MAWSIL, sent [a message] to SALIH BAR NUR AD-DIN to ALEPPO, [351] and he rebuked him and blamed him because he had not made peace with SALAH AD-DIN. And the lord of MASIL collected about twenty thousand horsemen, and came to ALEPPO. And he brought out the nobles of the FRANKS who had been imprisoned there for a very long time, and he sold the Count of TRIPOLI for eighty thousand *dinars*, and JOSCELYN, the son of JOSCELYN, for fifty [thousand] *dinars*, and PRAYNS (?) of ANTIOCH for one hundred and twenty [thousand] *dinars*; and he made them swear that they would always be allies. And SALAH AD-DIN also sent to EGYPT and collected his armies, and they all mustered between ALEPPO and HAMATH, in the place which is called 'GUBHAI TURKMANAYE', and they met each other in battle. And SALAH AD-DIN conquered the soldiers of ALEPPO and MAWSIL and put them to flight, and he took possession of their tents and plundered their treasures, and he found in them large numbers of birds, turtle-doves, and doves, and parrots, and grasshoppers, in cages, and one hundred wanton young singing women. And he called one of the *kamodhe* (cage men?) and sent him to SAIF AD-DIN [as] an envoy, together with the cages, and he said to him, 'Go thou and proclaim peace on my behalf to SAIF AD-DIN, and say unto him: Return to thy state of honour and to the enjoyment of thyself with thy birds, for they are beautiful and they must not fall into danger'. And he gave apparel to the nobles of MAWSIL also whom he had captured, among whom was FAKHR AD-DIN 'ABD AL-MASIH, and he gave them horses and gifts, and sent them away in peace. Then, leaving ALEPPO meanwhile, he crossed over and encamped against the fortress of BUZA'AH and took it. And from there he came to MABBUUGH, and he took possession of it, and he found in the fortress thereof a sum of three hundred thousand *dinars*. And he attacked 'AZAZ and captured it within forty days.

And in [that] year, which is the year fourteen hundred and eighty-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1176), MANUIL, king of the GREEKS, went forth and built two cities on the frontier of the TURKS, and stationed troops in them. And they oppressed greatly those who were of the house of KELEJ 'ARSLAN, and this was because the king besought the Sultan to restore their territories to those of the house of DANISHMAND, and he would not do so. Therefore the king sent thirty thousand GREEK horsemen with DUALNON the TURK, the son of DANISHMAND, and they encamped against NICOMEDIA. [352] Then the TURKS who were

inside wrote a letter in the Greek language by the mouth of the Christians who were in NEO-CAESAREA, and they said to the GREEKS, 'Ye shall not believe DUALNON, whom ye have brought, because his letters are not cut off (or, separated) by the TURKS who are inside; and he wisheth by craft (or, deceit) to deliver you over to the people of his race'. And because of this, tumult broke out among the GREEKS, and they removed themselves from NEO-CAESAREA. And the TURKS pursued them and slew the son of the sister of the king.

And when the king heard that the son of his sister had been killed, he collected a large army and went forth to the Turkish frontier. And he left the chariots which were loaded with their heavy gear and food, and the GREEKS marched in, looting and burning those villages of the TURKS which had already been depleted of means of subsistence and population. Then the TURKS, particularly the foot-soldiers among them, went through the mountains and into the deep passes of BETH THOMA, and they arrived at the great camp of the heavy baggage of the GREEKS and plundered it, and they burnt the wagons (or, chariots). And through this the hope of the GREEKS was cut off and the TURKS gained the mastery over them. And they rolled down rocks upon the GREEKS from the tops of the mountains, and made confusion among the men and the horses. Then in the night the king sent an envoy to the Sultan and begged for peace, and because he himself was placed in a terrible position, straightway he agreed. And he selected three Turkish Amirs and they went in the service of the king until they entered into his boundaries. And because there were in the camp of the GREEKS which had been plundered churches, and crosses, and a great quantity of stuffs (or, hangings and curtains), and a cross in which was a piece of wood of the Crucifixion had also been carried off, the king sent much gold to the Sultan and took the cross.

And in this year died NAJM AD-DIN, the lord of MARDIN, who had reigned for two-and-twenty years, and the Christians, and the churches, and the monasteries were on very friendly terms with him. And his son KUTAB AD-DIN reigned after him. And he quarrelled with his uncles, the lord of HANI, and the lord of DARA, but afterwards he was reconciled with them, and they came to him, and were subject unto him. And a report went out concerning him that he was dead, and the MA'DAYE began to make raids in his territory; but he being strong and in good health slew thousands of the ARABS, and took from them [353] twelve thousand camels, and the rest of them fled.

And in the year five hundred and seventy-two of the ARABS (A.D. 1176) SALAH AD-DIN encamped again against ALEPPO. And when SALIH saw their force was unable to cope with him, he employed humility and begged for peace. And SALAH AD-DIN made peace generally with ALEPPO, and MAWSIL, and LITTLE ARMENIA. And the peace being confirmed, SALIH made a little sister of his go out to SALAH AD-DIN, and she begged from him 'AZAZ, and he gave [it] to her. And he departed and went to DAMASCUS, and took to wife the wife of NUR AD-DIN who was called 'ESMATH AD-DIN. And he made his brother SHAMS AD-DIN TURANSHAH governor in DAMASCUS, and he returned to EGYPT. And he built the two cities MESRIN (Fostat?) and KAHRAH (CAIRO), one wall surrounding them, and on the mountain which is between them he built the Citadel.

And in the year five hundred and seventy-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1177), which is the year fourteen hundred and eighty-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 1178), SALAH AD-DIN went forth from MESRIN with a great army, and he encamped against ASCALON, and he looted the town and made prisoners, and shed much blood of the Christians. Now the FRANKS were in a state of great fear, because the young king of JERUSALEM began to be attacked by the disease of elephantiasis. But even though such was the case, the sick king collected the remnant of his troops, and he descended from his saddle and fell down on his face before the Holy Cross weeping. And the hearts of all were stupefied, and they swore that they would never turn their backs in flight, but would continue to fight the fight to the death. Therefore they left [matters as they were] until the TURKS had worked their way into the country, for they were occupied in plundering,

and neglected to make ready for war, and they were supine and careless, because they felt certain about the weakness of the FRANKS. Therefore the FRANKS mounted their animals, and came and overtook (i.e. fell upon) the TURKS when they were crossing a river. And the Lord made a mighty storm of wind to blow, and it hurled the sand away from the side where the FRANKS were on to the TURKS. And being blinded thereby the sword of the FRANKS had dominion over them, and they turned their backs in flight, and they wandered about confusedly in the trackless region in those waterless deserts. And the FRANKS spent five days in overthrowing them, and they found companies and companies of them and they made prisoners and killed; and SALAH AD-DIN together with a few of his men escaped to CAIRO.

The Chronicler saith, 'When I saw [354] the bearers of the good news, who were mounted on horses, and the heralds in the bazars of MESRIN crying out, "The Sultan hath conquered, and the FRANKS are defeated", I ran so that I might learn from the announcers what manner of victory [it was]. And when I drew near I heard that they were saying, "Rejoice and be ye glad that the Sultan is safe". And straightway I knew that the tidings were the reverse of what they were proclaiming.'

And in this year when the Sultan KELEJ 'ARSLAN made peace with MANUIL, the king of the GREEKS, he came to MELITENE and encamped against it for four months with a great camp. He never set war in motion (i.e. began hostilities), but he gave orders to the troops, and they built themselves houses of bricks wherein they might pass the winter. And they also built for him great houses with the stones that were on the graves. Now the Amir who was in it was of the race of the house of DANISHMAND, and he was afraid of his nobles lest, being as they were pressed by hunger, they should deliver him over (i.e. betray him). And he sent a message quickly to the Sultan and received a pledge for the security of his life, and went forth and passed over to the fortress of ZAID. And KELEJ 'ARSLAN was master of MELITENE from the fourth day of the week, the twenty-fifth day of the FIRST TESHWIN (OCTOBER), of the year fourteen hundred and eighty-nine of the GREEKS.

And in the year of the GREEKS fourteen hundred and ninety (A.D. 1179), all the FRANKS came to terms with BO'DWIN the king, and they began to build a city on the banks of the JORDAN, at a place which is called the, 'FORD OF JACOB', that through it they might harass DAMASCUS. And SALAH AD-DIN went forth from EGYPT and attacked B'ELBAK, because the governor thereof had rebelled against him. And when he had harassed him with war, the governor took a pledge for his life and delivered B'ELBAK to him. And SALAH AD-DIN waxed strong. And he went to the country of PALESTINE. And the FRANKS attacked him and put him to flight, and they plundered the country of the ARABS and returned. And when they were encamped, and were refreshing themselves, and rejoicing as if they had conquered, an ambush of the ARABS burst upon them. and they made prisoners of about one hundred Frankish fighting men, and they captured also the Master of the Freres. And SALAH AD-DIN attacked that place which the FRANKS had built recently, and subjugated it. Now there were five hundred Freres therein. And when they saw that they were overpowered by the ARABS, some of them cast themselves into the fire and were burned to death, and some of them [355] fell into the river JORDAN and were drowned, and others hurled themselves down from the wall upon the rocks [beneath] and were dashed in pieces and died; and those who found themselves alive were killed by the ARABS.

And in the year fourteen hundred and ninety-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1180), MANUIL, king of the GREEKS, fell sick, and when he felt that he was going to die he became a monk, and he set aside the crown for his son ALIX, whom he proclaimed king. And he made his wife, who was the mother of the young man ALIX, a nun, and he entrusted to her the treasures of the kingdom. And they appointed twelve nobles to govern the troops. Now the royal nun after a little [time] fell into fornication with one of the twelve nobles. And though the remaining nobles wished to dismiss her and her son, and to set up the daughter of MANUIL, who was born of [his] first wife, and to proclaim her husband king, they were unable [to do so]. For a plot

was discovered, and those nobles were afraid and fled to the great church. And there was [civil] war in the city for seven days, and much blood was shed in CONSTANTINOPLE. And those who were on the side of the king and his mother set up engines of war against HAGIA SOPHIA.

Then THEODOSIUS their Patriarch, and the king and his mother having sworn that they would not harm those who were in the church if they would go out, went to them, and by means of his pledge [of safety] brought them out. And the king and his mother trod under their feet their oaths. and they put out the eyes of those eleven nobles and killed all their adherents. Then the Patriarch being greatly troubled cut off (i.e. excommunicated) the whole city, and he left it and went to a monastery outside it; and he stopped the [ringing of the] bells and prayers for nine months. And their dead were buried without any processions, and with the burial of a donkey.

And in the year Sultan KELEJ 'ARSLAN sent an army against RA'BAN, and an army of the DAMASCENES came against them and the CAPPADOCIANS fled, for they were very experienced in wars with the FRANKS.

And in this year, which is the year five hundred and seventy-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1179), the Khalifah MUSTADI died, and after him his son NAS'IR rose up. After MUSTADI his son NASIR ruled forty-seven years. When this Khalifah rose up (i.e. succeeded) he seized the Wazir BAR 'ATARA and shut him up in prison, and he cast iron fetters on him and took everything which he possessed. And on the night of the fourth day of the week, on the twelfth day of the eleventh [356] month, he was brought out dead. And when the sons of BAGHDAD knew this, they threw him off the shoulders of the man who was carrying him, and they stripped him naked, and tied a rope round his member and dragged him through the bazars. And the little boys put sticks in his hand and said, 'Put thy mark on our books, O lord'. And thus they mocked him until the TURKS came and buried him. And in this year there was a terrible famine, and a pestilence wasted the whole earth.

And in the year fourteen hundred and ninety-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1181), which is the year five hundred and seventy-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1180), SALAH AD-DIN went to war with Sultan KELEJ 'ARSLAN because of NUR AD-DIN, the son of KARA 'ARSLAN, the son of DAWUD, the son of 'ARTOK, the lord of the fortress of KIPA. For this man was the son-in-law of Sultan KELEJ 'ARSLAN, and he committed great folly with the daughter of the Sultan, and had brought adultery upon her. And when the Sultan sent and threatened him, he was afraid and took refuge with SALAH AD-DIN. And SALAH AD-DIN sent an envoy to the Sultan and begged him to forgive the offence of his son-in-law. And when the Sultan would not accept [the suggestion], SALAH AD-DIN made friends with the FRANKS of the sea-coast, and he collected his troops and went to the country of ALEPPO, and encamped in a meadow which was called 'KARA HEDARAR', for the river floweth between the territory of the fortress and the fortress of MANSUR. And from there he went and encamped on the river LUGASU (LUGASIK?). And NUR AD-DIN, the son of KARA 'ARSLAN, came to him and was received with honour. Then God set peace in the heart of Sultan KELEJ 'ARSLAN, and he sent an ambassador to SALAH AD-DIN. And he was reconciled with his son-in-law after he had made him to swear that he would not again live in wantonness, and would hold the daughter of the Sultan in honour, and that he would be in subjection to him like a son.

And SALAH AD-DIN moved from that place and went and encamped on the river UKAMA. And his armies went to plunder the country of CILICIA, because ROPIN (REUBEN?), the governor of CILICIA, had killed many of the Turcoman shepherds who were in his country, and he made captives of their wives and children and [seized] their possessions (i.e. cattle).

Then RUPIN sent words of humility and submission to SALAH AD-DIN, and he gave him much gold, and he set free five hundred Turkish prisoners. [357] And then there was peace, and SALAH AD-DIN departed. And KELEJ 'ARSLAN returned to MELITENE and rebuilt the two walls thereof. And at this time PRAYNS of ANTIOCH left the Greek wife which he had taken from CONSTANTINOPLE in the days of MANUIL the king and committed fornication. And the Patriarch of ANTIOCH excommunicated the priest who had blessed him with the whore, and also the whole city, and he stopped the bell-ringers and the prayers. Then PRAYNS was furiously angry, and he looted all the churches and monasteries of the FRANKS. Then the Patriarch of JERUSALEM came with men of authority (Counts) and pacified PRAYNS. He permitted him to keep that unlawful wife, and he gave back everything which he had taken from the churches and monasteries.

And in the year died SAIF AD-DIN TAZI, the son of KUGHABAD-DIN MAWDUD, the son of ZANGI, the lord of MAWSIL. He was a man who loved luxurious living, and he was always drinking wine, and in his days the men of MAWSIL enjoyed prosperous peace and great happiness. And there rose up in his place as governor of MAWSIL 'IZZ AD-DIN MAS'UD his brother, and he was called ABU AL-FATH, and he had been trained systematically in all matters of administration. And SALAH AD-DIN went to DAMASCUS, and from there he went to EGYPT, and he finished the building of the Citadel of CAIRO; and his brother SHAMS AD-DAWLAH died in ALEXANDRIA.

And in the year five hundred and seventy-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1181), king SALIH ISMA'IL, the son of NUR AD-DIN, the son of ZANGI, the lord of MAWSIL, fell sick with the sickness of death. And when he perceived that he was going to die, he sent to the son of his uncle 'IZZ AL-DIN MAS'UD, the lord of MAWSIL, and he urged him to come quickly so that ALEPPO might be handed over to him, and not to SALAH AD-DIN. And he also collected the nobles, and made them to swear fealty to the son of his uncle, and he died. It is said that one of the slaves made him drink poison in a cluster of grapes. And others say, 'No, he died of disease of the colon'. And the sons of ALEPPO mourned for him greatly, for he was glorious in the beauty of his body, and he was excellent in spiritual and mental faculties. And when he died dissension fell (i.e. broke out) between [358] the people of ALEPPO, that is to say between those who lived in the city and the YARUKAYE, who were outside ALEPPO. And the YARUKAYE sent to 'EMAD AD-DIN ZANGI, the lord of SHIGHAR (SINJAR), and brought him to them that they might deliver ALEPPO [into his hands]. But the dwellers in ALEPPO sent and threatened him that if he did not leave and depart, they would fether him cruelly.

And when he left and departed, 'IZZ AL-DIN MAS'UD came to ALEPPO and went up into the fortress and took possession of it. And he took the mother of MALIK SALIH to wife and sent her to MAWSIL. And he opened those treasure houses which of old had belonged to NUR AD-DIN and ZANGI his father, and were filled with boundless treasures, and he sent them (i.e. their contents) all to MAWSIL. And he made peace with BOHAIMOND PRAYNS, the lord of ANTIOCH, for a period of two years. And he left NUR AD-DIN, his son, who was a little boy, in the fortress of ALEPPO and appointed him governor. And he departed and encamped in the meadow of KARA HESAR, and he sent an envoy to his brother 'EMAD AD-DIN ZANGI, the lord of SINJAR, because he had gone forth with all his treasure, and his sons, and his household. And he came to CIRCESIUM in order to go and take asylum with SALAH AD-DIN, that he might help him and restore to him the kingdom of his father. Then 'EMAD AD-DIN made answer to his brother's ambassador, saying, 'I will not go back unless he giveth me ALEPPO, or MAWSIL, or the whole of BETH NAHRIN'. And 'IZZ AD-DIN agreed to give him ALEPPO, the city only, but his son was to remain in the fortress. And 'EMAD AD-DIN replied, 'I do not agree that I will be governor for thy son in ALEPPO'. And 'IZZ AD-DIN replied, saying, 'I will give thee in addition 'ARBAN, and MAQDAL, and other places from the HABUR'.

And whilst he was disputing and refusing [the offer of] 'EMAD AD-DIN, the nobles advised him, saying, 'Give him ALEPPO and the fortress thereof, and quarrel not with thy brother about something which thou

canst not protect, nor is he [able to do so] against SALAH AD-DIN. And what hast thou left therein over the loss of which thou wouldst be sorry? Behold, the whole of the wealth [of the place] thereof thou hast carried off to MAWSIL.' And the two brothers swore oaths to each other, and 'EMAD AD-DIN took ALEPPO and the country thereof, and he left SINJAR to 'IZZ AL-DIN together with MAWSIL.

And in this year a great ship was dispatched by the FRANKS to DAMIETTA, because between them and the ARABS [359] there was peace. And the ARABS acted treacherously, and they made prisoners of the two thousand five hundred men of the Frankish merchants and sailors who were in it, and the pretext they put forward was that the period of peace (armistice) had expired. Then the FRANKS went forth to a city which was on the shore of the SEA OF REEDS, which was called 'AYALAH', and they constructed a large fleet of ships and vessels and sailed on the SEA OF REEDS where one said the FRANKS had never before sailed on the RED SEA. And they captured many ships of the ARABS which were filled with rich merchandise (or, valuable cargoes), and they killed a great many people of the inhabitants of the city which was called 'IDAB. And SALAH AD-DIN sent ships from ALEXANDRIA with bales of packages for camels, and launched them on the SEA OF REEDS. And the ARABS overtook the FRANKS and a great many men were killed on both sides.

And in the year fourteen hundred and ninety-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1183), ANDRONICUS, a Greek nobleman, whom king MANUIL had driven out from CONSTANTINOPLE, cajoled the young ALIX and his mother, and he went again into CONSTANTINOPLE, and for a short time he manifested submission. Then he cast the mother of the young man, and her daughter, and her son-in-law, into the sea, and he destroyed the young ALIX secretly. And he killed more than one thousand nobles and burned them in the fire, and he plucked out the eyes of many. And that filthy old man took the young wife of ALIX to wife. And he expelled the FRANKS from CONSTANTINOPLE. And when they had gone forth they burned fourteen thousand monasteries and villages in the territories of the GREEKS. And the king of SICILY also came, and he overthrew and laid waste many of the cities of the GREEKS.

And in the year five hundred and seventy-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1182), SALAH AD-DIN sallied forth from EGYPT and came to DAMASCUS, and from there [he went] to ALEPPO, and he wished to make war on it. Then one of the nobles advised him to cross the EUPHRATES first of all, and to make himself master over the cities of BETH NAHRIN and 'ATHOR, after which he would be able to take it (DAMASCUS) forthwith. And accepting his advice, he crossed the EUPHRATES and came to EDESSA, and he took it and also HARRAN. And he went also to CALONICUS and took it. And from there he went to ARABAN, and the guards thereof brought down its keys to him, and he took it, and with it MAK SIN. And he treated the sons of the HABURA with kindness, and he went [360] to NISIBIS. And the lords thereof made ready to fight, but SALAH AD-DIN did not wish to make war on the town. He placed an army round about it and commanded them to prevent the inhabitants thereof from coming out or going in; and being in sore straits; the men of NISIBIS surrendered the town quickly.

And SALAH AD-DIN came to MAWSIL and captured it, an army attacking (it) on every side. Then 'IZZ AD-DIN, its lord, sent to the Khalifah and begged him to intercede on his behalf with SALAH AD-DIN; and the Khalifah sent an ambassador to him and entreated him. Then he demanded that the men of MAWSIL should give him either the gold which he had expended in his coming, or give him ALEPPO. And the men of MAWSIL replied, 'We have no gold. And as for ALEPPO, it hath another lord, viz. 'EMAD AD-DIN. And how can we give thee a country which is not ours?'

And when SALAH AD-DIN saw that he was not able to subjugate MAWSIL, he left it and went to SINJAR. And he made war upon it, and took it from SHARAF AD-DIN, the son of KUTAB AD-DIN MAWDUD. And from there SALAH AD-DIN went against the city of DARA. And its lord SAMSAM AD-DIN

BIHRAM, of the sons of 'ARTUK, went forth to do service to him, and he exhibited humility and subjection. And SALAH AD-DIN left him his city and went to HARRAN. And he disbanded his troops so that each man might go to his own country and rest in his own house, for it was the season of winter, and the days of a fast and a festival of the ARABS were upon them; and he remained with a small body-guard in HARRAN.

Then the men of MAWSIL, fearing that he would return to them in the spring and take MAWSIL as he had taken SINJAR, sent to SHAHARMAN, the lord of KHALAT, and asked him for help. And SHAHARMAN responded to their petition gladly, and he sent to his sister's son, KUTAB AD-DIN ILGHAZI, the son of 'ALBI, the son of TEMURTASH, the lord of MARDIN, the uncle of 'IZZ AD-DIN, the lord of MAWSIL. And all the men of MARDIN and the men of MAWSIL, and the adherents of SHAHARMAN gathered together at BARA'YAH, and seventeen hundred YARUKAYE horsemen came to them from ALEPPO, and they prepared themselves to engage in battle with SALAH AD-DIN. When SALAH AD-DIN heard that his enemies were gathered together he was troubled, and trembling seized upon him, and he sent and made his troops hurry to gather together about him. And within eight days they were all with him, from HAMATH, and from EMESA, and from BETH [361] NAHRIN, and also the son of KARA 'ARSLAN, the lord of the fortress of KIPA. And when SHAHARMAN saw the alertness and promptness of the troops of SALAH AD-DIN, and the inertness of his own soldiers, he said to the lords of MAWSIL and MARDIN, 'It is the season of winter, and it is [a time un]suitable for war. Let us return each man to his own country, and towards the spring we will gather ourselves together again.' So they melted away, and their assembly was dissolved, having effected nothing. And SALAH AD-DIN sent and informed the Khalifah what the men of MAWSIL had done, and that they were always quarrelling with him and not he with them; and he also received the command from the Khalifah to make war on 'AMID.

(Continued on Next Page)

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

The Taking of Edessa from the Franks (continued).

And in the year five hundred and seventy-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1183), in the first month, that is to say in the month of 'IYAR (MAY), of the year fourteen hundred and ninety-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1183), SALAH AD-DIN took 'AMID, after he had harassed it sorely with war. Now at that time the governor of 'AMID was BAR-NISAN RISHANA. And he fought valiantly against those who were outside [the walls], but the men in the city turned their faces from him because on one occasion when some of the men of SALAH AD-DIN went in between the two walls of 'AMID, the men of 'AMID rushed out and shut them all in there and killed them. Then the Sultan SALAH AD-DIN wrote severe threats [to the governor], coupled with violent oaths on arrows, that he would not turn aside from the city until he took it, and that then he would burn them all in the fire, unless they helped. And those who were inside were afraid because things were thus, and they dropped their hands helplessly. And BAR-NISAN trembled, and he took a pledge of security for his own life and for his household and possessions. Then the Sultan gave him permission to take out everything he wanted from his palace in three days, and thus he surrendered up the city. And BAR-NISAN began in the three days to take out from his palaces gold, and silver, and precious stones, and furniture. And it is said that he was unable to take out one-tenth of his possessions in three days, because he had collected a great mass of property in 'AMID.

And when SALAH AD-DIN had taken 'AMID he gave it to NUR AD-DIN, the son of KARA 'ARSLAN, together with everything which was therein. Then certain men said unto SALAH AD-DIN, 'Thou hast promised him the city, and not everything which is in it. This great mass of possessions [is worth] far more than thousands of thousands of *dinars*.' And SALAH AD-DIN replied, [362] 'It is not seemly for us to give an empty city to our friend'. It is said that one hundred thousand wax candles were found in one of its towers, and in the Library a thousand thousand and forty thousand volumes. SALAH AD-DIN took these books only from 'AMID, and he gave them to the KADI AL-FADIL, that is to say the 'excellent judge' his scribe. And SALAH AD-DIN confirmed [the appointment] of KARA 'ARSLAN with oaths.

And SALAH AD-DIN crossed the EUPHRATES and went against 'AINTAB, and NASIH AD-DIN, the son of KUMARTAKIN, its lord, submitted to him. And he went and encamped against ALEPPO and invested it. Then 'EMAD AD-DIN, its lord, because he found it empty, was sorely pressed by his troops to give them their pay (or, rations). And he had nothing whatsoever in the city, and nothing came into the city from outside because SALAH AD-DIN had shut up the whole country. And when he said to one of the nobles, 'I have nothing to give thee', the noble replied to him, 'Sell the chains of thy wife and give [the price] to the fighting men if thou wishest to be king'. And his case went from bad to worse until his dinner came to him every day from the inhabitants of the city, and he and his household ate it. And it was because of this that his nobles and his soldiers put war aside (or, were apathetic). Now the inhabitants of the city fought with great zeal. And when SALAH AD-DIN saw that it was impossible to take the city by fighting, he made a secret arrangement with the nobles who were inside it, and he coaxed them with gifts. And they counselled 'EMAD AD-DIN that

it was better for him to deliver up ALEPPO, and to take other towns in its stead, and not to permit others to deliver it up, whilst he himself remained empty (i.e. a beggar). And they also said to him, 'Art thou relying on the common folk to fight for thee, and to eat from their own houses? Behold their food supply hath come to an end, and thou hast nothing at all to give them. See now what thou canst do!' And being persuaded by their counsel he sent to SALAH AD-DIN, and demanded from him SINJAR, and NISIBIS, and HABURA, and CALONICUS instead of ALEPPO. And SALAH AD-DIN agreed, and he wrote a letter himself and sent it to him, and he also swore to him that he would give him all these things. And when the people [363] of the city heard that 'EMAD AD-DIN wished to deliver up the city, it was very grievous in their sight. And they gathered themselves together before the Citadel and reviled him with filthy abuse. And they dangled before him a wash-basin and a smock, and cried out, 'O thou effeminate one, the washing of clothes is fitting for thee and not royalty'. And he was looking at them from a building, and he heard their abuse of him with his ears. And in the night of the eighteenth [day], in the second month of this year of the ARABS, 'EMAD AD-DIN came down from the Citadel of ALEPPO, and went out and sat in a tent which had been pitched for him, And [thus] those who were with SALAH AD-DIN took possession of the Citadel and the city, and 'EMAD AD-DIN [took] possession of those towns [which have been already mentioned], and he went and sat down in SINJAR. And SALAH AD-DIN had great gladness over the taking of ALEPPO, more than over all the [other] cities which he had taken. It is said that when he went up the steps in front of the gate of the Citadel he recited that [passage of] DANIEL which is written in their Kur'an, saying, 'The Most High God is the governor in the kingdom of the earth, and He giveth it to whomsoever He pleaseth, and He setteth up over it the lowliest of men' (Daniel iv. 32). And he turned back to those nobles who were with him, and he said unto them, 'Now know I that a kingdom hath been founded for me. Believe ye [me], I never coveted the happiness of NUR AD-DIN, but only ALEPPO, and I longed for nothing but that.' And when he became master of ALEPPO he abolished many taxes, and he reduced imposts and levies, and he distributed lavish gifts which were equivalent to eight hundred and fifty thousand *dinars*.

And during the war against ALEPPO TAJ AL-MLUK BURI (TURI?), the young brother of SALAH AD-DIN, was wounded, and he was ill for a few days and died. It is said that when SALAH AD-DIN visited him in his sickness he said unto him, 'Rejoice, for behold we have taken ALEPPO, and henceforth it shall be thine'. And the young man replied, 'Lordship belongeth to life, and behold, I am counted with the dead. Believe [me] thou hast acquired it at a heavy price; for like myself thou hast suffered loss in finding it.' Now behold he was strenuous in war, and SALAH AD-DIN and all those who were present with him wept bitterly.

And at that time the governor of HARIM wished to sell it to the FRANKS, and the guards knew what [he wanted to do]. And one day when he went forth to enjoy himself, and he came to enter in, they shut the gates in his face, [364] and they sent to SALAH AD-DIN so that they might deliver it over to him. Then the Sultan sent his brother's son and his uncle's son to receive it. But the guards were not content until SALAH AD-DIN went in person and took possession of it. And he gave gifts to those Muslims, and sent them out from the fortress. And he inflicted no evil upon that governor, because the nobles helped him and said, 'The guards lied about him'.

Now SALAH AD-DIN, having set his son MALIK AD-TAHIR in the Citadel of ALEPPO, went to DAMASCUS. And from there he collected an army, and went and encamped against the fortress of KARAK, and he made fierce war upon it. Then the FRANKS gathered together and wished to capture it, and when he perceived this he left KARAK and returned to DAMASCUS. And his brother MALIK 'ADIL came to him from EGYPT and brought him much gold, and he made him governor of ALEPPO and its dominions as far as RA'BAN and the banks of the EUPHRATES, as far as HAMATH. And 'ADIL went in to the Citadel of ALEPPO, and TAHIR the son of SALAH AD-DIN went out, having been therein six months, and he went to his father.

And in the year five hundred and eighty of the ARABS (A.D. 1184), SALAH AD-DIN made ready to fight against KARAK. And he sent and brought NUR AD-DIN from the fortress of KIPA, and 'ADIL his brother from ALEPPO, and TAKI AD-DIN from EGYPT; and they were all gathered together against KARAK. And the FRANKS also gathered together, and the TURKS trembled. And SALAH AD-DIN commanded [his troops] to burn the machines of war which they had set up against KARAK, and they went away and departed to the country of SHAMRIN (SAMARIA) and looted it. Then PRAYNS 'ARNAT (ARNALDUS; RENAUD DE CHATILLON), the lord of KARAK, went on the mountains and he entered KARAK and he made it exceedingly strong. And PRAYNS also, the lord of ANTIOCH, went out to HARIM with two hundred horsemen, and he spoiled the country and killed many of the ARAB horsemen who were on duty on the bridge which is called 'Iron'. And the FRANKS captured it and also the ambush of the ARABS which was in the mountain, four hundred footmen and twenty horsemen, and they killed them all.

And in this year died KUTAB AD-DIN ILGHAZI, the son of NAJAM AD-DIN 'ALBI, the son of TEMURTASH, the son of ILGHAZI, the son of [365] 'ARTUK, the lord of MARDIN, and there rose up in his place HUSAM AD-DIN YAWLAK 'ARSLAN, who was a little boy. Because TAHIR AD-DIN SHAHARMAN was the uncle of the boy, he appointed as his administrator one of his father's slaves whose name was NETAM AD-DIN. And this NETAM AD-DIN took the mother of the boy to wife and he governed the kingdom well. Then the boy HUSAM AD-DIN died. And he had a brother who was younger than himself whose name was KUTAB AD-DIN, his father's name, and NETAM AD-DIN appointed him in his brother's stead. The boy only had the name [of ruler], for the whole of the government was in the hands of NETAM AD-DIN and his slave LULU.

And when the boy grew up and saw that he was governor in name only and not in fact, he went in one day to NETAM AD-DIN when he was sick, ostensibly to pay him a visit. And when he went out LULU went out with him as far as the door, as it were to pay him honour, and when they reached a narrow passage KUTAB AD-DIN smote LULU with a knife (or, dagger) and killed him. And he went back to NETAM AD-DIN as he lay on his bed and killed him also. And he took the heads of both of them and cast them from the fortress to the nobles. And when they saw them they were all afraid of him, and they became subject unto him. This murder was carried out in the year six hundred and one of the ARABS (A.D. 1204) after NETAM AD-DIN had ruled for twenty years.

And in the year five hundred and eighty-one of the ARABS (A.D. 1185) SALAH AD-DIN went to ALEPPO. And from there he crossed the EUPHRATES and took EDESSA from MUTAFAR AD-DIN, the son of ZAYN AD-DIN its lord. And he went to RAS 'AINA and from there to DARA. And 'EMAD AD-DIN, the son of KARA 'ARSLAN, came to him in the place of his brother NUR AD-DIN who was sick and was not able to come. And from there he came to the town of BALADH, and he went and encamped against MAWSIL. And the lord of 'ARBIL, ZAYN AD-DIN, the son of 'ALI KUJK, came to him, and his brother MUTAFAR AD-DIN, the lord of HARRAN, was with SALAH AD-DIN. And SALAH AD-DIN harassed MAWSIL and besieged it strictly. And the mother of 'IZZ AD-DIN, the lord of MAWSIL, now she was the daughter of 'ARTUK, together with the daughter of NUR AD-DIN, the son of ZANGI, went out and entreated him to leave MAWSIL to 'IZZ AD-DIN, and to remember [366] early days, and the benefits which those of the house of ZANGI had shown him; and they wept before him, and laid hold of the skirts of his apparel. But he would not accept their proposal, and he put to shame their hope. And when they left [him] and went in [again] in despair, the people of MAWSIL, both great and small, became indignant and they showed definite signs of their affection for the house of the ATABAG ZANGI. And with all their hearts and souls they manned the walls, and they fought strenuously and poured out upon SALAH AD-DIN words of abuse which hinted that he was one who had disgraced the goodness of his masters. Therefore he left the army to capture it, and he himself went against KHALAT. For he heard that SHAHARMAN its lord had died,

and that his slave BUKHTAMAR had risen up in his place, and that he was good to the KHALATAYE, and that they loved him greatly.

Now this BUKHTAMAR, because he had heard that PAHLWAN, the son of ILDAGUZ (ILDAGUR?), the governor of PERSIA, had set out to attack him, sent a message to SALAH AD-DIN to go to his help, and [he promised that] he would deliver KHALAT to him. But when SALAH AD-DIN went to the country of KHALAT he found that BUKHTAMAR was entrenched strongly in his city, and that he did not go forth to meet him. And SHAMS AD-DIN PAHLWAN also had come from PERSIA, and had pitched his camp on the other side of KHALAT. And he was prepared to make war on KHALAT, [and he would have done so] if it had not been said to him, 'If thou afflictest BUKHTAMAR he will deliver KHALAT to SALAH AD-DIN, and thou wilt find no peace in his neighbourhood'. Because of this PAHLWAN sent to BUKHTAMAR, and spake kindly to his heart, and also gave him a wife from the daughters of his kinsfolk, and he left and departed.

And when SALAH AD-DIN saw that the men of KHALAT and the PERSIANS were reconciled, he turned back and came to MAIPERKAT, because its lord, KUTAB AD-DIN, the lord of MARDIN, was dead, and he had made king his son, who was a little boy, even as we have said. And SALAH AD-DIN made war on it. Now there was in [that city] a captain of the host [called] 'ASAD AD-DIN BRIKAS, and the Khatun, the wife of KUTAB AD-DIN, the lord of MARDIN, and her daughters were also there, and she greatly encouraged the men of war who were therein. And the war being prolonged, [367] SALAH AD-DIN coaxed the woman with promises, and said that he would take one of her daughters for his son. And being vanquished she begged that the fortress of HATHKA might remain to her; and she delivered MAIPERKAT over to SALAH AD-DIN and went to HATHKA. And KUTAB AD-DIN SOKMAN, the son of NUR AD-DIN, the son of KARA 'ARSLAN, the lord of 'AMID, came to SALAH AD-DIN, and he was received with honour, and returned to his city.

And SALAH AD-DIN went forth from MAIPERKAT and departed and pitched his camp on the bank of the river KARAMAN, and from there he went to KEPHAR ZAMMAR, which is on the river TIGRIS. And the men of MAWSIL who were suffering from the investment [of their city] sent those same women to SALAH AD-DIN a second time to supplicate for peace. And among them was 'EMAD AD-DIN, the lord of SINJAR, and 'IZZ AD-DIN, the lord of MAWSIL, gave the country of SHAHARZUR, and all the country of the East, from the two rivers ZABHE [and] BETH WAZIK, &c., to SALAH AD-DIN. And he undertook that SALAH AD-DIN should be proclaimed in MAWSIL, and that the coins *zuz* and *dinars* should be struck in his name. And in this manner peace came.

And SALAH AD-DIN went to HARRAN, and he fell sick there of a grievous sickness, but he recovered. And when SALAH AD-DIN was in HARRAN he was sick, and he had with him, the son of his uncle NASIR AD-DIN BAR 'ASAD AD-DIN SHIRKUH. This man, thinking that SALAH AD-DIN was not going to live, left him and went to his city EMESA. And he gathered together to him the young men and made them swear on his behalf that when SALAH AD-DIN died, he should receive the kingdom. And God willed, and SALAH AD-DIN recovered, and NASIR AD-DIN himself died. And SALAH AD-DIN went to EMESA, and took everything which NASIR AD-DIN had, and he named his son MALIK MUJAHID, who was a little boy, and set him up in the place of his father. It is said that after one year the young man appeared before SALAH AD-DIN who asked him, 'Up to what passage canst thou recite the Kur'an?' And the young man replied, 'As far as the verse "The eaters of the possessions of orphans eat fire in their bellies".' And SALAH AD-DIN marvelled at his intelligence and said, 'If he hath said this with knowledge, it is meet to fear this [young man]'.
[368]

And in this year, which is the year fourteen hundred and ninety-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1185), [368] ANDRONICUS, the Tyrant of CONSTANTINOPLE, made ready to kill ISIKYOS ('ISHAK (?) THE ANGEL), one of the nobles and the only one remaining of the family of MANUIL the king, and ISIKYOS entrenched himself strongly in his house. And when ANDRONICUS sent the captain of the host to summon ISIKYOS to his presence, ISIKYOS waxed bold and drew his sword and killed the captain of the host. And he mounted his horse and went forth to go to the great church with his sword, which was dripping with blood, in his hand. And he cried out and uttered lamentations, and the nobles of the people, and also many nobles who were offended with the Tyrant, gathered together round about him. And they went into the church and forced the Patriarch and he made ISIKYOS king. When the Tyrant heard this he rushed out from the palace to escape by sea. And they overtook him and made him go back to CONSTANTINOPLE. Then they hacked the flesh of his body with knives whilst he was still alive, and they wounded him to the death. And after [he had suffered] great tortures they burnt him in the fire in the midst of the mob.

And in [that] year, when the disease of elephantiasis increased in BO'DWIN, the king of JERUSALEM, he handed over the kingdom to the little boy the son of his sister, who was also called BO'DWIN (V), and he died.

And in the year five hundred and eighty-two of the ARABS (A.D. 1186), SALAH AD-DIN recovered, and went from HARRAN to ALEPPO, and from there to EMESA. And he found NASIR AD-DIN, the son of his brother SHAMS AD-DAWLAH, dying; and he took the Citadel of EMESA from his son. And he found therein a vast amount of loot. And from there he went to DAMASCUS. And he returned and took ALEPPO from 'ADIL his brother, and gave it to MALIK TAHIR, his son. And he gave DAMASCUS to MALIK AFDAL, another son of his. And he gave EGYPT to MALIK 'AZIZ, another son of his, and sent him to EGYPT, and with him was 'ADIL, his brother. When TAKI AD-DIN, his brother's son, heard that EGYPT had gone forth from his hand, he was offended and he made ready to go to AFRICA. But SALAH AD-DIN sent and prevented him, and had him brought to him. And he consoled him by pretending that it was because of his valour that he wished him to be with him. And he gave him HAMATH, and MU'ARAH, and SALAMIAH, and MABBOGH, and KAL'AH NAJM. And he gave him in addition MAIPERKAT. [369] And he sent and had brought to him his son MALIK MANSUR, together with his troops from EGYPT. Now his slave, whose name was BUZABAH, was unwilling to come, but he went to the West and ruled over AFRICA.

And in this year, which is the year fourteen hundred and ninety-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1186), there was a conjunction of six wandering stars in the Sign of the Zodiac of the Balance, besides ARIS (MARS), which took place in Gemini on the fourteenth day of ILUL (SEPTEMBER), and the twenty-ninth day of the sixth month of the ARABS. And all the astronomers predicted that a universal flood and a mighty whirlwind would take place in the world, and that all mankind would perish, even like that which took place in the days of NOAH, through the approach of the Sign of the Zodiac of the Fishes, and that the waters would swallow up the whole earth. Now KELEJ ARSLAN, the Sultan of ICONIUM, more than any other man believed this silly talk. And he spent large sums of money wastefully, and made excavations in the ground, and built strong houses in the depths thereof.

But God, glory be to His goodness! showed their prognostication to be empty and vain. And when that day which had been indicated arrived, and many people had entrenched themselves in the excavations and caves, soft and clear weather appeared, with a quietness which was quieter than that of all the [other] days, and only an eclipse of the sun took place, according to custom. And the astronomers were treated with contumely by kings and by common folk because of the falsity of their prognostication. And one of the famous astronomers who were among them said, 'They lied in their prognostications'. And when the Sultan called him and asked him [about this], he said the same thing, and he gave [him] a written statement that nothing which they had

said would take place, and that no evil thing would happen to the children of men. And when his word showed itself to be true, the Sultan demanded of him whence he knew this. And he replied, 'I did not speak from scientific knowledge, but I knew that if a flood took place neither I myself nor those who blame me would remain [alive]; and that if it did not take place I should acquire a crown of merit, even as I have acquired [one]'. And the Sultan laughed and gave him a present and dismissed him.

And at [this] time PRAYNS, the lord of ANTIOCH, made peace with SALAH AD-DIN, and he seized treacherously RUPIN, the governor of CILICIA, and loaded him with iron fetters and shut him up in prison. And he collected an army and invaded CILICIA, and LEON resisted him strenuously and PRAYNS returned in shame. And afterwards [370] the ARMENIANS gave him thirty thousand *dinars* and MOPSUESTIA and 'ADANA, and he released RUPIN. Then RUPIN, having been ransomed, took back these places. And PRAYNS began to destroy the whole country of CILICIA with plundering raids.

And at [this] time PAHLUAN, the governor of PERSIA, was killed, and in the course of events many murders were committed. And, moreover, the KURDS and the TURKOMANS fought with each other by the side of NISIBIS because a certain TURKOMAN went and took a woman from the other TURKOMANS. And when the wedding guests passed one of the fortresses of the KURDS, which was in the country of ZAWZAN, the KURDS stood up by the side of their path, and demanded from them participation in the wedding feast. And when the TURKOMANS resisted, the KURDS overpowered them and seized the bride and went up to their fortress. And from this a great war began, and the roads were cut, and merchant caravans were pillaged, and on both sides about ten thousand men were killed. And also about thirty thousand KURDS gathered together and met the TURKOMANS in battle by the side of HABURA; and the KURDS were defeated, and those of them who were killed fell from the banks of the river of HABURA to NISIBIS. And on two occasions they met together in battle in the country of MAWSIL, and the KURDS were defeated. And the TURKOMANS defeated the KURDS several times in SYRIA, and they pursued them as far as CILICIA and killed men and women and even children.

And when the TURKOMANS had made an end of the KURDS all over SYRIA and BETH NAHRIN, they invaded ARMENIA and took twenty-six thousand ARMENIANS as slaves and sold them. And they burnt the great monastery, of GARBID (JIRBID) and killed the monks. And one hundred and seventy men who were SYRIANS of our [communion], and who were from TALL BESMI, which is in the country of MARDIN, were killed. And two hundred of our young men who bore armour, and were from the village of 'AMRON, which is in the country of KLAWDIA, in the Sultanate of MELITENE, were killed. And in all CAPPADOCIA and in the country of MELITENE, fierce wars and many slaughterings took place. And the ARABS and the ISHMAELITES met each other in battle and many were killed.

And in [this] year dissension took place among the FRANKS because when the lord of TIBERIAS was dying [371] he handed over his young son to the Count of TRIPOLI to bring up. And after a time the boy himself died, and the command remained with his mother. Now this woman cast her eye upon a certain man whose name was KAI (GUI DE LUSIGNAN), who had not sprung from a race of kings, and she became his wife, and she made him to put on her crown (1). Therefore the lord of TRIPOLI was offended, and he went and became an adherent of SALAH AD-DIN, and he began to dig pits for the queen and for the other sons of his Faith.

(Continued on Next Page)

(1) Bedjan's note reads: Sebella or Izbaila (Isabella), the sister of Bo'dwin, who was the fourth king of Jerusalem, and the mother of Bo'dwin V. When she became a widow she was given to wife to Guy, by her

brother. And when the two Bo'dwins were dead the whole kingdom came to her, and her husband also became king of Jerusalem, and not of Tiberias only.

Bar Hebraeus'

Chronography

X

The Taking of Edessa from the Franks (continued).

And in the year five hundred and eighty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1187), when SALAH AD-DIN saw that PRAYNS 'ARNAT had passed over (i.e. broken) his oaths, and had plundered the caravans of the Arab merchants, and had collected an army, he prepared for war. And he took a great army and attacked KARAK, and he cut down the trees thereof and destroyed the villages that were round about it. And he left it and attacked SHAWBAK and did the same thing there. And MALIK 'AFDAL, his son, also went to TIBERIAS and pillaged the country thereof. And the FRANKS went forth and met the ARABS in battle, and the ARABS would have been utterly broken with a serious defeat, and have had to take to flight, had it not been that the men of ALEPPO stood firm. And the FRANKS went back to their city, and 'AFDAL and those who were with him went to SALAH AD-DIN.

Then the kings of the FRANKS and their nobles gathered together and took counsel each with the other concerning meeting the ARABS in battle. Then the Count, the lord of TRIPOLI, said, 'Know ye, O my brethren, that there is no small danger in meeting this man SALAH AD-DIN in battle. For ye know well what he was formerly, viz. one of the common folk. And behold he is the master of all EGYPT and PALESTINE as far as the East. The thing which would help—so it appeareth to me—is that we should make peace with him, and that each of us should rest in his own place.' Then GUY the new king, who had taken to wife the queen of TIBERIAS, magnified himself and said, 'As far as I am concerned there is no other means than a battle'. Then the Count said, 'Thou wilt see [what will be] the end of thy desire'.

And SALAH AD-DIN also assembled his nobles, and took counsel with them, [372] and they said, 'It is not right for us to meet in battle the FRANKS now, they being assembled in their full strength, but let us make feeble the strength of their countries a little. And when they are scattered and in a confused state, it will be easy for us to destroy them one at a time.' But SALAH AD-DIN did not accept [this view of theirs], and he said, 'When shall I be able to gather together such an assembly as this again? Nay, make ye yourselves strong, and contend like mighty men, and fight. And whatsoever the Lord willeth He will perform.'

And straightway he mounted his horse and made his troops set out on the march, and they wept and encamped on the JORDAN, round about the SEA OF TIBERIAS. And the FRANKS gathered together in a place the name of which is 'SIFORIAH', and the two armies remained opposite each other for several days without beginning hostilities. Then SALAH AD-DIN sent a portion of his troops by a secret way by night against the city of TIBERIAS. And when the day broke they leaped up and went into the city, and they hurled the sword and fire therein. And the queen (1) was very strongly entrenched in the fortress. Now when GUY her husband heard of this, he stripped off his apparel and encouraged himself and the FRANKS, and they all rode off with fierce vehemence towards the ARABS.

And when the evening was come, the two forces were encamped near each other, and during the whole of that night none of them slept. And because the ARABS held the region by the JORDAN, the thirst of the

FRANKS waxed strong during that night, for there was no place where they could obtain a drink. Then were they the more stirred up for the battle. And when the day broke, and the ARABS saw the courage of the FRANKS, who were casting themselves about like wasps, and were not turning back their faces, they feared greatly and became helpless, and their knees shook. And when SALAH AD-DIN saw their slackness, he ran into the midst [of them], and he cried out with a loud voice, and made them to hear words which were mixed with honey and gall, that is to say words of encouragement and words of threats. Then one of the slaves of SALAH AD-DIN, an athletic young man whose name was MANGURAS, plucked up courage and went forth from among the ranks of the ARABS. And when he was between the two armies, another athlete, from the FRANKS, rushed out to meet him, and he pierced him with his lance and hurled him from his horse, and he bent down and seized him by his garments and dragged him to the ranks [373] of the FRANKS and cut off his head. And when the FRANKS saw this they were greatly strengthened, because they thought that it was one of the sons of SALAH AD-DIN who had fallen. Then the Count, because his heart was full of treachery, was afraid lest the victory of the FRANKS should be accomplished, and it would shame him who had advised them not to fight, and he made a pretence to the FRANKS that he himself, together with those who were with him, would ride out and challenge the ARABS to battle. And when he rode out to the ARABS they opened a way for him between their ranks, because there was a word (i.e. understanding) between them, and they knew that his heart was not right (i.e. in agreement) with the sons of his Faith (i.e. co-religionists). And having passed through the ranks of the ARABS he left and departed towards his city TRIPOLI. And his departure (i.e. defection) was the chief cause of the defeat of the FRANKS, for no man trusted his neighbour again. Nevertheless because there was no other course [to follow] except fighting, the FRANKS mingled with the ARABS, and swords were drawn, but they were in no way able to find profit, because after the departure of the Count the FRANKS were like unto men who had lost all hope. And the ARABS prevailed over the FRANKS, and they took prisoner GUY, the lord of TIBERIAS (JERUSALEM?), and PRAYNS 'ARNAT, the lord of KARAK, and a large number of the miserable Brethren and Hospitallers, &c. And only a very few were able to make their escape.

And when the war ceased SALAH AD-DIN sat in his tent, and his nobles gathered together to him and he commanded and they brought before him GUY, the husband of the queen, the Lady of TIBERIAS, and PRAYNS 'ARNAT. And SALAH AD-DIN paid honour to GUY, and made him to sit by his side; and he also made 'ARNAT to be seated. Then GUY, because he was burnt up with thirst, demanded water as soon as he sat down, and SALAH AD-DIN commanded and they gave him water which had been cooled by snow to drink. And when he had drunk one half of it he gave the other half to 'ARNAT, and he drank. Then SALAH AD-DIN said, 'It is not right for you to give him drink without my command'. And GUY said unto the Sultan, 'Thirst is death; do not then put him to death with two deaths. [374] Defeat is murder; therefore do not murder him twice.' And his words pleased the Sultan, and he was prepared to spare the life of 'ARNAT, if the nobles had not urged him to kill him. And they said unto him, 'This man is not fit to live. For behold, he hath sworn the oath [of fealty] several times, and hath lied.' Therefore having sent the two of them to the tent which was pitched for them, an hour later he sent and had 'ARNAT brought to him by himself; and he drew his sword and he killed him with his own hands. Now 'ARNAT was an old man who was experienced in wars, and there was no limit to his strength and courage, and he was held in great fear by the ARABS (2).

Then SALAH AD-DIN departed and encamped by the Citadel of TIBERIAS, and he coaxed the queen with oaths and made her to come down, and he sent her to TRIPOLI together with all her train and all her possessions, and he also gave her gifts. Now the wretched Brethren and Hospitallers, eighty in number, who had been taken prisoners, he also killed. The greater number of these he bought from the horsemen, each Brother for five hundred *dinars*. 'For', he said, 'these more than all the other FRANKS destroy the Arab Religion, and slaughter for the triumph of Faith is sweet unto them. Therefore we will put an end to all of them.'

And from there SALAH AD-DIN came against 'AKKO, and all the nobles fled by sea to TYRE, and the poor people went forth and received a pledge for their lives. And after 'AKKO they took also HAIFA and NABLOS, which is SHAMRIN (SAMARIA), and TABNIN, and SAIDAN (SIDON), and CAESAREA, and JOPPA, and BAIRUT (BERUT), and NASRATH. And it is impossible for words to describe the extent of the scoffing and mockery and insult which the Christians who lived in the dominion of the ARABS bore at that time. And the lord of JUBAIL, for he also was a prisoner, handed over his city and saved himself.

And SALAH AD-DIN attacked ASCALON and found that it was filled with fighting men; and he began a fierce war against it and was unable to capture it. Then he said to the lord of TIBERIAS (the king of JERUSALEM?), who was a prisoner with him, that if he would hand over ASCALON he would release him. Then the king called the governor of ASCALON to him, and he commanded him to surrender the city. And when [375] he made objections, the king told the ARABS who were guarding him to cast iron fetters upon him and upon those who were with him. And when they had done so the king sent to those who were in the city and told them to surrender the city and save their lives; and they obeyed him and surrendered the city to the ARABS. And when the TYRIANS were about to surrender [TYRE], there came to them a certain Count whose name was 'MARKIS' (i.e. CONRAD, Marquis of MONFERRAT in ITALY), and protected it ably.

And from there SALAH AD-DIN went to JERUSALEM and encamped against it. And he set up mighty engines of war against the wall on the north side of it, for that quarter of it was spacious and suitable for the operations of the fighting men, and he waged fierce war against it for three days. And again the FRANKS prevailed; for there were sixty thousand fighting men, horsemen and foot-soldier, inside it; and they sallied forth against the ARABS and killed many of them. And on [that] day 'IZZ AD-DIN 'ISA, the lord of KAL'AH JA'BAR, was killed, and other famous men. Then the ARABS fought with the shooting of arrows. And they devoted their attack for a short time to those who were on the wall, until the men of ALEPPO could get close to the wall, when they quickly dug out stones from it by their skill. And they made breaches and supported them with timbers, so that when the fire touched them they would burst into flame and the wall would fall.

And when the FRANKS were in despair [of obtaining] a helper they sent two of their men of knowledge to SALAH AD-DIN, and begged from him a pledge as to their lives. And SALAH AD-DIN excused himself and said, 'I will not open the city except with the sword. And I will do unto you even as ye did to the ARABS who were in it when ye took it, whom ye killed and made [your] captives.' Then one of those two FRANKS said unto SALAH AD-DIN, 'We have another word which I would speak unto thee, O Sultan, if thou wilt promise me that thou wilt not be angry'. And the Sultan said, 'I have no anger, say what thou wishest [to say]'. And the FRANK said, 'If it had not been that we knew thy discretion (or, discerning character), and that thou wast incapable of abolishing the law of the kings of old who, when their enemies were vanquished, and had thrown down their weapons, and sued for peace, fought no more with them, we should not have come forth to thee. And now that we have come, [376] and have abandoned hope of thy goodness, behold we will go in and inform all the warriors who are full of indignation and are with us. And first of all we shall kill the Arab prisoners whom we have, and then we shall burn their Great Mosque, and then the churches and the other buildings, and then goods and possessions. And then we shall slay our wives, and our sons, and our daughters, with our own hands, and we shall not allow you satisfy your lust with them. And after this no one of us will surrender himself to slaughter unless he has killed in exchange for himself one or two [ARABS].'

And when the FRANK had said these things the Sultan marvelled at his words, and he made him to go out and sit down in one of the tents, and he collected the nobles and took counsel with them. And as one man they all replied, 'Everything which this man hath said the FRANKS will do, and even more; and to make them go out in peace would be a good thing'. And the Sultan called the two FRANKS and said unto them, 'I accept your petition, but it is impossible that all the people who are in [the city] should go forth free for

nothing. And the Amirs who are with me want gold, for they have toiled hard and have spent much money on the war.' And the matter was settled thus: Every man should give ten *dinars*, and every woman five, and every son or daughter two *dinars*, and they should go out with everything which they were able to carry. And the FRANKS agreed to these terms. And they weighed out thirty thousand *dinars* on behalf of the poor who had nothing to give, and the rich weighed out [*dinars*] on their own behalf, and on behalf of the other poor folk, and they all went out in peace. And only the needy young people, about five thousand souls who had nothing at all to give for themselves, were kept in bondage. And the Arab guards were given each a *dinar* or more and they brought them out. And MUDAFAR AD-DIN, the son of ZAYN AD-DIN, brought out for nothing a thousand souls, SYRIANS and ARMENIANS, and he said, 'These are EDESSENES, children of my pasture'. And BAR-SHEHAB AD-DIN, the lord of BIRAH, brought out many others, and said that they were the children of his country.

And there was in JERUSALEM a certain Greek queen who was clad in the garb of a nun and dwelt in a nunnery in JERUSALEM. She sent a message to SALAH AD-DIN that he should do her a favour and let no man harm her. And SALAH AD-DIN commanded, and she went out [377] with her servants, male and female, and the eunuchs which she had, and her possessions, and he sent horsemen who escorted her to the boundary of the FRANKS. And he sent away with kindly treatment other queens who were FRANKS and who lived in JERUSALEM, together with their possessions. And the Patriarch also took out with him all the furniture of the Church of the Resurrection and of the other churches, and lamps of gold and silver, &c. And so also with the citizens, whatsoever they could not carry away they sold to others. And in short the FRANKS handed JERUSALEM over to the ARABS wholly destitute of food and provisions. A certain writer whose name was 'EMAD said to SALAH AD-DIN, 'Why should they take out all this valuable treasure when thou didst only give them a pledge to spare their lives?' And SALAH AD-DIN said, '[That is] the truth, but the FRANKS did not know [it]. And if we detained their possessions they would spread abroad a report about us that we swore an oath and lied, and they would bring a bad name upon us.'

SALAH AD-DIN became master of JERUSALEM on Friday, the twenty-seventh day of the seventh month of the ARABS, in the year five hundred and eighty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1187), that is to say on the twelfth day of the FIRST TESHRAIN (OCTOBER), in the year fourteen hundred and ninety-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 1187), twenty-eight days after the conjunction of the six wandering stars. And from this time the Christians were never again masters of JERUSALEM. But SALAH AD-DIN himself left four Frankish monks in the Church of the Resurrection, in order to minister to the Holy Sepulchre, and after a little while the Patriarch of the GREEKS received the offer of administrator of the church.

And when SALAH AD-DIN had finished with the affairs of JERUSALEM he went and encamped by TYRE, which is situated in the midst of the sea. And he built up strong towers against it, and in the war against TYRE he made manifest his whole strength, and he incited (or, stirred up) all his troops, and said, 'With the exception of TYRE there remaineth on the sea coast no place whereon the FRANKS can rest their heads. When we take this [city] their hope of escape will be cut off, and we shall be free from them.' And with such words as these they brought to an end their difficulties(?). But because of this Marquis who had come from ROME and had fortified it (i.e. TYRE) with ramparts and brave men, the FRANKS were continually sallying forth at every opportunity, and killing the ARABS, and retreating, and especially [378] in ships from the sea.

Then SALAH AD-DIN sent to ALEXANDRIA and fetched large ships, and brought them into the harbours of TYRE. Then one night the seamen [of TYRE] went out in small swift cutters and smashed the greater number of the large ships of the ARABS. And they captured two famous captains of the sailors from the west, and of the other sailors some cast themselves into the sea and were drowned, and others began to flee in their ships in the direction of BERUT. And the FRANKS pursued them (i.e. the latter) and captured most of them, and the others were thrown into the sea. And when SALAH AD-DIN saw this calamity and the

strenuousness of those who came forth also on land and fought, he and those who were with him were disgusted, and they burnt the towers which they had built, and the engines of war, and whatsoever was left of the ships, and he departed from TYRE and went to 'AKKO. And he gave the command to his troops that every man should go to his own country and rest in his house.

At [this] time there was a dispute between the Khalifah NASIR and SALAH AD-DIN because SALAH AD-DIN had cut off the tribute which the Khalifah received from SYRIA, and also because he was not certain that he would receive anything from EGYPT, and also because when SALAH AD-DIN was drunk he used to say, 'I am ready to annul the proclamation of him that is in BAGHDAD, and I will renew the proclamation of the FATIMIDS who were in olden times in EGYPT'. And it annoyed NASIR the Khalifah more because SALAH AD-DIN had sent to him as an envoy a certain man in his service who was of an inferior family among the people of BAGHDAD, to carry the news of the capture of JERUSALEM to him.

And in [that] year a certain Turkoman shepherd whose name was RUSTAM collected five thousand horsemen of the TURKOMANS, and a very large number of foot-soldiers, and went into CILICIA to loot and plunder the country. Then when LEON, the governor of CILICIA, knew of them, he closed against them the passes in the region of MAR'ASH and destroyed them all with the edge of the sword. And again five thousand foot-soldiers of the TURKOMANS assembled in the country of ALEPPO, [379] and they went into the country of ANTIOCH to plunder it. And Prince BOHAIMOND went out against them and destroyed them all in like manner.

And in the year five hundred and eighty-four of the ARABS (A.D. 1188), SALAH AD-DIN went in person against the Citadel of the 'AKRAD (KURDS), and he made war upon it for one day. And seeing that it was very strong, he left it and went against 'ANTARTOS (ANTARADUS), and before they could pitch all the tents completely, the men of ALEPPO made themselves masters of the wall thereof. And the FRANKS rebelled in two towers, but finally they surrendered. And SALAH AD-DIN destroyed the wall of 'ANTARTOS, and its Citadel, and the famous church of MARY THE MOTHER OF GOD, and all its buildings. And he went and encamped against MARKIYAH and he found that it was empty of people (or, had been evacuated). And he went against JABALA, and the ARABS who were therein surrendered it to him. And he went and encamped against LAODICEA, and he fought against it with great strenuousness. And the men of ALEPPO made a tunnel under the ground of the city, the length thereof was sixty cubits and the breadth four cubits. And when the FRANKS saw the excavation they were afraid and they demanded a pledge for themselves. And SALAH AD-DIN permitted them to go out, they and their sons, and their wives, and everything which they possessed, with the exception of beasts, and fodder, and implements of war. And SALAH AD-DIN took LAODICEA and he gave it to his son TAKI AD-DIN, the lord of HAMATH.

In those days many fighting men of the FRANKS came in ships from SICILY to the help of the Christians. And the commander of their host asked to be allowed to go forth and speak with SALAH AD-DIN, and the Sultan gave him permission. And the commander went forth and said unto him, 'Behold, thou art king over all these settlements of the FRANKS which are on the sea coast, and thou hast only left to them a very small part of it. And it is not right that thou shouldst uproot them entirely, lest a great people pour out and attack thee from the sea, and thou wilt have great trouble (or, toil) with them. Therefore the proximity of these feeble folk who are with thee is far better for thee because they serve as a bulwark between thee and those who are inland.

Then SALAH AD-DIN replied, 'We are commanded by our Law to make triumphant our Faith with all our might. And the Lord doeth what He pleaseth.' And that FRANK left and went to his own country. And from there SALAH AD-DIN went and encamped against SEHYON, and he found it [built] on some [380] rocky ground between two deep valleys. And he made war upon it, and the lords thereof surrendered it in peace.

And he gave it to NASIR AD-DIN MANGURAS, the son of KUMARTAKIN, the slave of MUJAHID AD-DIN, the son of BUZAN; and he took also SHUGHRBAKAS. And from there he went to DERBISAG, and made war on it and took it. And he also went against BAGHRAS, and [as] there were not in it sufficient soldiers to fight, the captain of the wretched men who were therein surrendered it. And though all these towns were manned with ARABS, the men of ANTIOCH feared greatly, especially because the roads were blocked up in their faces, and grain was withheld. Therefore PRAYNS humbled himself to SALAH AD-DIN, and he sent and begged for peace, and he made peace with him for a period of eight months, and he departed and went to ALEPPO. And from there he went to DAMASCUS, and rested for a few days. And he set out and went and encamped against SAFAD, and he made fierce war upon it, and they surrendered it to him. And he also took the Citadel of KAWKEBHA after much trouble.

And in this year died MUWAFK 'AS'AD, the DAMASCUS physician, who was known as BAR MITRAN. Now this man, for the sake of the honour of this transient world, abandoned the Faith and became a Muslim. And he had great wealth, and SALAH AD-DIN betrothed him to one of his handmaidens. And after a short time he died and his name perished. And even after the death of SALAH AD-DIN his wife appeared with a child who was beloved by him, and they used to go round to the houses of the recluses and beg for alms.

(Continued on Next Page)

(1) Bedjan's note reads: This was not Isabella, the queen of Jerusalem, but the wife of Raymond, Count of Tiberias.

(2) Bedjan remarks that 'Arnat was killed by Saladin because he would not become a Muslim.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

The Taking of Edessa from the Franks (continued).

And in the year five hundred and eighty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1189), BOHAIMOND, PRAYNS of ANTIOCH, went forth and pillaged the country of HARIM. And he came as far as LASHIH and killed both ARABS and Christians together. And 'ARNAT, the lord of SAIDAN, who when it (i.e. the city) was taken from him, went and dwelt on the rock of 'ARNON, having received a pledge from SALAH AD-DIN, went out to him and asked him for a covenant (or, armistice) for three months, so that he might make his men depart from TYRE, and then he would take a town which should be sufficient for him in the country of DAMASCUS, and surrender the rock. And SALAH AD-DIN permitted him to do so. Then SALAH AD-DIN perceived that 'ARNAT was cajoling him in his crafty manner, and that he had not ceased from excavating the trench (or, tunnel) and the building of the wall. Therefore one day when he went out to SALAH AD-DIN, [381] according to custom, the Sultan bound him and sent him to DAMASCUS, and he did not release him until he had surrendered the rock of 'ARNON.

And in the year which was the year fifteen hundred of the GREEKS (A.D. 1189), there was strife between Sultan KELEJ 'ARSLAN and his eldest son, who dwelt in SEBASTIA, and about four thousand of the TURKOMANS who were with the son of the Sultan were killed. Then the Amir BIHRAM SHAH, the son-in-law of the Sultan, made peace between them. And the Sultan removed from his presence 'EKHTIYAR AD-DIN HASAN, his Amir HAJB, because he had become a maker of calumnies between him and his sons. And when 'EKHTIYAR AD-DIN had collected his sons, and his house servants, and his kinsfolk, about two hundred horsemen, and had gone into the plain of KANYUKH, the son of the Sultan sent TURKOMANS, and they killed him and his sons, and those who were with him. And they hacked him limb from limb, and hung him on the points of spears, and carried him round about in SEBASTIA on the day of the Festival of the Cross.

And during the year MUIZZ AD-DIN KAISAR SHAH, the son of Sultan KELLEJ 'ARSLAN, reigned over MELITENE. And during the year very many and various peoples of the FRANKS, who were beyond counting, went forth to the city of TYRE, and they came from there and encamped at 'AKKO. And when SALAH AD-DIN heard [of it] he was perturbed, and terror of them fell upon him. And he sent and summoned all his troops and had them brought, and he himself also went and encamped in the neighbourhood of the FRANKS. And when he saw that the FRANKS were gaining strength (or, going and becoming strong), and that recruits came to them every day, and supplies of food from the sea, he marvelled. And he collected his nobles and took counsel with them, and they decided that it was better for them to make haste and begin hostilities, and to meet the FRANKS in battle before they increased in number and became stronger. And they made preparations the whole of that night of Friday, the first day of the seventh month, and when the day broke they met in battle. And the battle went on the whole day until the sun set, and both sides continued to fight gallantly, and they passed the whole of that night on their horses. And on the Sabbath the fire of war blazed likewise throughout the whole day. And whilst the FRANKS were occupied with

slaughter, the northern side of 'AKKO, where they had no tents, became emptied of the FRANKS. And an opportunity offered itself to SALAH AD-DIN, and he went in [382] to 'AKKO. And he took into the city with him many fighting foot-soldiers, together with a large supply of food and other necessities. And he drove out the feeble ones (i.e. non-combatants), and he also went forth. And he commanded those who were in the city to fight not only on the walls, but to make sorties every day, and to smite the FRANKS lest they should suffer defeat by being attacked on both sides, viz. by those who were within and those who were without. Now the FRANKS were so many and so strong that they were never broken, and the capture of the city was only protracted by the fighting against those who were outside it. And if it had not been thus they would quickly have taken it.

And on the second day [of the week] the horsemen of the FRANKS mounted and rode towards the tents of the ARABS, without bringing down foot-soldiers with them, and they made a great slaughter and returned. And when the ARABS pursued them they fortified (or, entrenched) themselves on a hill which is called ['the Hill] of the Crucified Ones'. And when SALAH AD-DIN saw that the FRANKS were greatly helped by the hill, he moved his camp and pitched it on another hill which was opposite the Hill of the Crucified Ones which overlooked 'AKKO. And the foot-soldiers of the ARABS went forth from it every day, and waged war against the foot-soldiers of the FRANKS.

It is related that one day the FRANKS said unto the ARABS who were inside, 'We are sated with war with grown-up men, and it is a weariness to us, and today we wish to enjoy ourselves with the war of young boys'. And they brought about one hundred Frankish youths, and the ARABS brought out from inside a similar number of Arab youths. And they began to fight by casting stones, and then they fought with staves and cudgels, and the FRANKS and the ARABS mingled together, and the FRANKISH youths put to flight the ARAB youths and drove them into the city.

And on the fourth day [of the week], on the twentieth [day] of the seventh month, a cruel battle took place. The FRANKS poured out of their tents like locusts. And the king also went forth, and before him was the GOSPEL which was covered with red brocade, and the priests were carrying it on their heads. And when SALAH AD-DIN saw [this] he trembled, and he shrieked at his troops and terrified them, [383] and they formed up in battle array. Then the left wing of the FRANKS pursued the right wing of the ARABS, in which was TAKI AD-DIN 'OMAR, the son of the brother of SALAH AD-DIN, and it withstood the attack of the FRANKS splendidly. And when the king of the FRANKS saw that the ARABS were not yielding at all, he waxed courageous in his spirit, and he made the Sign of the Cross over his face, and rode into the densest part of the company of the soldiers of the ARABS, among whom were 'AFDAL and TAFIR the sons of SALAH AD-DIN, and KUTAB AD-DIN, the son of NUR AD-DIN, the son of KARA' ARSLAN, the lord of the fortress of KIPA, and BAR LASHIN, the lord of NABLOS, and many others

And when they were mingled together, the FRANKS mowed down the ARABS as it were with reaping hooks, and the ARABS began to flee, And the FRANKS pursued them with swords and with horns on which they blew mighty blasts, and a great breaking of the ARABS took place. And the FRANKS came to the camp of the ARABS, and they looted the tents, and killed all those who were in the streets. And the fugitives of the ARABS came as far as DAMASCUS and TIBERIAS. And the FRANKS having pursued the ARABS for about a parasang, went back, and they saw that the left wing of the ARABS had never moved from its position; and because they were weary, and those (i.e. the ARABS) had been at rest, they did not fight with them but went and took off their equipment in their tents. Then SALAH AD-DIN by means of shoutings, and cries and words of encouragement made the fugitives to come back, and they came and lay down in their tents like dead men. And the slain who had fallen were counted—four thousand one hundred. For SALAH AD-DIN had commanded the ARABS who were in 'AKKO, and they went forth and cast [the dead] into the

sea. And a certain man who had a cord in his hand stood up, and whenever they cast a man into the sea he made a knot in the string. And of the FRANKS there fell about two thousand.

Then the nobles advised SALAH AD-DIN that they ought to remove from that place and to go a little distance from the FRANKS, and the cause for this which they put forth was this: 'Peradventure the air in this region will become foul because of the putrefying of the slain'. And when the ARABS removed themselves and encamped at a place some distance away, the FRANKS dug a deep trench from the hill to the sea, and the road of the ARABS from 'AKKO was blocked up, and there remained none who was able to go in or to [384] go out.

And there also reached SALAH AD-DIN the report that the king of GERMANY (i.e. FREDERICK I, BARBAROSSA) had set out and was coming on the road to CONSTANTINOPLE with two hundred thousand horsemen and foot-soldiers. And his heart groaned and he sent an ambassador viz. BAHA AD-DIN, the son of SHADAD, to the Khalifah, and to all the kings of the East [saying that] they must take to the road at once, and that if they did not the kingdom of the ARABS would perish entirely. And when the year five hundred and eighty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1190) came in, and SALAH AD-DIN was reposing in the idea that he was far away from the camp of the FRANKS, and that there remained to the FRANKS no other thought except the war against 'AKKO, then suddenly there burst an army of FRANKS upon the camp of the ARABS. SALAH AD-DIN was in the desert, but his brother 'ADIL was present, and he cried to the troops, and they mounted their horses, and the FRANKS and the ARABS were mingled with each other; and many of the ARABS fell, and if the night had not overtaken them a complete smashing of them would have taken place. And the FRANKS left and went to their camp.

Now the winter was nigh at hand, and there was an evil morass between the two camps, and no man could ride a horse [across it] or approach his adversary. And all news of SALAH AD-DIN was cut off from those in 'AKKO, and [all] news of them from him. And by means of the sea one of them made his escape by swimming, and he came to SALAH AD-DIN and made the report that the FRANKS were fighting strenuously against the city, that they had built towers which looked into the city, and that those who were in [the city] were in a great state of tribulation.

And SALAH AD-DIN mounted his horse and rode against the FRANKS so that they might be reduced to fighting with him; and that those who were therein might enjoy a little respite. And he found that the FRANKS had dug deep trenches round about themselves and that no man was able to get to them. Then SALAH AD-DIN gnawed his fingers, and he went back and encamped against TELLA DHE-'EGLE, a long way away from the FRANKS. And all the kings of the ARABS began to gather together to him, viz. 'EMAD AD-DIN ZANGI, the lord of SINJAR, and MU'IZZ AD-DIN SENJAR SHAH, the son of SAIF AD-DIN JAZI, the son of MAWDUD, the lord of the ISLAND (JAZARTA), and 'ALI AD-DIN KHERAM SHAH (KHURAM SHAH), the son of MAS'UD, the lord of MAWSIL, and MUTAFAR AD-DIN, the son of [385] ZAYN AD-DIN KAWSHAK (KUJEK), the lord of 'ARBIL. And SALAH AD-DIN took into 'AKKO handicrafts-men who threw fire, and they burnt three of the great towers of the FRANKS. And God helped the FRANKS, for the wind was blowing towards the city, and the greater number of the people were burned by the fierce burning of the towers, because the ditch which the FRANKS had dug [in the ground] behind them prevented them from flight before the fiery flames. Now these towers travelled upon wheels, and when they (i.e. the FRANKS) wished they thrust them with spears, and clung close to the wall; and there were fighting men in them. And when they wished they drew them with ropes towards them, an operation which made the spectators marvel and moved them.

Now when the king of the 'ALIMANAYE (GERMANS) went forth to CONSTANTINOPLE, the GREEKS prevented him [from advancing], and when he had fought them and conquered [them], they submitted to the

king, and gave him a passage; and he crossed over [the sea] and came to the country of KELEJ 'ARSLAN. And KUTAB AL-DIN MALIK SHAH, the son of the Sultan, collected an army of TURKOMANS, and they met the GERMANS in battle, and the TURKOMANS were defeated and fled. And the GERMANS came and entered the city of ICONIUM, and they killed many therein.

And at [that] time PAPA MICHAEL, the Greek elder and lawyer, who was from MELITENE, and who had gone to levy the tax, was killed there. Now KELEJ 'ARSLAN, Sultan, was shut up in the fortress of ICONIUM, and he afterwards gave gifts to the king of the GERMANS, and made peace, and gave him passage, and he crossed over to the country of CILICIA. And LION, the son of 'ESTAFANA, the son of LION, the governor of CILICIA, came to TARSOS, and he showed a fair submission. And the aged king of GERMANY ('ALIMAN), having stood up at the river to swim, now it was very cold that day, he fell ill and died there, and his son carried his body to ANTIOCH.

And from there the GERMANS went towards TRIPOLI. And because they were exhausted with the toil of the journey, a few men stayed at sea and came forth at 'AKKO, because the greater number of them died in CILICIA through sickness. [386]

And then the king of 'ANGLITAR (ENGLAND) (i.e. RICHARD I, COEUR DE LION) went out and took CYPRUS from the GREEKS, and he came and encamped against 'AKKO, and the FRANKS were greatly strengthened by his coming. Now within it there were twenty Amirs of the ARABS, and they sent and said to SALAH AD-DIN, 'We are already exhausted and brought low by continual war, and moreover, sickness tortureth us'. And SALAH AD-DIN commanded and they went forth from the region of the sea, and he brought others in in their place. And because these were not experienced in fighting on the walls, the FRANKS generally gained the upper hand, and they set up seven engines of war against one tower. And the king of ENGLAND sent an envoy to SALAH AD-DIN, and he said, 'It will do no harm if I and thou sit down in one place. And we can do something which will benefit both sides.' Then SALAH AD-DIN replied, 'It is meet that we should first form an administration of peace, and after that the dwelling together. For after familiar conversation and feasting war is unseemly.'

And in those days the king of England was sick with a sore sickness, and the FRANKS were prevented from fighting by his sickness. And when he was recovered he again sent an ambassador to SALAH AD-DIN, and he said, 'Blame thou me not because I cut off my speech from thee, for sickness prevented me. And now I am recovered, and I have sent to thee that, if thou wilt permit, I may send to thee presents. For it is not right for kings, to cut off gifts, and embassies, and words of affection from each other, even though war is being carried on between them. For thus do the laws of our fathers, the kings of olden time, teach us.' And SALAH AD-DIN replied, 'It is well. If ye will accept from us the equivalent of thy gifts, we will accept gifts from you.' And [RICHARD'S] ambassador said, 'We have hawks, and eagles, and other trained birds, and they are weak, and we beg you to give us cocks (chickens?) and pigeons that we may feed them so that they become strong, and we will bring [them] to you'. And MALIK 'ADIL, the brother of SALAH AD-DIN, smiling [387] said, 'Because the king of ENGLAND is risen up from an illness he is in need of pigeons (?), and the hawks are only a pretext'. Then SALAH AD-DIN arrayed the ambassador in royal apparel, and he sent him off with a large number of chickens, and pigeons and doves. And afterwards there came also three ambassadors from the FRANKS to SALAH AD-DIN, and they begged for fruit and snow (i.e. ice), and they took them and departed. And it is said that the king of ENGLAND had no other object in the dispatch of ambassadors time after time with these empty stories, except to obtain exact knowledge about the strength of SALAH AD-DIN and of the kings who were with him.

And when the war on those who were in the city waxed fierce, they sent to SALAH AD-DIN and said, 'If thou dost not make assistance to reach us we shall surrender'. And because SALAH AD-DIN besides making

the FRANKS to occupy themselves in the war with himself was unable to do anything else, the FRANKS were divided into two companies, and one company fought with those who were outside the city and the other with those who were inside. And when those who were inside saw that they were already captured, they demanded a pledge for their lives. And the FRANKS said, 'We will give no pledge, until after SALAH AD-DIN hath given to us all the Frankish prisoners who are with him, and restoreth to us all the cities which he hath taken from us'. And when they sent [this answer] to SALAH AD-DIN he said, 'I will give three thousand prisoners only in return for the ARABS who are in 'AKKO, and if they leave me 'AKKO, I will give them city for city. And if not, let them take it by the sword, if they are able to do so, just as I have taken it, and so on with the other cities.'

And when the FRANKS heard this they restrained themselves no longer, but they scaled the walls by means of ladders, and went down into the city. And after they had shed much blood, they gathered together those who remained in one quarter [of the city]. And the ARABS said unto the FRANKS, 'Do not slay us until we can send to SALAH AD-DIN that we may redeem ourselves with gold and with as many Frankish prisoners as ye demand'. And the FRANKS agreed, saying, 'If fourteen days from now, that is to say at the new moon, SALAH AD-DIN will give us two hundred thousand gold *dinars*, and one hundred prisoners of those [388] whom we write down by their name as Counts, and Knights, &c., and one thousand five hundred prisoners whose names we do not know, we will set you free'.

And when the ARABS of 'AKKO had sent to WATHD LAH AD-DIN and informed him about the matter, he gathered together his nobles and took counsel with them. And with one mouth (i.e. voice) they said, 'These ARABS are our brethren, and how can we be careless about them?' And SALAH AD-DIN undertook to give [what was demanded]. And straightway he sent to the various districts and collected the Frankish prisoners. And concerning the gold he said, 'Every ten days we will give one-third'. And when ten days had passed he sent to the FRANKS and said unto them, 'Bring out now all the ARABS who are with you, and we will give you one-third of the gold, and hostages for the other two-thirds, or else ye shall give us hostages for the third part of the gold which ye receive'. And the FRANKS said, 'Our word alone must be sufficient for you, and our pledge which we give in place of hostages'. And the heart of SALAH AD-DIN became hard, and he would not accept their terms.

Then the FRANKS were wroth, and they tied all the ARABS with cords, and they took them outside the city upon the hill-side, and they piled up in heaps round about them many pieces of wood, and heaps of old cordage, and staves of wine cases which are called *fihali* (i.e. *futali* = *futailles*), like a wall. And they drew their swords and went and destroyed them all whilst an Arab watchman was standing by and looking on. And the number of the ARABS which were killed on the walls of 'AKKO, and inside it, and outside on the hill amounted to one thousand eight hundred souls. These things took place in the seventh month of the ARABS, in the year five hundred and eighty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1191), that is to say in the year fifteen hundred and two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1191), in the month of 'AB (AUGUST). And we have described a little fully the record of this capture because it is very famous among the ARABS, and they have written whole volumes about the tribulation which the ARABS suffered at this time from the FRANKS. And when the FRANKS took 'AKKO they left in it a force sufficient to guard it, and architects who built up its walls [again], and then they removed themselves to 'ARSUPH. And SALAH AD-DIN marched away with them, and they were fighting each other all day long as they travelled on the road. [389]

And one day when the ARABS attacked certain baggage of the FRANKS, the king of ENGLAND was wroth, and he pursued the ARABS with a strong force. And the ARABS scattered themselves and the greater number of them fled, and there remained with SALAH AD-DIN only seventeen men of the chosen ARABS, and the trumpeters, and the standard bearers. And if it had not been that the FRANKS were afraid lest this flight was an ambush, and kept themselves at a distance (or, held themselves in check), they could have

captured SALAH AD-DIN and the pillar of the ARABS would have fallen. And in those days SALAH AD-DIN sent architects and certain horsemen to go and empty the fortress of BAGHRAS of provisions and to destroy it. And when they had gone and had destroyed a little of it, they heard that LION, the governor of CILICIA, was ready to capture them, and they left and fled. And the men of ANTIOCH heard of their flight, and they came to BAGHRAS, and they found in the [Citadel] twelve thousand measures (*makuke*) of wheat. And they carried them to ANTIOCH, and they were a great comfort to them, for at that time the famine in that place was very severe. And after some days LION came, and he gained the mastery over the FRANKS and took BAGHRAS from them.

And SALAH AD-DIN sent and laid waste ASCALON, and he emptied it of inhabitants, because the FRANKS had already built JOPPA and were dwelling there. Now it lieth between JERUSALEM and ASCALON. 'Therefore', said the ARABS, 'we are unable to protect it.' And SALAHAD-DIN went to JERUSALEM, and he explored it and strengthened it with men, &c. And in those days there came to him MU'IZZ AD-DIN, the lord of MELITENE, making complaints against his father Sultan KELEJ 'ARSLAN, and against his brethren, to the effect that they wished to take from him MELITENE. And SALAH AD-DIN received him with honour, and gave him a daughter of MALIK 'ADIL, his brother, to wife; and he sent him to MELITENE, and encouraged him not to be afraid any more of his brother or his father.

And the king of ENGLAND sent an ambassador to SALAH AD-DIN and he said unto him, 'Behold, the sons of our side and of your side have been diminished by the war; how long is it to be thus? For, behold, our swords and your swords are drunk with blood. Give back then the countries which thou hast taken from us, especially JERUSALEM, which is the house of our worship, and for the sake of which we have come forth, and let us leave and go [390] to our own countries, and let it have repose from us.' And SALAH AD-DIN replied, 'These countries did not belong to you in former times, but to the GREEKS. And the ARABS gained possession of them from the GREEKS at the beginning of their going forth. And when the ARABS became somewhat weak ye took them from them, and now we have taken back our countries from you. And as concerning JERUSALEM, which you say is the "house of our worship", it is also the house of our worship, and we magnify it and honour it far more than you do, according to what God hath commanded us in His Kur'an.'

And the king of ENGLAND again sent to SALAH AD-DIN and said, 'I wish thy brother MALIK 'ADIL to become a kinsman of mine through my sister, for, behold, she hath come with me to worship in JERUSALEM. Now, therefore, if thou wilt give up the cities on the sea-coast to thy brother, so that he may have command only over the Citadels and the cities, and all the villages may be the property of the poor and the Hospitallers, this kinship will come into being. And I on my part will give to my sister all the towns on the sea-coast which are in the hands of the FRANKS, and the habitation of my sister shall be in JERUSALEM.' Now SALAH AD-DIN to this also would not agree, but his brother 'ADIL burned with desire (or, lust), and he sent nobles and elders to his brother SALAH AD-DIN [to urge him] to agree. And as he was very obstinate those wise advisers said unto him, 'We know that this can never be, neither is the woman herself, the daughter of a great king, wishful to belong to an ARAB. And her brother also knoweth this well. And it is possible that he in his craftiness hath sent and said these things as a kind of joke on the part of one who is accustomed to make [people] happy. Therefore do not make thy brother to suffer.' And thus SALAH AD-DIN was cajoled, and he sent an ambassador of agreement (or, consent) to the king [of ENGLAND]. And having detained the ambassador with him for three days, on the third day he sent unto SALAH AD-DIN, saying, 'Behold, during these [last] three days, both by night and by day, I have been coaxing my sister, and she will not be coaxed, and she saith, "If 'ADIL will become a sincere Christian [the marriage] shall take place, and if he will not, it shall not"'. And thus the ambassador of SALAH AD-DIN returned, being ashamed.

And in these days TAKI AD-DIN 'OMAR, the son of the brother of SALAH AD-DIN, died on the KHALAT road, when he was on the way to fight against it, and they took him back and buried him in MAIPERKAT. This man was a violent hater of the Christians, [391] and without mercy he shed the blood of the oppressed Armenian peasants in the country of JABAL JUR. Now he had with him his son MALIK MANSUR, who had made himself strong in MAIPERKAT. And he sent to SALAH AD-DIN, and told him that if he did not leave in his hands the countries of his father TAKI AD-DIN he would ally himself to BUKHTAMAR, the lord of KHALAT. And because of this SALAH AD-DIN ceased to trouble him for the moment, and after a little while he gave the countries of his father to 'ADIL, and to MALIK MANSUR he gave EDESSA, and HARRAN and SAMOSATA.

And whilst the two bodies of the FRANKS and the ARABS were marching on towards ASCALON, one day when they had camped, the ARABS made an ambush for those FRANKS who used to go forth from the camp to gather firewood. And when the FRANKS saw the ambushed force which had become visible, every man mounted his horse and rode straight into the ambush of the ARABS, and they killed three nobles of the officers of SALAH AD-DIN, and only two horsemen of the rank and file of the FRANKS were captured. And the [king of] ENGLAND sent a messenger to 'ADIL, and abused him because of the ambush. And he said unto him also, 'I wish to see thee and to talk with thee'. And the FRANKS pitched a large tent outside their camp, and 'ADIL went to the king of ENGLAND, and he sat there [with him] the whole day, and towards evening they separated. And the king of ENGLAND said unto 'ADIL, 'I wish to sit also with the Sultan thy brother in this way in this tent, and I want to see him and to talk to him'. And when 'ADIL told [this to] SALAH AD-DIN, he was unwilling [to go] for two [reasons]; firstly, because he was afraid, and secondly, because he could not bring himself to go to him. Therefore he replied, 'It is not seemly for kings to meet each other except after the establishment (or, confirmation) of peace; and behold, up to the present peace hath not been established. And even if we contemplate the confirmation thereof, I do not understand his language, and he doth not understand mine, and there must be necessarily an interpreter between us. Therefore, let the ambassador serve as an interpreter, and there is no need for [us] to meet.'

And when the winter had come the king of ENGLAND went to 'AKKO. And SALAH AD-DIN went to JERUSALEM, and sent twenty four thousand gold *dinars* [to the king], and with them he freed the Arab prisoners from the hands of the FRANKS.

And when the year five hundred and eighty-eight of the ARABS [A.D. 1192] began, [392] the FRANKS went to ASCALON, and they began to repair the building thereof. Then MARKIS, the governor of TYRE—(now inasmuch as dissension had fallen (i.e. risen) between him and the king of ENGLAND because [the king had said] that it was not right for him to rule over TYRE independently, and he wished to take TYRE from him)—promised SALAH AD-DIN that he would side with the ARABS, and that he would embrace the fight with the sons of his race. And whilst his ambassador was [engaged] on this business with SALAH AD-DIN, two ISHMAELITES in the garb of monks leaped upon MARKIS as he was riding along, and one of them stabbed him with a knife, and his companion fled to a church which was in that neighbourhood. Now they brought MARKIS, who had been stabbed, to that church likewise. And when the Ishmaelitish monk, the companion of him that had stabbed [him], saw that he could still speak, he also leaped upon him in the church and repeated the blow, and MARKIS died forthwith. And when the FRANKS captured those [two] ISHMAELITES, and put them to the torture, they said that the king of ENGLAND had sent them. And because of the hatred which [existed] among them, the FRANKS believed the words of those murderers. But later on it was revealed that it was SINAN, the chief of the ISHMAELITES, who had sent them.

Then the king of ENGLAND gave TYRE to Count HANRI (HENRI, Comte de CHAMPAGNE), and he took the Wife of MARKIS to wife, and went into her when she was with child, an illegal act.

And the FRANKS waxed strong and went and encamped at DARUM, and they took it by fighting from the ARABS, and they killed every one who was therein. And at [that] time the FRANKS seized a large caravan of the ARABS which was coming from EGYPT and bringing gold to SALAH AD-DIN. And SALAH AD-DIN heard that the FRANKS were making ready to come with a great army against JERUSALEM, and he sent and collected his armies and made ready for war, and he strengthened the walls of JERUSALEM. And when the FRANKS were ready to advance on JERUSALEM the king of ENGLAND would not permit them [to do so]. 'For', he said, [393] 'that region of JERUSALEM is a region of thirst. And behold, the ARABS have destroyed all the waters that are round about it, and the river is more than a parasang distant. Do not imagine that JERUSALEM is like 'AKKO. Believe ye [me] had it not been for the sea we should not have been able to sit down by 'AKKO for a couple of days.' And they all listened to his counsel, and they marched on against GAZA.

(Continued on Next Page)

Bar Hebraeus'

Chronography

X

The Taking of Edessa from the Franks (continued).

Now although SALAH AD-DIN was glad that they had removed their gaze from JERUSALEM, he was afraid for EGYPT. And then the king of ENGLAND sent an ambassador to SALAH AD-DIN and said to him, 'Do not imagine that I have gone away to a distance through fear or weakness. For the ram of the sheep doth not draw backwards except for the purpose of smiting the head. Therefore if thou wilt make peace concerning what we have asked, it will be good for thee. Behold, I have informed thee.' And after many embassies there was peace. The countries that were in the possession of the FRANKS were to continue to be so, that is to say, JOPPA and its suburbs, and CAESAREA, and 'ARSUPH, and HAIFA, and 'AKKO, and ANTIOCH, and TRIPOLI, and the remainder of the towns were to [belong to] the ARABS, and ASCALON was to remain a ruin. And SALAH AD-DIN gave to the FRANKS as much gold as they needed for the building of ASCALON. And the road was opened and many of the FRANKS came and worshipped in JERUSALEM, and SALAH AD-DIN honoured them all and gave [them] gifts and animals to ride. And it is said that the king of ENGLAND sent and said unto SALAH AD-DIN, 'Thou shalt not permit to enter JERUSALEM anyone of the FRANKS who hath not my mark (or, sign)'. And SALAH AD-DIN gathered together his wise men, and he asked them, 'What is the object of the king in this matter?' And when they had pondered [about it] they replied to him, saying, 'The great reason for the coming out of the FRANKS is nothing but [their wish to] worship at JERUSALEM. And when they have effected this and have returned to their country, they will never wish to go forth again. And for this reason the king restraineth them [now], so that when on another occasion the king wishes to go forth they will go out with him readily and willingly.' And when SALAH AD-DIN understood this he sent and said unto the king, 'These men are aliens, and 'after peace [is established] I shall not be able to punish them; if thou thyself wouldst restrain them, thou hast the power'.

Now when the FRANKS had taken 'AKKO they made prisoners two of the nobles of the ARABS, [394] the one was BAR MASHTUB, and the other was KARAKUSH the eunuch. This [latter] was a RHOMAYE (GREEK) by race, and SALAH AD-DIN had sent him to AFRICA; and he captured many cities there, and came back to EGYPT. And he built the wall which is there, and it is called by his name to the present day. And he was also captain of the host of the ARABS who were in 'AKKO. And when the FRANKS fixed his ransom at eight thousand *dinars* he said, 'For how much can BAR MASHTUB ransom himself?' And the FRANKS said, 'For thirty thousand *dinars*'. And KARAKUSH said, 'I will give a like sum. For BAR MASHTUB shall not give thirty and I eight.' And the FRANKS laughed and took from him thirty thousand *dinars* also. There are other stories of him which were like unto this. And one of the poets composed a whole book on KARAKUSH, and after his death he published it.

And after the peace SALAH AD-DIN went to BERUT, and BOHAIMOND, prince of ANTIOCH, came to him, and SALAH AD-DIN paid him very great honour, and he arrayed him and the fourteen nobles who were with him in royal apparel. And he gave him one-half of the revenue of the country of ANTIOCH, which the

ARABS took. And SALAH AD-DIN marvelled at the Prince, and how without fear and with confidence he had come to him. And he honoured him greatly for this. And he dismissed him with peace. And from there SALAH AD-DIN went to DAMASCUS. And the king of ENGLAND set up Count HANRI, his sister's son, in 'AKKO. And he embarked on the sea to go to his country. And it is said that he died before he arrived.

And in [that] year, which is the year fifteen hundred and three of the GREEKS (A.D. 1192), at the end of the month of 'AB (AUGUST), Sultan KELEJ 'ARSLAN died in the city of ICONIUM. This man was terrifying, and frightening, and wise, and had taken a very large number of the countries of the GREEKS. But, when he grew old, he divided his lands among his sons, and he remained among them as a man poor and miserable. And whichever of his sons he went to he was uncomfortable with him, and then he would fly to another son. And when he went to GHAYATH AD-DIN KAI KESRU, the lord of the city of BEROGHLU, he received him [395] with honour, and he treated him well and made him to rest himself. And he collected his troops, and his aged father was with him, and he went and encamped against ICONIUM, and he took it from KUTAB AD-DIN, his brother. And he also went and encamped at 'AKSARA and there Sultan KELEJ 'ARSLAN fell sick, and when they brought to him KAI KESRU, his son, at ICONIUM, he died and was buried there. And GHAYATH AD-DIN KAI KESRU reigned over ICONIUM until RUKN AD-DIN his brother took it from him, as we will show by the power of God. Then KELEJ 'ARSLAN reigned thirty-eight years. He was the son of MAS'UD, the son of KELEJ 'ARSLAN, the son of SULAIMAN, the son of KATLAMISH, the son of YABGHU, the son of SALJUK, the son of TUKAK. And he left twelve sons [who became] kings.

And at [this] time an acute fever attacked SALAH AD-DIN, and he died in DAMASCUS, on the fourth day [of the week], on the twenty-seventh day of the second month of the year five hundred and eighty-nine of the ARABS (1), and he left seventeen sons and a little daughter. And when he was dead there was nothing found in his treasury except one *dinar* and thirty-six *zuze*, for he was very free-handed, and in this manner he flourished. It is said that when he became master of DAMASCUS he had every *dinar* and *zuza* which were found in the treasury brought out, a very large amount of money, and he heaped it up before him. And he said unto a certain man whose name was BAR MUKADAM, 'Divide this among the nobles, and the horsemen, and their slaves, a handful to each man'. And when he began to take it in very small quantities, SALAH AD-DIN scolded him, and said, 'Fill your fist'. And BAR MUKADAM began to laugh, and SALAH AD-DIN asked him what was the cause of his laughter. And BAR MUKADAM said, 'I know (i.e. I remember) the day when NUR AD-DIN was sitting where thou art seated, and they brought before him a basket of grapes, and the grapes were large. And he said to me, "Divide these by the handful among the nobles". And when I began to fill my fist, he said unto me, "Gently. If thou distributest them in this manner, grapes cannot come to them all."' And SALAH AD-DIN laughed and said, 'Avarice belongeth to merchants and not to kings. Do not therefore [396] distribute them with thy one hand, but with both.' And one of those who were present said that there were one hundred and fifty-eight *dinars* in the handful that was given to him.

And it is also said that when SALAH AD-DIN was encamped before 'AKKO, one day when he was riding along with the Kadi of the camp by his side, a certain JEW cried out and said, 'I appeal to the Law of the ARABS for help'. And the slaves asked him, 'Who is thine adversary, and who hath wronged thee?' And the JEW replied, 'The Sultan is my adversary, and his slaves have wronged me'. And when SALAH AD-DIN heard this he was not angry, but he got off his horse immediately, and the Kadi also dismounted. And they brought the JEW, and SALAH AD-DIN set him by his side. And the JEW said, 'I am a JEW and a merchant of DAMASCUS. I was coming by sea from ALEXANDRIA, and I had with me twenty loads of sugar, And when I came to the port of 'AKKO thy servants plundered me, and they said unto me, "Thou art an infidel, and thy goods belong rightly to the Sultan".' And SALAH AD-DIN commanded, and those who had taken the sugar came, and when they admitted that they had deposited it in the Treasury, he commanded the officials and they gave to the JEW the price of the sugar.

And on another day when he was seated with the nobles round about him, the little slave children began to play with each other. And when one of them threw a sandal at the other, the sandal fell by the side of the knee of SALAH AD-DIN. And he turned his face away in another direction, and began to talk with the man who was sitting next to him, and he pretended that he had not seen what had been done.

And on another day he was thirsty and asked for water. And the slaves said one to another, 'Bring water'. And they paid no heed and did not bring [the water]. And again he asked, doing so even five times. And when they brought it he took [it] and drank without being angry in the smallest degree.

And on another day when he rose up from his sickness, and went to the bath, he asked for some cold water; And when they brought it he sprinkled a little of the water over his body, and as he was shivering—now he was grievously sick—he did not want to drink. And he waited for a time and his thirst increased, and he was in pain and asked for water. And when the man who was waiting upon him drew nigh, because of his fear (i.e. nervousness) his hands lost their grip on the vessel, and it fell [from them], and all the cold water was spilled over the Sultan's body. [397] And he shivered violently, but beyond saying to the slave, 'If thy object is to kill me, let me know', SALAH AD-DIN made no further remark.

And after SALAH AD-DIN was dead, BUKHTAMAR, the governor of KHALAT, heard [of it] and rejoiced greatly. And he began to collect his troops and to set out for MAIPERKAT. Then a certain man whose name was HAZARDINARI, who also was a slave of SHAHARMAN, rose up and killed him, and he reigned in his stead. And because he was the son-in-law of BUKHTAMAR, he did not kill the little son which he had, now his name was 'MAHAMMAD', but he brought him up as if he had been his own child. And in the year also there died SINAN, the chief of the ISHMAELITES in MASRYATH, and there rose up in his place a certain man, a PERSIAN, whose name was 'NASIR'. Now SINAN was held in fear by all the kings of the ARABS and FRANKS. And he forged knives (or, daggers), and on each one of them was [engraved] the name of one of the kings. And when he gave a knife to one of his own men, even though it were in the heart of the sea, he would go and fulfil his will. He was well instructed in the wisdom of the foreigners and transmigration of souls, and he taught the doctrine of PLATO to the men of his own party. And therefore they held death in contempt, and [believed] that they did not go forth from the world even though they were killed. And he hid himself many times, and the report went forth that he was dead, but he very soon reappeared. This was so often the case that when he was dead his slaves did not believe it.

And in [this] year, which is the year fifteen hundred and four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1193), LION, the governor of CILICIA, formed a plot and seized PRAYNS BOHAIMOND, the lord of ANTIOCH. Now BAGHRAS being with LION, even as we have said above, the ARABS having left it and fled, he took it. He taught the Armenian governor of BAGHRAS to conspire in secret with the Prince, and that he wished to rebel against LION his lord, and surrender the Citadel to PRAYNS, and go in and dwell in ANTIOCH. And when the governor sent [these proposals] to PRAYNS and promised to surrender to him BAGHRAS, PRAYNS believed him. And he went forth like one who is chased, and his son and his wife were with him. And when they came and encamped by the well which is before BAGHRAS, the governor sent down to them [398] food and wine. And he said unto them, 'By daytime it is impossible for you to go up to the Citadel, but when it cometh dark ye shall come and ye shall find the gates open, and ye shall go in secretly. And do not bring any horsemen with you that the watchmen may not perceive it, and the secret be discovered, but let horsemen remain hidden in your neighbourhood.'

And PRAYNS believed this, marched from the well and pretended that he was going to ANTIOCH. And when it was evening, he and his wife, and his son, and the little boys who waited upon them, went back, and they drew nigh unto the gate and found it open, and they went in with gladness. And the governor said unto them, 'Lie ye down to sleep and rest until daybreak, that we may make an arrangement and also bring in some

of the horsemen, a few at a time, and we will seize the watchmen.' And when they had lain down, the governor sent to LION, who was in hiding there, having come with a large number of ARMENIANS, and he came into BAGHRAS and seized PRAYNS and loaded him with fetters, and he placed iron bonds on his wife and son. And he tortured him very severely in return for the tortures which PRAYNS himself had made ROPIN, the brother of LION, to suffer. And PRAYNS remained a prisoner with LION until HANRI, the brother of the sister of the king of ENGLAND, came and with entreaties and covenants freed him. And LION became very powerful after the death of KELEJ 'ARSLAN, and he took seventy-two Citadels, some from the TURKAYE and some from the GREEKS. And in all his wars he appeared as the conqueror.

Now when 'IZZ AL-DIN MAS'UD, the lord of MAWSIL, heard that SALAH AD-DIN was dead, he longed ardently to restore to himself the kingdom of SYRIA. And he sent to 'EMAD AD-DIN, his brother, the lord of SINJAR and NISIBIS, and to SENJAR SHAH, his brother's son, the lord of the city of JAZARTA, and to MUTAFAR AD-DIN, the son of ZAYN AD-DIN, the lord of 'ARBIL, and he urged them to be ready to go together and transfer the cities from members of the house of SALAH AD-DIN. Then 'AFDAL, the eldest son of SALAH AD-DIN, who reigned in DAMASCUS in the place of his brothers, also sent to his uncle 'ADIL, who was then in DAMASCUS, and he brought him by force to him, so that he might stand at the head of the troops, and meet in war the members of the house of the 'ATABAG. And he sent to [399] MALIK 'AZIZ, his brother who reigned in EGYPT, and to MALIK TAHIR, another brother who reigned in ALEPPO, and to NASIR AD-DIN, the brother of TAKI AD-DIN, the son of his uncle who reigned in HAMATH, and to MALIK MUJAHID, the son of NASIR AD-DIN, the son of his father's uncle who reigned in EMESA, and he collected troops from all of them, and sent [them] with his uncle 'ADIL. And 'ADIL came and encamped in the meadow of RIHAN, which is in the country of EDESSA. And when 'IZZ AD-DIN, the lord of MAWSIL, heard this, he also collected his partisans and came to NISIBIS. And there he fell sick of dysentery, and he came back to MAWSIL and after a little he died. Now he was a man of good disposition, and very compassionate and modest. No man ever saw him speaking immoderately, and his eyes were always directed before him. And to no man who made a request to him did he reply 'No'.

And after him rose up his son NUR AD-DIN 'ARSLAN SHAH, and he became the administrator of MUJAHID AD-DIN KAIMAZ. And in the year five hundred and ninety of the ARABS (A.D. 1193), ALA AD-DIN TAKISH KHAWARAZM SHAH went forth to the country of KHORASAN, and Sultan TUGHREL met him in battle by the side of the city of RAI (RHAGES), and TUGHREL was killed, and his head was sent to BAGHDAD and hung up on the top of a reed, and was fixed in the gate of the palace of the Khalifah.

And KHAWARAZMSHAH reigned over HAMADAN and over the rest of the countries. And he appointed as a deputy KUTHLOGH 'INANAG ('INAIGH?), the son of PAHLWAN, who had formerly been governor of HAMADAN. And he sent and brought KHAWARAZM SHAH, because Sultan TUGHREL had escaped from his prison, and had prevailed over him, and taken countries from him. With this TUGHREL the kingdom of the SALJUKS came to an end in KHORASAN, and there remained this which we have in BETH RHOMAYE. Now TUGHREL was the son of 'ARSLAN, the son of TUGHREL, the son of MAHMUD, the son of MAHAMAD, the son of MALIKSHAH, the son of 'ALB 'ARSLAN, the son of DAWUD, that is JAGHRI BAG, the son of MIKA'IL, the son of SALJUK, the son of DUKAK.

And in the year MALIK 'AZIZ, the lord of EGYPT, came against DAMASCUS to take it [400] from his elder brother 'AFDAL, and MALIK 'ADIL, their uncle, went and made peace between them and [arranged] that JERUSALEM should belong to 'AZIZ, and GABALA and LAODICEA to MALIK TAHIR, the lord of ALEPPO, and to 'ADIL certain villages in EGYPT. And they were at peace, and each went to his own country.

And in the year five hundred and ninety-one of the ARABS (A.D. 1194) the Khalifah NASIR sent an army with SAIF AD-DIN TUGHREL, one of his nobles, to 'ISFAHAN, and the citizens surrendered it to him because they hated the Khawrazmian tyrants who had ruled over them. And in this year also MALIK 'AZIZ, the lord of EGYPT, made ready to come and take it (i.e. DAMASCUS) from MALIK 'AFDAL, his brother. And when 'AFDAL, his brother, heard [of it] he went in person to KAL'AH JA'BAR, to 'ADIL his uncle, and to TAHIR his brother, and he summoned them to his aid, and they came with him to DAMASCUS. And MALIK 'AZIZ also came and encamped in the neighbourhood of DAMASCUS. Then the old slaves of SALAH AD-DIN acted treacherously against MALIK 'AZIZ, and they sent to 'ADIL and 'AFDAL and said unto them, 'Go forth to us, and we will deliver this man into your hands'. And when 'AZIZ knew of the treachery he straightway and quickly returned to EGYPT. Then 'ADIL and 'AFDAL pursued him and they went into EGYPT, and encamped against BULBAIS, and since they were able to take EGYPT 'ADIL restrained 'AFDAL and made peace, and 'AFDAL went back to DAMASCUS and JERUSALEM became his. And 'ADIL invaded EGYPT, and he became the administrator of MALIK 'AZIZ.

And in the year five hundred and ninety-two of the ARABS (A.D. 1195), MALIK 'ADIL, with MALIK 'AZIZ, sallied out from EGYPT, and came and encamped against DAMASCUS, so that they might take it from MALIK 'AFDAL. Then AFDAL prepared for battle on the walls, and he divided the gates and the towers among his nobles. Then a certain man whose name was 'IZZ AD-DIN, a native of EMESA, who guarded the gate which was called the 'Eastern', deceived 'AFDAL and brought 'ADIL into DAMASCUS; and he went and encamped in the quarter of 'ASAD AD-DIN SHIRKUH, his uncle, and MALIK 'AZIZ also went in. And they took the city from MALIK 'AFDAL, and gave him the Citadel of SARKHAD, and he departed and went thereto, and MALIK 'AZIZ [401] went to EGYPT, and 'ADIL remained in DAMASCUS, as it were on the part of MALIK 'AZIZ; but he possessed the command generally and entirely, which MALIK 'AZIZ possessed in name only. MALIK TAHIR, the lord of ALEPPO, sent many times to MALIK 'AFDAL, and said unto him, 'Trust not 'ADIL, for no good will come to us from him, for I know him better than thou dost. For although he is the uncle of all of us, I am his daughter's husband. And if I knew that he had any solicitude for us it would be far more proper for me to have friendly intercourse with him than you.' And AFDAL replied, 'Thy opinion is not a true one. This man is in the place of our father, and how could he afflict us?'

And in the year five hundred and ninety-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1196), 'ADIL quarrelled again with the FRANKS, under the pretence that the peace had been dissolved by the death of [the king] of ENGLAND, and that of SALAH AD-DIN. And he went and encamped against JOPPA and took it by fighting. Then the FRANKS of the sea-coast sent to those who were in the interior and said, 'If ye do not come and join us speedily the ARABS will become masters of all the sea-coast'. Then the FRANKS who were in the interior sent a large number of troops, and appointed as their chief a certain man of the sons of the Church who was called 'Chancellor' (SHANSELIR), and they went forth and encamped against TABNIN and made strenuous war upon it. And when they were on the point of taking it a report reached them that HANRI, Count of 'AKKO, had fallen down from a height and was dead. And although no king remained to them they refrained from fighting (or, stopped the war). And they sent and brought the lord of CYPRUS and gave him HANRI's wife. And when 'ADIL heard [of this] he sent to him and made peace with him on the condition that BERUT should belong to the FRANKS and TABNIN to the ARABS. And the FRANKS left TABNIN and departed.

And in the year MALIK SHAH, the son of KHAWARAZM SHAH TAKISH, died in the country of NISABHOR, and there rose up after him KUTAB AD-DIN MAHAMAD, although according to the Will of their father the sovereignty belonged to his brother HENDOKHAN and not to him. And at [that] time also died SAIF AD-DIN AL-ESLAM TUGHTAKIN, the son of 'AYUB, the brother of SALAH AD-DIN, who ruled over the land of TAIMNA, and his son ESMA'IL (ISHMAEL) rose up in his place. And because of his incapacity [402] for ruling, his nobles rose up against him and killed him.

And in the year five hundred and ninety-four of the ARABS (A.D. 1198), 'EMAD AD-DIN, the son of ZANGI, the son of MAWDUD, the son of ZANGI, the son of AKSENKUR, the lord of SINJAR, and NISIBIS, and HABURA, and CALONICUS, died, and his son KUTAB AD-DIN MAHAMAD reigned, and MUJAHID AD-DIN, the son of YAKSH, a slave of his father, became his administrator. And in the year NUR AD-DIN 'ARSLAN SHAH, the lord of MAWSIL, went and encamped against NISIBIS, and he took it from KUTAB AD-DIN MAHAMAD, the son of his uncle, because KUTAB AD-DIN had reached out his hand over certain villages of the country of the region of the two rivers, and in the frontier of MAWSIL. And having sent an ambassador to [make] him restore them, and he having refused to do so, NUR AD-DIN collected an army and went against NISIBIS. And KUTAB AD-DIN came also, and he was broken and came to HARRAN. And he sent to 'ADIL and asked for help from him. And NUR AD-DIN having entered NISIBIS—now he lived there for some days—sickness fell upon his troops, and six of the famous nobles of MAWSIL died, among them being MUJAHID AD-DIN KAIMAZ, his administrator. Because of this NUR AD-DIN left NISIBIS and came to MAWSIL, and KUTAB AD-DIN, its lord, surrendered it again.

And in the year KHAWARAZM SHAH went to the city of BUKHARA, and he took it from the people of KATA, that is to say, the CHINESE. And because the ARABS of BUKHARA were on very friendly terms with the CHINESE, who, even though they were not of their Faith, were nevertheless wise and just, they fought most strenuously on the walls. And at length they took a dog and dressed him to resemble KHAWARAZM SHAH, and they threw him to the KHWARAZMIANS and said, 'This is your king'. And when KHAWARAZM SHAH took the city with the sword, he did not remember against them their folly (or, offence), but he gave them gold and made them to take oaths of fealty to him.

And in the year MALIK 'ADIL came and encamped against MARDIN, and he fought against it strenuously. Now the lord thereof was a little boy, HUSAM AD-DIN, and his administrator was NETAM AD-DIN, the son of YAKSH. And those inside acted treacherously and surrendered the city to 'ADIL, and the troops entered and looted it, and they committed most horrible [403] atrocities, and they remained therein fighting against the Citadel thereof.

And in the year five hundred and ninety-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1198), MALIK 'AZIZ, the son of SALAH AD-DIN, the lord of EGYPT, died. Now he was in the desert, and when he saw a wolf pursuing him he fell from his horse. And a fever attacked him, and he returned to CAIRO and died there. And he left a young son whose name was MALIK MANSUR. Then dissension fell upon the nobles, for some of them wished to set up the boy in the place of his father, and some of them 'ADIL, and some of them 'AFDAL. And the party who wished for 'AFDAL were powerful, and they sent and brought MALIK MANSUR from SARKHAD and he reigned. Then those who wanted 'AFDAL fled, and they went and took JERUSALEM. And 'AFDAL took an army of EGYPTIANS and set out to come to DAMASCUS, and the DAMASCENES sent and informed MALIK 'ADIL whilst he was fighting against MARDIN. Now he left his son MALIK KAMIL MAHAMAD over the Citadel of MARDIN, and he went hurriedly to DAMASCUS. And 'AFDAL came also and encamped against it, and his troops were divided against him. And he left and went again to EGYPT. And his coming was in vain.

Now KAMIL, the son of 'ADIL, having brought into great tribulation those who were in the Citadel of MARDIN through a scarcity of food and the sickness which had fallen upon them, NETAM AD-DIN, the administrator of the boy HUSAM AD-DIN, was nearly [surrendering the fortress]. And NUR AD-DIN, the lord of MAWSIL, and the sons of his uncles, the lord of SINJAR, and the lord of JAZARTA, as soon as they heard of [this] were greatly perturbed. And they said unto each other, 'If the members of the House of 'ADIL become masters of MARDIN, they will deprive us of all our territories'. Therefore they came to an agreement promptly, and they all went to DUNAISSER. And KAMIL came down to the plain, and there the descendants of the 'ATABAG met him in battle and broke him. And KAMIL and those who were with him fled to

MARDIN. And when they had gone up [into the town], they found that those who were in the Citadel had gone down and plundered their tents. And in the night KAMIL took his troops and went to HARRAN, and from HARRAN he went to DAMASCUS, to his father. It is said that if those of the House of KAMIL had not gone down from the mountain to the plain, never [404] would those of the House of the 'ATABAG been able to compel them to move from MARDIN; and they took the Citadel also. But God, glory [be] to His goodness, doeth what He wisheth.

(Continued on Next Page)

(1) Bedjan's note reads: 'SALAH AD-DIN was fifty-seven years old when he died on the fourth day of the month 'ADHAR in the year of our Lord 1193. It is said that when he came to die he commanded a certain Amir to hang his winding sheet on the top of a reed and to carry it round through the bazars of the city and to say, "King SALAH AD-DIN hath departed from this world, and of all his possessions he hath not taken with him anything except this piece of his winding sheet".'

Bar Hebraeus'

Chronography

X

The Taking of Edessa from the Franks (continued).

And in the year five hundred and ninety-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1199) MALIK 'ADIL collected his troops and went to the land of EGYPT. 'AFDAL heard [of it], and he also collected his troops, and set out and met his uncle in battle; and he was broken, and fled by night and went into CAIRO. And 'ADIL came and encamped against CAIRO, and wanted to begin a war against it. Then the nobles advised MALIK 'AFDAL to send and sue for peace, because he had not the strength of 'ADIL. And 'AFDAL sent to 'ADIL concerning peace, and he asked that DAMASCUS might be given to him instead of EGYPT, but MALIK 'ADIL was unwilling. And again he asked for EDESSA and HARRAN, and this also was not conceded. And he asked for MAIPERKAT, and HANI, and JABAL JUR, and 'ADIL agreed. And they swore oaths to each other, and 'AFDAL set out and went to SARKHAD, and he sent his men, [saying] that MAIPERKAT must be surrendered. Now the son of 'ADIL, that is to say, NAJM AD-DIN 'AYUB, objected, and he would not surrender it. And 'AFDAL sent to 'ADIL concerning this state of affairs, and he made an excuse, saying, 'His son had rebelled against his command and would not hearken to him'. And when 'AFDAL knew what had been done between him and his son, he himself joined him, and did not again send a messenger to him concerning the matter.

And in the year died KHAWARAZM SHAH TAKISH, the son of 'ALB ARSLAN, the lord of KHAWARAZM, and of a portion of KHORASAN, and RAI and the rest of the mountainous countries, and there rose up in his place the son of KUTB AD-DIN MAHAMAD, who was also called by his father's name 'ALA AD-DIN. And in the year died KADI FADIL, an Egyptian lawyer, preeminent in his time in EGYPT.

And in the year five hundred and ninety-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1200), 'ADIL made to cease the proclamation of the young man MALIK MANSUR, the son of MALIK 'AZIZ. And it was wrong in the eyes of the nobles, and they wrote to MALIK 'AFDAL in SARKHAD, and to his brother MALIK TAHIR in ALEPPO. And they said unto them, 'Come ye and encamp against DAMASCUS. And when MALIK 'ADIL goeth forth to you to war, we will take him prisoner and deliver him into your hands.' Now 'ADIL heard something of this arrangement, and he sent to his son MALIK MU'TAM SHARAF AD-DIN [405] 'ISA, who was in DAMASCUS, to make haste and to go and shut up 'AFDAL in SARKHAD, his Citadel. And 'AFDAL heard [of this], and he set out hurriedly from SARKHAD, and came to ALEPPO to TAHIR his brother. And the two of them went to MABBUKH, which belonged to 'ADIL, and took it, and in like manner they took KAL'AH NAJM. And they turned and came and encamped against HAMATH, and NASIR AD-DIN, the son of TAKI AD-DIN, gave them thirty thousand Tyrian *dinars*, and they left him and went by the B'ELBAK road against DAMASCUS. And 'AFDAL and TAHIR made it a condition with each other that when they took DAMASCUS it should remain with MALIK 'AFDAL until they went and took EGYPT, and then 'AFDAL should restore DAMASCUS to TAHIR, and that EGYPT should be his. And with this object they made war on DAMASCUS, and when they were very near taking it, MALIK TAHIR became jealous of his brother MALIK 'AFDAL, and he said unto him, 'DAMASCUS shall be mine, and I will send my troops to

thee so that thou mayest go and take EGYPT for thyself'. And 'AFDAL said unto him, 'Dost thou know that my mother and my household are at the door of others in EMESA? (For he had brought them down from SARKHAD, and he had given it to ZAYN AD-DIN KARAJA, a slave of his father, that he might be a help to him.) Therefore I ask thee to leave me DAMASCUS, so that these women may take refuge therein, for it is right that thou also should concern thyself on their behalf, until we take EGYPT.' MALIK TAHIR, however, objected and did not accept [this proposal].

And when the nobles saw the schism which existed between them, they left and departed, some of them to 'ADIL and some went into DAMASCUS. Then the two brothers agreed together and sent to MALIK 'ADIL, their uncle, and they sued for peace. And 'ADIL gave to MALIK TAHIR, in addition to ALEPPO, MABBUH, and APAMIA, and KAPHAR TAB, and some portion of the country of MU'ARAH ; and he gave to MALIK 'AFDAL SAMOSATA, and SERUGH, and RAS 'AINA, and JUMLIN. And MALIK 'ADIL went to DAMASCUS and those [others] went each to his own country.

And at the time when TAHIR and 'AFDAL were encamped against DAMASCUS, NUR AD-DIN collected his troops, and took with him his uncle's son KUTB [406] AD-DIN MAHAMAD, the lord of SINJAR, and the lord of EGYPT, and they went to take away BETH NAHRIN from the house of 'ADIL. And when they came to RAS 'AINA a sickness fell upon them, because it was the summer season. And the son of 'ADIL, whose name was MALIK FAIZ, was in HARRAN, and he sent to NUR AD-DIN and begged from him peace. Then NUR AD-DIN because he had heard of the friendship which existed between 'AFDAL and TAHIR, and between 'ADIL their uncle, and also because of the sickness, agreed to the peace; and they swore oaths to him and he to them. And he left and went back to MAWSIL, and each of those who were with him returned to his own country.

And in the year, when MU'IZ AD-DIN KAISAR SHAH was reigning in MELITENE, his brother RUKN AD-DIN Sultan, the son of KELEJ 'ARSLAN, attacked him, and he made war on the country and took it from him in the month of HAZIRAN (JUNE) of the year fifteen hundred and eleven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1200). And MU'IZ AD-DIN KAISAR SHAH fled from before his brother to MALIK 'ADIL, his father-in-law; and 'ADIL sent and made him to dwell in EDESSA and supplied him with provisions. And from there RUKN AD-DIN went to 'ARZAN AR-RUM. And there was in it a son of MALIK MAHAMAD, the son of SALTAK; now they belonged to a very old family (or, house), and had ruled over 'ARZAN AR-RUM for a very long time. And when its lord went forth to RUKN AD-DIN in a kindly and humble manner, he seized him and shut him up in prison and took his city. And he also took ICONIUM from GHAYATH AD-DIN KAI KESRU, his brother. And GHAYATH AD-DIN fled to SYRIA, and came to MALIK TAHIR, the lord of ALEPPO, and he made known to him the matter, so that perhaps he might take him by the hand. And when he did not see help [coming] from him, he departed from him and hid himself. And he went from place to place until he arrived in CONSTANTINOPLE. And the king of the GREEKS honoured him greatly, and gave him to wife the daughter of one of the great patricians. And he lived there until the FRANKS took CONSTANTINOPLE, as we are about to show forth. And when the FRANKS became masters of CONSTANTINOPLE, GHAYATH AD-DIN fled to his father-in-law, who was lord of one of the fortresses. And his father-in-law received him, and said unto him, [407] 'This fortress will suffice for me and for thee until God giveth us consolation'. And he remained there with him until his brother died.

And in this year there was great scarcity in EGYPT, for the NILE did not overflow according to custom. And men ate the bodies of dead animals and also of men. And then pestilence followed upon famine closely. And there was also an earthquake and it destroyed many buildings and high walls in DAMASCUS, and EMESA and HAMATH, and TRIPOLI, and TYRE, and AKKO, and SHAMRIN (SAMARIA), and it reached BETH RHOMAYE, but it was not violent in the East.

And in the year five hundred and ninety-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1201), KHAWARAZM SHAH MAHAMAD, the son of TAKISH, went to the country of KHORASAN, and he took MARU (MERV) and NISABHOR from GHAYATH AD-DIN, and from his brother SHEHAB AD-DIN. For they had once belonged to him, and when he had gone to KHAWARAZM, and was occupied with the death (i.e. funeral) of his father, GHAYATH AD-DIN had taken them. And when he sent he said unto him, 'I did not expect such behaviour as this from thee, on the contrary, I expected there would be help for me against the CHINESE. And because thou wouldst not help me, it is not right that thou shouldst do me an injury.' And when he did not reply to him with affection, he came to the cities and took them with the sword. Then GHAYATH AD-DIN was conquered by him, because he was suffering severely from the gout, and his brother SHEHAB AD-DIN was engaged in war with the INDIANS.

And in the year five hundred and ninety-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1202), MALIK 'ADIL ABU BAKR, the son of 'AYUB, the lord of EGYPT and DAMASCUS, sent troops with his son MALIK 'ASHRAF MUSA against MARDIN, and he besieged it for many days, and took possession of the villages and country thereof. Then the lord of ALEPPO, MALIK TAHIR JAZI, the son of SALAH AD-DIN, intervened between them, and he made peace on the condition that the lord of MARDIN should give to 'ADIL one hundred and fifty thousand white *dinars*, each *dinar* [of the value of] six *zuze*, and proclaim 'ADIL king, and inscribe his name on the seals (i.e. stamps) of the *zuze* and *dinars*. And MALIK TAHIR took twenty thousand *dinars* from the total sum, and also the town of KURADI from the country of SHABAKTAN. And 'ASHRAF left and departed. And at the time the TURKOMANS wrought great destruction in the countries [408] by means of raiding bands of robbers, and without the strength (i.e. support) of horsemen and armed men people were not able to travel on the roads.

And in this year 'ADIL took back from 'AFDAL, the son of his brother, SERUGH, and the city of RAS 'AINA, and JUMLIN. And also TAHIR, his brother, the lord of ALEPPO, took from 'AFDAL the fortress of NAJM; and there remained to him SAMOSATA only. And when he saw that his uncle and his brother had wronged him, he sent an ambassador to RUKN AD-DIN Sultan, the son of KELEJ 'ARSLAN, the lord of the city of MELITENE, and of ICONIUM, and he became subject unto him and proclaimed him, and struck *zuze* in his name, and he became as one of the Amirs of BETH RHOMAYE. For 'AFDAL sent his mother to king 'ADIL, and she pleaded with him to give back the towns which he had taken from her son, but he would not accept her pleading (or, persuasion). And thus God rewarded SALAH AD-DIN, the king, after his death, in the same way as he rewarded those of the House of the ATABAG, when the lord of MAWSIL sent his mother and his uncle's daughter to him, and he would not receive their pleading.

And in this year king 'ADIL drove out MALIK MANSUR, the son of king 'AZIZ, from EGYPT, and he made him to live in the city of EDESSA, with his brothers and sisters, for he was afraid that the EGYPTIANS would make him king.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

Concerning the beginning of the Kingdom of the Mughlaye, who are the Tataraye (Tartars).

Now the first country of the TATARS, before they spread abroad in these exterior countries, was a certain valley (sic), that is to say a great plain in the north-eastern [quarter] of the world, the length and width of which was a journey of eight months. On the east side their territory extended to the country of the KATHAYE SINAYE, that is KATA; and on the west to the country of the IGHURAYE TURKS; and on the north to the country which is called SALAPGAY (SEBER, SIBERIA); and on the south to HENDO (INDIA). Before SHINGIZ (CHINGIZ) KHAN, their first king, rose up they were without a head, and they used to give tribute to the KATHAYE, that is to say SINAYE (CHINESE). They dressed themselves in the skins of dogs and wolves, [409] and they lived upon mice (or, rats), and other unclean beasts, and animals that had died, and they drank the milk of mares. And the sign of a great Amir among them was that when riding he had feet-cases (i.e. stirrups) made of iron, whilst for every one else they were made of wood.

In the year which is the year fifteen hundred and fourteen of the GREEKS (A.D. 1203), and the year five hundred and ninety-nine of the ARABS (A. D. 1202), when 'UNK KHAN, that is JOHN, king of the Christians, was reigning over a certain tribe of the HUNAYE Barbarians (i.e. HUNS) who were called KRIT, CHINGIZ KHAN was going about continually in his service. And when 'UNK KHAN saw his superior intelligence, and that he progressed from day to day, he became jealous of him, and he wished to seize him by deceit and put him to death. Then two of the young men of 'UNK KHAN, becoming acquainted with the treachery, informed CHINGIZ, and straightway CHINGIZ made it known to his own men, and they removed themselves by night from their tents and hid themselves in ambush. And at daybreak when 'UNK KHAN attacked the tents of the TATARS he found no one in them. And then the followers of CHINGIZ leaped out upon him, and they met each other in battle by the side of a wall which was called BALSHUYAH. And the party of CHINGIZ triumphed, and the party of 'UNK KHAN was broken. And the two parties met together in battle on many occasions, and at length the party of 'UNK KHAN perished entirely, and he himself was killed, and his wives, and his sons, and his daughters were made captives. And CHINGIZ KHAN magnified those two young men, and he passed a law of freedom for them, so that in every capture of prisoners in which they were present, no portion should be taken for the king (or, kings) from them and their sons for ever. And they were to enter the presence of the kings without a summons to do so. And however much they might offend (or, act foolishly) no one was to be set over them. And he promoted the other men who had been with him in that war, and made them nobles. And because there were with him men of the Mongol race, who were called 'AWIRATHAYE', and they exhibited more skill than the others in athletic exercises, and fought more strenuously, CHINGIZ KHAN paid them honour. And he passed a law concerning them that brides for the sons of kings were to be selected from among their daughters, [410] so that children of the seed of CHINGIZ might be propagated. And also that wives from among the daughters of the sons of kings should be given to their sons. And this law remaineth among them to this day.

And it is right to know that this king JOHN of the KRITH was not rejected for nothing, but only after he had turned aside his heart from the fear of Christ His Lord, who had magnified him, and had taken a wife from a tribe of one of the Chinese peoples which was called 'KARAKETA'. He forsook the Fear (i.e. Religion) of his fathers and worshipped strange gods, and therefore God took away the kingdom and gave it to one who was better than he; and his heart became right before God. And at that time a certain man of the TATARS rose up, who in the depth of winter, in all the frost and cold which exist in that country, went about naked, and he walked through the mountains and hills for many days. And he used to come and say, 'I have gone forth from God, and He said unto me, I have given the whole earth to TEMURSHIN (TEMURGIN) and his sons. And I have called him by the name of "CHINGIZ KHAN",' now his original name was TEMURKHIN, and the TATARS call this man 'TUBUTH TANGRI'.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

Concerning the Sons of Chingiz Khan.

CHINGIZ KHAN had many sons and daughters, but those who were great and famous were those who were born of the Great Queen. And that Great Queen of CHINGIZ, whose name was 'YASUNSHIN BAGI', had four sons. The first was TUSHI, the second was SHAGHATAI (JAGHATAI), the third was 'AWKATAI, and the fourth was TULI. [CHINGIZ] made TUSHI chief of the hunt, because he loved hunting more than anything else, and he honoured their hunters. And he made JAGHATAI the head of the Law, DYASA they called him—he ordered; he delivered the administration of the kingdom to 'AWKATAI; and TULI the youngest he appointed governor of the troops and warriors. And for each one he marked out a place for his own special abode. And his brother whose name was [411] 'AUTAKIN TUMAN, together with the rest of the children of his uncles and his kinsfolk, he sent to the land of the KHATAYE (CATHAYANS).

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

Concerning the Laws which Chingiz Khan Made.

Since the MONGOLS had neither literature nor writing, CHINGIZ KHAN commanded the scribes of the IGHURAYE (UIGURS), and they taught the children of the TATARS their books, and they wrote the Mongol language with Uigur letters, just as the EGYPTIANS [write their language] with Greek letters, and the PERSIANS [write their language] with Arabic letters. And he commanded also and they wrote down the following laws which he made.

I. When [the MONGOLS] have need to write any letter to rebels, and they must send an envoy, let them not threaten them with the great size of their army and their numbers, but let them say only, If ye will submit yourselves obediently ye shall find good treatment and rest, but if ye resist—as for us what do we know? [But] the everlasting God knoweth what will happen to you. And in such behaviour as this the MONGOLS' confidence in the Lord showeth itself. And by that they have conquered and will conquer.

II. Let [the MONGOLS] magnify and pay honour to the modest, and the pure, and the righteous, and to the scribes, and wise men, to whatsoever people they may belong, and let them hate the wicked and the men of iniquity. And having seen very much modesty (or, chastity) and other habits of this kind among the Christian people, certainly the MONGOLS loved them greatly at the beginning of their kingdom, a time ago somewhat short. [But] their love hath turned to such intense hatred that they cannot even see them with their eyes approvingly, because they have all alike become Muslims, myriads of people and peoples.

III. [The MONGOLS] shall not give to their kings and nobles many laudatory names (or, titles) like the other nations, especially the followers of ISLAM. And to [the name of] him that sitteth upon the throne of the kingdom they shall only add one name, viz. 'Khan' or 'Kan'. And his brothers and his kinsfolk shall call him by the first name given to him at his birth.

IV. When [the MONGOLS] are unoccupied after a war with enemies, they shall devote themselves to the chase. And they shall teach their sons how to hunt wild animals, so that they may be trained in fightings with them, and may acquire strength, and the power to endure fatigue, and be able to meet their enemies as they meet the wild and savage beasts in combat, and may not spare [themselves].

V. The fighting men are to be [chosen] from men who are twenty years old and upwards. There shall be a captain to every ten, and a captain to every hundred, and a captain to every thousand, and a captain to every ten thousand.

VI. The whole nation of the MONGOLS [412] shall help their kings every year with [gifts from] their flocks and herds, and their treasures, and their horses, and their sheep and their milk, and even woollen apparel.

VII. No man of any thousand, or hundred, or ten in which he hath been counted shall depart to another place; if he doth he shall be killed and also the head who received him.

VIII. From every two ten thousands, horses shall be stationed at the road-side as mounts for ambassadors.

IX. From the man who is dead and hath no heir, nothing shall be taken for the king, but his possessions shall be given to the man who ministered unto him. They have many other laws, but in order not to make overlong [our discourse], we have only mentioned a few of the whole collection.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

How the Mongols Cleaved to the Worship of Images.

Formerly the MONGOLS had no literature and no Faith (or, Religion) of their own, but they knew one God, the Creator of the Universe, and some of them confessed that heaven was God, and they called it so. [And this they did] until they ruled over the people of the UIGUR TURKS, and they found that there were among them certain men who were sorcerers and who were called 'KAMAYE' (i.e. Enchanters). We have heard many who testified concerning them, saying, 'We heard the voice of the devils who held converse with them through the openings of the tents'. And the secret conversation with devils was not made complete until after they had been defiled by other men, because the greater number of them were women-men (sodomites?). And these men were wholly abominable, for when they wished to perform some act of their sorcery, every one who met them they seized by force that [they] might defile them. Therefore when the MONGOLS saw them, they also turned aside after them in their simplicity.

Afterwards when CHINGIZ KHAN heard that the SINAYE, that is to say, the KHATHAYE (i.e. CHINESE), had images (or, idols) and priests who were lords of wisdom, he sent ambassadors to them, and asked them for priests, and promised to hold them in honour. And when the priests came, CHINGIZ KHAN ordered them to make a debate on Religion (or, Faith) and an inquiry into it with the KAMAYE (Enchanters). And when the priests spake and read extracts from their Book, which they call 'Nawm' in their language, the Enchanters failed and were vanquished, and they were unable to reply because they were destitute of knowledge. And from this time the rank of the priests increased among the MONGOLS, and they were commanded [413] to fashion images, and to cast copies of them as [the priests] did in their own country, and to offer to them full sacrifices and libations according to their custom. And although they honoured the priests greatly, the MONGOLS at the same time did not reject the Enchanters. And both parties remained among them, each to carry on its own special work, without despising or holding the other in contempt. It is the reverse with the peoples who have the Scriptures and the Books of the Prophets, for every one who is present soundly revileth his fellow, and judgeth him [to be] an unbeliever (or, one who is not of the true Faith). Now in the Book of the priests which is called 'Nawm', together with the pagan proverbs which resemble those which ST. GREGORY THEOLOGUS brings to our memory, there are also good laws, as for example, an admonition against oppression and the infliction of injuries, and we must not return evil for evil, but good, and a man must not kill any small creature such as a louse or a gnat. And like PLATO they confess the transmigration of souls from body to body, [saying] that the spirits of just men, and righteous men, and well-doers when they die migrate to the bodies of kings and nobles, and the souls of evil and wicked men into the bodies of evil-doers who are tortured, and beaten and killed, and also into the bodies of irrational creatures, and reptiles and birds of prey. And when flesh is brought unto those men to eat, they ask the bringer of it, 'Didst thou slay this beast on account of us; or didst thou buy it in the "bazar"?' And if he saith, 'On your account', they will not taste it.

Bar Hebraeus'

Chronography

X

Concerning the Cause which made the Mongols lay waste the countries of the Persians, and the other regions which are to the west of them.

Since the MONGOLS have no urban habitations, and have need of clothing and beds which are transported to them from the towns, CHINGIZ KHAN commanded and gave the word of peace concerning the merchants who come to them from every region, that the guards who patrol the highways and are called 'KARAKSHAYE' (KARAKJIYA) should do them no harm. Then three men of the city of BUKHARA prepared garments, and bales of splendid cloths, and other things which they knew would be required by the MONGOLS, and they loaded them on beasts and went to the Great Camp. And CHINGIZ KHAN commanded, [and his servants] looked at what they had with them, [414] and they asked them their prices. Then one of the merchants whose name was AHMAD, for something which one could buy for ten *dinars*, demanded three talents of silver, each talent of the value of seven hundred *zuze*. When CHINGIZ KHAN heard [this] he became angry and said, 'Perhaps this man thinketh that we have never seen an article of this kind'. And he made a sign to the stewards and they brought out some cloths in which much gold was woven, and they showed them to those merchants. And the king commanded that that merchant should be put under restraint, and that a list of everything which was with him should be written. Then [the stewards] brought his two other companions, and they looked at their merchandise and asked their prices. They, however, did not put forward any price at all, but said, 'We have brought these wares in the name of the Khan. If he is kind he will give us what he knoweth [to be their value].' And their words pleased the Khan, and he commanded [his stewards] to give them a talent of gold, that is to say seven hundred *mathkale*, for every piece of stuff in which gold was woven, and for every two rolls of *amarkuba* cloth (or, brocade) one talent of silver. And he had compassion also on the other man their companion, and he gave to him as to the others. And the Khan commanded his queens, and his sons and daughters to give gold to their slaves and to send them with these three merchants to bring back things for themselves; and they did so. And about four hundred merchants assembled, and an ambassador was sent with them to Sultan MAHAMAD of PERSIA, who said unto him, 'We command that from now and henceforth there shall be peace between the countries in all the earth, and merchants shall go and come without fear, and rich and poor shal live in peace and praise God'.

And when the ambassador, together with the merchants, had marched away and they arrived at 'OTHRAR, a city of the PERSIANS, the governor of that city sent and made the matter known to the Sultan. And the Sultan coveting what they had with them, commanded that governor, whose name was 'INASHLUK ('INAL SHUK), to destroy them all secretly. And when he was carrying out this order, one of them by the Divine Nod escaped, and he went and informed CHINGIZ KHAN, who when he heard this report was filled with red-hot rage. And he went off by himself, and climbed to the top of a mountain, and he bared his head, and laid his face on the dust (or, the earth), and he remained there for three days neither eating nor drinking. [415] And he looked up to heaven, and said, 'O Lord and Creator of the Universe, Thou Thyself knowest what my object was, and that it was intended for good. And this mine enemy hath begun and he wisheth for evil. Therefore I entreat Thee to reward him according to his works.' And from this moment he began to send

bodies of soldiers in the territory of the PERSIANS, and to destroy the towns with the edge of the sword, even as we are about to show.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

Concerning the Taking of Constantinople by the Franks from the Greeks.

And in the year six hundred of the ARABS (A.D. 1203), which is the year fifteen hundred and fifteen of the GREEKS (A.D. 1204), in the month of NISAN (APRIL), the FRANKS took CONSTANTINOPLE from the GREEKS, and they brought their kingdom to an end from that year. For the king of the GREEKS took the sister of the king of FRANCE to wife, and she bore him a son.

The king of the GREEKS had a brother, and this man rebelled against the king, and they blinded his eyes, and put him to death in prison. Then the son of the murdered man fled to his uncle the king of FRANCE, and he was filled with indignation, and he collected troops and came and encamped against CONSTANTINOPLE. And because the citizens were not pleased with the action of the tyrant against his brother, they set fire to the city. And the fighting men who should have been on the walls were occupied [elsewhere], and the FRANKS scaled the walls and entered the city, and the tyrant fled. And the FRANKS set that little boy on the throne of the kingdom, being only a figure and a name, for the whole command was theirs. And they began to oppress the citizens with heavy taxes, and they looted the treasuries of the churches, and carried off the crosses, and the curtains (i.e. coverings) of the Books of the Gospels, and the gold and silver which was on the eikons.

Now when the citizens saw that they were being plundered mercilessly by the FRANKS, they rushed in on the young man, the son of the GREEK king, and killed him. And they also expelled the FRANKS from the city, and shut the gates in their faces. And the FRANKS remained outside, and continued to fight. And the war was prolonged and those inside the city became weak, and they sent and asked help from RUKN AD-DIN, the lord of ICONIUM, and he was unable to help them. Then the Frankish merchants who were dwelling in CONSTANTINOPLE, now there were [416] about thirty thousand of them, but on account of the great size of the city they were not conspicuous therein, set fire to the city twice, and burned down about one-quarter of it. And they also opened the gates and went outside, and they drew their swords and killed a very great many of the GREEKS. And the FRANKS also attacked many of those who had taken refuge in the great church of HAGIA SOPHIA. And the Patriarch, and the chief priests, and the elders went out to meet them carrying crosses and Books of the Gospels, and they cast themselves down before them, and cried out and entreated them on behalf of the remnant of the people who were there. And the FRANKS treated them with contempt, and they killed priests and people alike, and looted the church.

Now the FRANKS had three chiefs. The first was the Duke of the BUNDIKAYE (1) in whose ships and vessels all the troops of the FRANKS had come; now he was a blind old man. And another was the chief of the FRANSISAYE (FRENCH), whose name was MARKIS (MARQUIS), and there was another whose name was GONDOFRI. And they cast lots as to whom the kingdom of CONSTANTINOPLE should belong. And the lot went forth (i.e. fell on) GONDOFRI (BOUDOUIN of FLANDERS?), and he reigned over it. And the BUNDIKAYE ruled over the islands of CRETE and RHODES, and the other islands. And they gave to MARKIS the country westwards from the way of the sea which passeth over to PONTUS, that is

LAODICEA and NICEA with PHILADELPHIA, &c. But the GREEKS resisted, and they would not make terms with the FRANKS, and a certain Patriarch, a GREEK whose name was LASHKARI (LASKARIS?), reigned over them.

And at the time when NUR AD-DIN ARSLAN SHAH, the lord of MAWSIL, and the son of his uncle KUTB AD-DIN MAHAMAD, the son of ZANGI, the lord of SINJAR, were on loving terms with each other, MALIK 'ADIL cast dissension among them. Through this NUR AD-DIN encamped against NISIBIS, which belonged to the son of his uncle, and he made war on it, and he well nigh took it.

Then the report reached him from MAWSIL that MUTAFAR AD-DIN KUKBARI (KUKBURI), the son of ZAYN AD-DIN 'ALI KUJEK, the lord of 'ARBIL, had attacked NINEVEH, and spoiled it and burnt its crops. Therefore NUR AD-DIN left [417] NISIBIS and came to BALADH. And when he heard that MUTAFAR AD-DIN had left and gone to 'ARBIL, he himself went to TALL 'AFAR and took it by fighting (i.e. by assault). Then MALIK ASHRAF, the son of 'ADIL, who was then in HARRAN, came to RAS 'AINA. And he made an agreement with MUTAFAR AD-DIN, the lord of 'ARBIL, and with the lord of AMID and of the fortress of KIPA, and with the lord of GAZARTA, and with the lord of DARA, that they must not permit NUR AD-DIN to take any portion of the territory of the lord of SINJAR. And they all came to NISIBIS, and from there they came to BETH 'ARBHAYE. And NUR AD-DIN went to KAPHAR ZAMAR, and from there to BUSHAZZAH. And when they encamped that they might rest themselves, for they were exhausted, the troops of ASHRAF and those who were with him rode on, and they met NUR AD-DIN in battle. And the party of NUR AD-DIN was broken and utterly defeated. And NUR AD-DIN fled and, together with four souls, escaped to MAWSIL. And the followers of ASHRAF rushed into the territory of MAWSIL, and they spoiled it and set it on fire; in the city of BALADH especially they wrought great destruction.

It is said that a woman was boiling some food, and when she heard the spoiling [going on] she took out two bracelets from her dress, and buried [them] in the fire and fled. Then one of the horsemen went into the house and wanted something to eat. And he found nothing in the house except an egg, and he took it and came to the fire to cook it, and when he stirred up the fire he found the bracelets therein. And this was a wonderful incident. And the soldiers continued to lay waste the country for many days, and meanwhile ambassadors were going and coming. And NUR AD-DIN gave back TALL 'AFAR to the son of his uncles and there was peace, and afterwards the soldiers were disbanded.

And in the year during which the FRANKS took CONSTANTINOPLE they became very powerful, and they went forth to the country of PHOENICIA, and spoiled the country as far as the JORDAN, and made great slaughter among the ARABS. And they came to HAMATH, and the lord thereof, NASIR AD-DIN, the son of TAJI AD-DIN, the son of SHAHINSHAH, the son of AYUB, went out and met them in battle, and he was utterly broken and fled to HAMATH. And the Arab citizens went forth to fight with the FRANKS, and they were all killed. Then MALIK 'ADIL sent to them and gave them NASRATH, and the crops of all the districts which were on the land between were divided between the FRANKS and the ARABS, and [418] there was peace. And after a little other FRANKS went forth to the country of EGYPT, and they carried off great spoil and departed.

And in the year Sultan RUKN AD-DIN, the lord of MELITENE and ICONIUM, took the city of ANCYRA from his brother, after he had warred against it for years, for it was very strong. And he brought out from it his brother and the two sons which he had, and he gave to them a fortress in the Outer Marches. And whilst they were going there he sent an army against them as if they had been highway robbers and killed them. Five days after his brother and his sons were killed, a disease of the colon attacked him and he died quickly. And there rose up after him a young son which he had whose name was KELEJ 'ARSLAN. Concerning this

Sultan RUKN AD-DIN it is said that he was very astute, and methodical (or, orderly) in his actions. He inclined to the opinions (or, teaching) of the foreign philosophers, and though he observed the form, he did not publish it openly.

And in the year a violent earthquake also took place, and it destroyed the wall of TYRE and other places in EGYPT, and in PALESTINE, and in BETH NAHRIN and MAWSIL, and also in the islands of CYPRUS and SICILY.

And in the year six hundred and one of the ARABS (A.D. 1204) dissension fell among the nobles of BETH RHOMAYE. And one of the Amirs of 'IUG, a great country of the TURKOMANS which was on the border of the GREEKS, sent and had brought to him GHAYATH AD-DIN KAI KESRU, who was a fugitive to the GREEKS. And many troops were gathered together to him and they went and encamped against ICONIUM. And the troops that were in ICONIUM sallied forth and met them in battle, and they broke the 'IUGAYE and put them to flight. Then GHAYATH AD-DIN not knowing what to do, or where to go, took refuge in a very small town which was near ICONIUM, and the name of which was 'ABGARM'. Then when the sons of 'AKSARA heard [of this] they were sorry, and they drove away their governor and called on the name of GHAYATH AD-DIN KAI KESRU. And the men of ICONIUM were jealous of the men of 'AKSARA, and they also seized their nobles and cried out, 'May Sultan GHAYATH AD-DIN KAI KESRU live!' And they sent and brought him to ICONIUM. And he took the boy KELEJ 'ARSLAN, the son of his brother, and shut him up in prison, and those who were with him. And in a short time all the countries were in subjection to him. [419] And there came to him from EDESSA KAISAR SHAH, his brother, who had fled from his brother RUKN AD-DIN when he took MELITENE away from him. And he did not receive GHAYATH AD-DIN in his presence, but he gave him much gold and sent him again to EDESSA. And when the Sultan GHAYATH AD-DIN went to CAESAREA, MALIK 'AFDAL, the son of SALAH AD-DIN, the lord of SAMOSATA, and also NETAM AD-DIN, the lord of the fortress of ZAID, came to him, and they were in subjection to him, and he increased greatly.

And in the year NASIR AD-DIN MAHMUD, son of MAHAMAD, the son of KARA 'ARSLAN, the lord of AMID, went to MALIK 'ASHRAF, the son of 'ADIL, and he asked him to go with him, and take for him the fortress of ZAID, according to his promise. And when 'ASHRAF had collected the armies of SYRIA, and of MAWSIL, and SINAR, and GAZARTA, he attacked the fortress of ZAID. And they captured the town and began to make war on the Citadel. Then the lord of the Citadel of ZAID sent to Sultan GHAYATH AD-DIN and asked for help. Then the Sultan sent to him six thousand horsemen with MALIK 'AFDAL, the lord of SAMOSATA. And when they arrived at MELITENE, 'ASHRAF and the lord of 'AMID heard [of it], and they turned aside from KHARTABIRT, and went and encamped on the Lake of SAMANIN, in which are two fortresses, one belonging to the lord of 'AMID, and the other to the lord of the Citadel of ZAID. And they made war on that of the lord of the fortress, and they stationed guards in it. And when the army of the Sultan came to KHARTABIRT, the lord of 'AMID marched towards 'AMID, and the army of the Sultan returned to BETH RHOMAYE.

And in this year which is the year fifteen hundred and sixteen of the GREEKS (A.D. 1205), the 'IBIRAYE went forth to the country of 'ADHORBILAN, and they made a great slaughter and took very much spoil; and from there they came to the country of KHALAT, and there they wrought great destruction. And from there they came to the country of 'ARGISH, and they looted and burned, and they went and encamped against the fortress of BETH KHALAT and 'ARZAN AR-RUM. Then the lord of KHALAT went to BAR KELEJ 'ARSLAN, the lord of 'ARZAN AL-RUM, and took an army therefrom. And they came and joined battle with the 'IBIRAYE, and ZACHARI the Little, the captain of the host of IBIRIS, was killed, and the 'IBIRAYE retreated and went to their own country.

And in the year a certain woman in BAGHDAD gave birth to a child who had [420] two heads, and four feet and four hands, and he died the same day. And also in BAGHDAD two blind ARABS went to another blind man in the night in one of the mosques and killed him, because they thought that *zuze* (i.e. money) would be found with him. And when the day broke they were afraid, and they went out to flee to MAWSIL. And a certain soldier (speculator) who was travelling on another business met them, and he said by way of a joke, 'These blind men killed that blind man, for only a blind man would kill a blind man'. Then one of the two blind men who heard the words of the soldier sat down on the ground and said, 'By God, it was not I, but this man who killed him'. And the other blind man said, 'Nay, it was thou thyself, thou didst kill him'. And the two of them were arrested and were carried to the governor, and they confessed that one of them held him and the other suffocated him with a bed-cushion. And both of them were killed.

And in the year six hundred and two of the ARABS (A.D. 1205) a race of the KURDS who were in the mountains of MADAI (MEDIA), and who are called TIRAHAYE, came down from the mountains, and wrought great destruction in those countries. And troops of the PERSIANS were gathered together, and they met them in battle and many of them were killed. Now these mountaineers had not entered the Faith of the Muslims, but they had adopted the primitive paganism [of their country] and Magianism. When a Muslim fell into their hands they put him to death with cruel tortures. When a daughter was born to one of them he stood by the door of his house and cried out, 'Who will betroth himself to this?' And if a man agreed [the father] let [her] live, and if no one would, he killed [her]. For this reason there are very few women among them, and for this reason one woman becomes the wife of all the sons of a house. And when one of them is engaged with her, he leaves his sandal at the door, so that when another man seeth it he will not go to her until his neighbour cometh out, and then he goeth in. And as for the child, the oldest among them is called its father.

And in the year six hundred and three of the ARABS (A.D. 1206) the 'IBIRAYE came again to the country of KHALAT, and they plundered, and burned, and killed, and departed. And GHAYATH AD-DIN KAI KESRU took 'ANTALYA (SATALYA?), a city on the sea-coast, on the third day of the eighth month. He had sent an army against it before this year. And the GREEKS who were therein sent to CYPRUS, which is near to ANTALYA, and brought FRANKS [421] as it were to help them. Then the Sultan removed his troops to a distance from the city, and hid them in ambush in the mountains, and they seized every one who came out. And having remained in a state of tribulation for some time, they sent to the Sultan and surrendered the city to him. And the TURKS and the GREEKS joined together in a war with the FRANKS, and the Sultan took its fortress, and made prisoners of the FRANKS who were in it, and also captured KHUNAS.

And in this year MAHAMAD, the son of BUKHTAMAR, the governor of KHALAT, became powerful, and he killed his son-in-law HAZARDINARI, who had killed his father. And because he was young he began to live in a riotous manner, and the people of KHALAT hated him. Also a certain Amir, one of the slaves of SHAHARMAN, whose name was BALABAN, rebelled against him in MINAZGERD. Then certain of the men of KHALAT sent to NASIR AD-DIN 'ARTUK, the son of 'ILJAZI, the son of 'ALBI, the son of TEMURTASH, the son of 'ILJAZI, the son of 'ARTUK, the lord of MARDIN, and said unto him, 'This son of the uncle of thy father hath no head to live. Come therefore, that we may surrender KHALAT to thee.' And when the lord of MARDIN went, and there were with him troops of the TURKS and the MA'DAYE, they made an agreement, for those famished people saw those who were with him, and they feared that they would plunder them, and they made ready for war.

Then BALABAN sent to the lord of MARDIN and said unto him, 'The men of KHALAT are horrified at the MA'DAYE who are with thee. Therefore remove thyself from KHALAT, and I will conduct your business.' And when he did [not] turn aside and withdraw, BALABAN sent threatening messages to the lord of MARDIN, saying that if he did not withdraw to his own country [he would attack him]. And because those who were with him were few, he was afraid, and he left and departed; and he found that his country had been

pillaged by MALIK 'ASHRAF. Now 'ASHRAF sat down in DUNAISER, and he collected much wealth therefrom, and he left and went to HARRAN. Then BALABAN collected an army and came against KHALAT, and he was unable to take it by assault. But when he multiplied promises of benefits for the people of KHALAT, and swore to them oaths of a very strong character, saying that he would do no harm to the least among them, they surrendered to him. And when he went in he shut up the son of BUKHTAMAR in one of the fortresses, and then he became exceedingly powerful (or, strong). And as MALIK 'AWHAD NAJM AD-DIN 'AYUB, the son of 'ADIL, had already taken the fortress of [422] MUSH and its city, he went to encamp against KHALAT; and BALABAN went out and shut the fortified passes against him, and destroyed many of those who were with him; and NAJM AD-DIN, the son of 'ADIL, together with a few men and the wounded, escaped to MAIPERKAT.

And in the year the 'IBIRAYE took KARS, a city of the dominion of KHALAT (MAT?), after many years, during which they had harassed it with wars and besiegement; and they cut off from it the [supplies] of food.

And in the year six hundred and four of the ARABS (A.D. 1207) MALIK 'AWHAD sent to his father MALIK 'ADIL and asked for help from him to take KHALAT. And MALIK 'ASHRAF was sent to him with a numerous army, and they came into the neighbourhood of KHALAT. And BALADAN went out and engaged them in battle; he was not able to continue the fight, and he fled before them and went into KHALAT. And he sent an ambassador to MUJITH AD-DIN, the son of KELEJ 'ARSLAN, the lord of 'ARZAN AR-RUM, and called him to his help. And he came in person, and BALADAN went forth to him, and the two of them met in battle MALIK 'AWHAD and his brother, and they broke them and put them to flight.

And they went and encamped against MUSH, and they were very nearly taking it when the son of KELEJ 'ARSLAN deceived BALADAN and killed him, on the pretence that he himself would rule over KHALAT. And when he went against KHALAT the inhabitants of the city shut their gates in his face. And he went from it to MINAZGERD (MALAZGERD), and those who were inside it also did the same thing. And in despair he left and went to his own country. And the people of KHALAT sent to MALIK 'AWHAD and brought him, and to him they surrendered the city. And because it did not please the governors of the ARABS who were in the neighbourhood that the son of 'ADIL should rule, for they were afraid of his father, they sent [bands of men] continually to plunder the country of KHALAT, and especially 'IBIRAYA.

And also some of the Amirs of KHALAT rebelled against 'AWHAD, and they took the fortress of WAN [VAN] (now there was no stronger fortress in that country), and they made themselves masters of 'ARGISH also. And after many tribulations 'AWHAD was able to take WAN from them, having sent and brought 'ASHRAF, his brother. And it was evil in the sight of the men of KHALAT that they had surrendered the place to a member of the house of 'ADIL. Therefore, when 'AWHAD set out and went to MINAZGERD to govern it as was fitting, [423] the heads of bands of the men of KHALAT, who in the language of the country are called 'MANGDABHKIR', leaped upon the partisans of 'AWHAD, and expelled them from the city, and started a war against the fortress. And when 'AWHAD heard [this], he came and encamped against KHALAT with troops of BETH NAHRIN. And a dispute arose among the citizens, and 'AWHAD suppressed it, and he killed a great many of the people, and many of them he took captive and sent to MAIPERKAT. And the opposition of the young chiefs of the tribes (or, bands) who were in the habit of setting up and deposing governors at their own will was crushed.

And in the year died Sultan GHAYATH AD-DIN KAI KESRU, and his son 'IZZ AD-DIN KAI KAUS reigned. And he seized his brother 'ALA AD-DIN KAI KUBAD, and he sent him and shut him up in the fortress of MASARA, which is below the Monastery of MAR 'AHRON, of the blessed mountain which is by the side of MELITENE.

And in the year the FRANKS sallied forth from TRIPOLI and enamped against EMESA, and they laid waste the country thereof, and the lord 'ASAD AD-DIN SHIRKUH, the son of MAHAMAD, the son of SHIRKUH the Great, had not the power to smite them. And the CYPRIANS also captured many ships from the ARABS, whom they took prisoners. And when 'ADIL heard [this] he set out from EGYPT with troops, and the FRANKS were hampered.

And in the year died 'ALA AD-DIN, the son of KARA SENKUR, the lord of MARAGHA, and his young son rose up after him; and after a short time he too died. And NUSRATH AD-DIN 'ABU BAKRR the son of PAHLWAN, the lord of TABRIZ, came, and he became master of MARAGHA and all the domain thereof, with the exception of the fortress of RAWANDIZ, in which the eunuch who was the administrator of the boy who had died had rebelled.

And in the year six hundred and five of the ARABS (A.D. 1208) a great number of people of the 'IBIRAYE set out and came to the country of KHALAT. And they invaded the city of 'ARGISH, and they captured it and looted it; and they killed the aged folk and the young children thereof, and they made the women, and the sons, and the daughters prisoners. And they destroyed the place absolutely, and left it a devastated ruin and shorn bare. And NAJM AD-DIN 'AWHAD was in KHALAT, and he was unable to sally out and engage them in battle because of their great number, and he could not trust the men of KHALAT because of the slaughterings which he had carried out among them, and [he feared that] when he went out they would rebel and surrender the city to the 'IBIRAYE.

And in the year a violent earthquake took place [424] in NISABHUR, and all the inhabitants rushed out into the plain and remained there for several days until it subsided, and then they went in again. And there was an earthquake also in KHORASAN, but not as violent as that of NISABHUR.

And in the year six hundred and six of the ARABS (A.D. 1209) there was amity between MALIK 'ADIL and NUR AD-DIN 'ARSLAN SHAH, the lord of MAWSIL. And NUR AD-DIN gave his daughter to one of the sons of 'ADIL, and they agreed together to transfer SINJAR from KUTB AD-DIN, its lord, to 'ADIL, and to take the ISLAND OF KARDU from the son of SENJAR SHAH, its lord, and to make it belong to NUR AD-DIN. And 'ADIL made ready and came and took HABURA and NISIBIS, which belonged to the lord of SINJAR. And when NUR AD-DIN heard [this] he was sorry, and he became like a man whose wine hath disagreed with him. And he thought carefully, and he knew that if he took SINJAR and GAZARTA not only that he would not give him GAZARTA, but that he would snatch MAWSIL from him also. And that when they had taken counsel with his chief men (or, councillors) he would be blamed by all of them because he had not disclosed to them the secret before he conspired with 'ADIL. And they would say unto him, 'Now there is no other course for thee but to stand with him in what thou hast promised him. And if thou dost not [do this] he will make a cause concerning thee, and he will come against thee, as against a man who hath passed over (i.e. disregarded) [his] oaths.' And whilst he was being tossed about in this sea [of doubt], and was pretending that he was getting ready an army to send to the help of 'ADIL, there came to him an ambassador by night from MUTAFAR AD-DIN KUKBURI, the lord of ARBELA, and he promised to collect his troops and to come to him, and [then] they would join forces, and not allow the hand (i.e. power) of 'ADIL to enter these countries. And NUR AD-DIN rejoiced with a great joy, and he sent oaths about this course of action.

And the ambassador departed in the night and informed MUTAFAR AD-DIN, and he collected troops and without delay came and pitched his camp outside MAWSIL. And he sent an ambassador to the Khalifah [telling him] to send and chide 'ADIL for his covetousness. And he sent an ambassador to MALIK TAHIR, the son of SALAH AD-DIN, the lord of ALEPPO, and to Sultan 'IZZ AD-DIN KAI KAOS, and they all promised help. Moreover, those who were with 'ADIL were not fighting strenuously against SINJAR. And 'ASAD AD-DIN, the lord of EMESA, especially was sending provisions [425] and sheep openly into the city.

And whilst the lord of SINJAR was making ready to surrender the city, he received a compensation, and he waxed strong and powerful. And the ambassador of the Khalifah came to 'ADIL and reprimanded him; and there was peace between them, and [it was understood] that there should remain to him the places which he had taken, that is to say HABURA and NISIBIS. And he left and departed to SYRIA.

At the time when MUTAFAR AD-DIN, the lord of 'ARBIL, was in MAWSIL he gave his two daughters to the two sons of NUR AD-DIN, 'IZZ AD-DIN MAS'UD and 'EMAD AD-DIN ZANGI. Now by this MUTAFAR helped greatly those who were of the house of 'ADIL. But because the lord of SINJAR had sent his son to him and entreated him to supplicate 'ADIL on his behalf, so that he might leave him SINJAR, and MUTAFAR AD-DIN having had sent confidently to 'ADIL, because he thought that if he asked for the half of his dominion he would not send back his petition empty, and 'ADIL having paid no heed to his supplication, MUTAFAR was offended, with him, and he joined with NUR AD-DIN in the great hatred which existed between them.

And in this year died FAKR AD-DIN RAZI, aged three-and-sixty lunar years. He was a very learned man and a great debater (or, commentator) of the ARABS. And by him and by the great number of books which he composed the ARABS throughout the world have been enlightened, and they are to this day. For I would compare this man to ORIGEN, through whose books the doctors of the Church have become rich and illustrious, and they have turned round and called him a 'heretic'. Thus it is also with the ARABS, who call this man an 'infidel', and an adherent to Aristotelian doctrine (1).

And in the year of the ARABS six hundred and seven (A.D. 1210), MAHAMAD, the son of HASAN, the head of the ISHMAELITES, died. This man also, like his father, travelled on the path of the philosophers, and he overturned and cast down many of the foundations of the Faith of the ARABS. In his days he killed many of the governors who would not pay him tribute by means of his followers whom he used to send to leap upon holders of power. And killing them they were killed. And thus through the fulfilling of the wicked will of their iniquitous lord and tyrant they surrendered their own souls to [426] death. And having completed forty-and-six years in his tyranny he came to an end, and there rose up after him JALAL AD-DIN 'HUSAIN. Now in the beginning of his rule he began by pretending to agree with the Faith of the Muslims, and he fasted and prayed. And he sent and informed the Khalifah of BAGHDAD, and Sultan MAHAMAD KHAWARAZM SHAH and other Arab governors, that he had turned his face from the evil ways of his father, and was travelling on the way of ISLAM. And believing him, they rejoiced in him and honoured him with many gifts and rich presents.

And in the year, too, died NUR AD-ADIN 'ARSLAN SHAH, the son of MAS'UD, the son of MAWDUD, the son of ZANGI, the son of 'AKSENKUR, the lord of MAWSIL. He was a just man, and a mighty man, who was feared by the sons of his kingdom (i.e. courtiers) and also by the other kings who were his contemporaries. And when the time of his death drew nigh, he made his nobles swear on behalf of MALIK KAHIR 'IZZ AD-DIN MAS'UD, his elder son. And to his younger son, that is 'EMAD AD-DIN ZANGI, he gave two fortresses, that of 'AKR of HAMIDIYAH, and that of SHOSH, and their territories. And he appointed as administrator for his two sons his slave BADR AD-DIN LULU, a subtle and astute man whose race was worthy of sovereignty. For when his sickness increased the physicians told him that he must go down and bathe in the spring of the holy Monastery of MAR ZINA, which was on the banks of the TIGRIS. And when BADR AD-DIN took him down and he bathed, he was not benefited, because his sickness was of death [i.e. fatal]. And as BADR-AD-DIN was taking him up in a little ship to MAWSIL, he died before they arrived. And there were only two slaves with them, and BADR AD-DIN and those two men carried him and brought him by night into the palace, without any other person knowing it. And when the day broke BADR AD-DIN carried on the necessary business throughout that day, and towards the ninth hour he revealed his (the king's) death. And in the night he cleared out his grave in that cemetery which he had constructed for

himself opposite to his palace. And his eldest son MALIK KAHIR rose up after him, and BADR AD-DIN swayed the sceptre of the political administration of the kingdom.

And in the years six hundred and eight and six hundred and nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1211, 1212), we find nothing [to relate].

(Continued on Next Page)

(1) Bedjan's note reads: 'Holy Church gathereth into her treasures the chosen wheat which is in the books of Origen and other writers, and she collecteth the tares that are therein to burn them, and thus no man is harmed by them.'

Bar Hebraeus'

Chronography

X

Concerning the Taking of Constantinople by the Franks from the Greeks (continued).

In the year six hundred and ten of the ARABS (A.D. 1213) died MUHADAB, a physician of BAGHDAD, who was known as BAR-HUBAL in MAWSIL. This man was the most eminent physician of his time, [427] and he was a pupil of 'ABU 'ALBARAKAT, a Jewish physician in BAGHDAD. This man departed from BAGHDAD to MAWSIL, and from there to 'ADHORBIJAN, and thence to KHALAT. And he lived in the service of SHAH 'ARMAN, and whilst attending him he acquired great wealth. And during one of the illnesses of the king, when BAR HUBAL took some of his urine to examine according to custom, one of the slaves said unto him, 'Why dost thou not taste it, O physician?' And the physician returned him no answer at the moment, but after he had gone out he called the slave and said unto him privately, 'Did some other man instruct thee to tell me that I ought to taste the urine, that is to say the king himself, or one of his household, or didst thou speak the word at thine own instigation?' And the slave replied, 'No, but I have heard people say that there was a taste in urine which gave information, just as the colour, and the smell, and the composition of the urine [supply] indications'. And the physician said, 'It is even so, but not in every sickness. Know, however, that thou hast done me harm by this speech of thine, for when the king heareth of this he will think that I am not doing in my treatment of him everything which it is right that I should do, and am bound to complete.' From that time the physician was offended in his mind, and he could rest there no longer. And he gave a large sum of silver to that slave, and begged him never again to say anything like it. Some time after this he excused himself from his service (i.e. he resigned), and he received a *Pudana* (i.e. Patent) [from the king] and went forth from KHALAT; and he came and dwelt in MAWSIL, and remained there until he died. In his last days he became blind, and many used to come to him and learn medicine directly (or, thoroughly). He lived ninety and five years, and he wrote a wonderful book on medicine [in] four volumes, and called it 'MUKHTAR', and behold very many read it and are instructed thereby at the present day.

And in this year, which is the year six hundred and ten of the ARABS (A.D. 1213), CHINGIZ KHAN wished to go in person to BETH PARSAYE (PERSIA). And when he arrived at the country of the Turkish 'IGHURAYE, all the Amirs who were there, and their troops, went into his service—[those] from BISH BALIGH, from the governor whose name was 'IDIKUB, and his army of peasants; and from [428] 'ALMALIGH, [from the Amir] SEKNAK (SUFTAK?) TAKIN and his horsemen; and many others. Then CHINGIZ KHAN sent TUSHI, his eldest son, with five myriads (50,000) of soldiers to the region of KHOGAND, and his two other sons, JAGHATAI and 'OKHATAI, he sent to invest the city of 'OTHRAR. He himself went against the city of BUKHARA, and he commanded those whom he had left by 'OTHRAR to fight strenuously. And though they began the war strenuously, that city continued to resist them for five months. For Sultan MUHAMAD had left therein fifty thousand horsemen, whose captain was JAIR KHAN, and ten thousand other horsemen, whose captain was KARA SHAH (KARAJA) KHAS HAJIB, were likewise there. And when KARAJA saw that they had not the strength of the TATARS, one night he took several of his partisans and went forth by the SOFI GATE to the MONGOLS. And they kept guard over him until the morning and they carried him to the two sons of the Khan. And when they had learned accurately

from him every kind of information about the city and its combatants, they said unto him, 'In the same way as thou hast deceived thy lord thou shalt be deceived by us, and we have no need of thee'. And they commanded, and he and all those who were with him were killed.

And during [that] day the TATARS became masters of the city, and they expelled all the inhabitants, men, and women, and they plundered the treasures. Then JAIR KHAN together with twenty thousand of his own men, [who were] on the roofs of the high houses of the city and on the towers on the walls, rebelled. And they went out on foot, fifty after fifty, to the TATARS, and they killed and were killed, until only two persons remained with JAIR KHAN on the roof of the palace. And a great many TATARS gathered together against them, and they toiled hard until they had killed the two [men]. And JAIR KHAN remained alone. And when he had used up all his arrows, the children and the handmaidens dragged out the bricks and the blocks of stones from the walls, and he fought against the TATARS with these. And because the command of the Khan was that they were not to kill him during the fight, but to capture him alive, they took very great trouble and used much care until they took him. And [429] after CHINGIZ KHAN had seen him, he commanded and they killed him in the place which is called GOG SARAI, that is to say 'The Green House'.

And in the year six hundred and eleven of the ARABS (A.D. 1214) Sultan 'IZZ AD-DIN KAI KAUS reigned over SINOBI (SINOPE?), which is on the coast of the SEA OF PONTUS, and he killed KIR ALIX its lord.

And in the year six hundred and twelve (A.D. 1215) he also took 'ANTALYA from the RHOMAYE (GREEKS) a second time.

And in the year six hundred and thirteen of the ARABS (A.D. 1216) died MALIK TAHIR JAZI, the son of SALAH AD-DIN YUSEF, the son of 'AYUB, the lord of ALEPPO. And he commanded that his young son MALIK 'AZIZ MAHAMAD should stand in his place; at that time he was a child aged two years and a few months. Now he had another son who was older, but because the mother of the younger son was the daughter of MALIK 'ADIL, he appointed the younger son king so that his elder [brother] might not harm him.

And TAHIR appointed SHEHAB AD-DIN TUGHREL, a just and merciful eunuch, to be administrator and 'Atabag to his young son; and under his excellent government the men of ALEPPO lived in profound happiness and prosperous peace. And all the things which TAHIR had filched away during his life he restored to their owners after his death.

And in the year fifteen hundred and twenty-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 1217), which is the year six hundred and fourteen of the ARABS, the Pope of ROME sent to all the kings of the FRANKS and laid upon them the word by the decree of God that they should collect their troops, and sally out and free JERUSALEM, the Holy City, from the hands of the ARABS. And the multitude of the nations gathered together and went forth to 'AKKO. And when 'ADIL heard [this] he set out hurriedly from EGYPT to JERUSALEM. And the FRANKS went forth from 'AKKO, and they camped by the waters in the place which is called the 'Cave of Robbers'. For 'ADIL wished to precede them and to encamp there. And when he could not do this he encamped by BAISHAN, and the FRANKS drew near that they might engage him in battle there. He, however, seeing that he had not the strength of the FRANKS, went and encamped in the neighbourhood of DAMASCUS, until the gathering together should be complete. And the FRANKS came and carried away everything they found, from BAISHAN to BANIAS, and they killed and made prisoners, and returned to the plain of 'AKKO [430] with their hands filled with loot.

It is said that when 'ADIL was leaving BAISHAN he himself saw a man carrying a heavy load and walking slowly, and he sat down to rest for a moment. And 'ADIL by himself approached him, and said unto him, 'Why dost thou kill thyself, O aged man? Do not hurry.' And the old man replied, 'Go to the Sultan and tell

[him] that we are not to hurry. For if he himself had not hurried, I should never have hurried, and moreover, I should never have gone out from my house.' And 'ADIL was ashamed, and he left him and departed.

At this time PRAYNS BAIMOND (BOHAIMOND) died, and he left a son whose name was RUFIN, which the daughter of RUFIN, the king of the ARMENIANS, had borne to him. And although the kingdom belonged rightly to him, his uncle made bold and snatched it for himself. Then LION, the king of the ARMENIANS, the brother of RUFIN the ARMENIAN, because he, RUFIN the FRANK, was the son of his brother's daughter, was enraged and he came to ANTIOCH; and he made the people of ANTIOCH swear oaths of fealty to him. Then this stupid man seeing that he was reigning became puffed up with pride and he wished to seize LION, who had made him king, so that he might reign over CILICIA also. Then when the Brethren (Freres) knew of the plot they informed LION concerning him, and he escaped without injury.

And in the year six hundred and fifteen of the ARABS (A.D. 1218) the FRANKS embarked on the sea, and went to attack DAMYAT (DAMIETTA), and they went up (i.e. disembarked) on the dry land which is called BIZAH (GENZAH?). And the river NILE lay between the FRANKS and DAMIETTA. And the ARABS built a great tower in the middle of the NILE, so that the fighting men who were in it might prevent the FRANKS from [reaching] DAMIETTA. And when the FRANKS had waged war against the tower for about four months they took it, and they killed the men who were inside it, and they cut the chains which were on (i.e. across) the NILE. Now it was MALIK KAMIL, the son of 'ADIL, who had encamped on the other side of DAMIETTA, and when he saw that the FRANKS had cut the chains which were on (i.e. across) the NILE, he tied a great bridge [across the river] in the place of the chains. And the FRANKS cut through the bridge also. Then KAMIL drilled many holes in great boats and sank them at that spot, and larger ships were unable to sail over the boats which were sunk. Then the FRANKS dug a great deep cutting on the other side, and they made a breach in the bank of the river and they brought a flood of water from the NILE through it, [431] and they made their ships to sail over the sunken boats, and they drew near to the wall of DAMIETTA, and began to carry on the war from the river.

Then the men of DAMIETTA, because KAMIL and his troops were nigh at hand, and everything which they required entered [the city] from the land, were not asking about the FRANKS. Then God willed, and the report of the death of 'ADIL in DAMASCUS came to KAMIL his son, and that the Amir BAR MASHTUB, and the other Amirs of the HAKARAYE KURDS, wished to appoint as king of EGYPT MALIK FAIZ, the brother of KAMIL. Because of this KAMIL took his troops and marched them to EGYPT (MESRIN), and he abandoned DAMIETTA. And the FRANKS prevailed, and they sallied out on the dry land, and they carried off the remnant of the treasure which remained in the camp of the ARABS. And they encamped against DAMIETTA, and began to attack it both by sea and by land. And the men of DAMIETTA, because they were expecting that help would come to them from the ARABS, carried on the war strenuously. And the FRANKS continued to attack the city for about nine months. And when the ARABS who were inside the city were in despair, because KAMIL was unable to go forth from EGYPT, being afraid of treachery, they gave the hand to the FRANKS, and they surrendered the city to them peacefully. And when the FRANKS took DAMIETTA they made a proclamation, saying, 'Whosoever among the ARABS wisheth to go out with his provisions, let him go forth, and he [who wisheth] to remain, let him remain'. And many did not go forth.

Then when KAMIL saw the courage of the FRANKS he was greatly afraid of them, and he sent and destroyed the wall of JERUSALEM so that there might not be a place in which the FRANKS could alight when they captured it. And at this time RUFIN the FRANK, the lord of ANTIOCH, being sorely afflicted by the blind PRAYNS his uncle, the lord of TRIPOLI (because LION the king had paid no heed to him by reason of the fact that he was preparing to reward him with evil instead of good), left ANTIOCH and came to HARRI JOAN (HENRY JOHN OF BRIENNE?), the king of the FRANKS at DAMIETTA, and he lived with him until LION the king died. [432]

And in this year fear fell upon the ARABS, not only through the FRANKS who were coming forth from the west, but especially through the TATARS who had burst forth from the east, and had come as far as HAMADAN, and 'ADHORBIJAN, and 'ARRAN (ARZAN?) [RB: Caucasian Aghuania], and had committed horrible atrocities in all PERSIA. And in the year, on the twenty-seventh day of the third month of the ARABS, died MALIK KAHIR 'IZZ AD-DIN MAS'UD, the son of NUR AD-DIN, the lord of MAWSIL, after he had reigned seven years and nine months. Now this man lived in a state of continual fear of death, and he was always most eager to enjoy himself, as if he was plucking the things which he enjoyed out of the hands of death. And his son NUR AD-DIN 'ARSLAN SHAH, his eldest son, reigned in his stead; he was a boy ten years old (or a youth aged twenty years), who was called by the name of his ancestor. And MALIK KAHIR, when he was dying, appointed BADR AD-DIN LULU to be the administrator (or, governor) of his son, even as he had been administrator to himself. And BADR AD-DIN himself acted nobly and sent to the Khalifah NASIR and brought the Patent of sovereignty to the young man. And in like manner he sent to the kings of the other [countries] and ensured (or, confirmed) peace. And he took the kingdom of MAWSIL without any commotion, and although those who sought after the soul of the young man, and were longing greedily to rule, [viz.] 'EMAD AD-DIN, his uncle, the lord of 'AKR, and the uncles of his father, BADR AD-DIN prevented them all [from doing so] by his management. And he multiplied kindness to the nobles and the chief men of the city and the country [about it], and they all loved him.

Now 'EMAD AD-DIN, the lord of 'AKR, the uncle of the young man, sent to MUTAFAR AD-DIN KUKBURI, the son of ZAYN AD-DIN, the lord of 'ARBIL, and said unto him, 'BADR AD-DIN wisheth to deceive our house, and to take the kingdom for himself. Then MUTAFAR AD-DIN helped the lord of 'AKR, and he went and took the fortress of 'EMADIAH. And BADR AD-DIN collected troops and went against 'EMADIAH to make war on it and to capture 'EMAD AD-DIN. And because it was the season of winter, and there was heavy snow upon those mountains, BADR AD-DIN left [the place] and went back to MAWSIL. And EMAD AD-DIN waxed strong, and he sent [messages] to the rest of the fortresses of the HAKARAYE and the ZAWZANAYE, and he ruled over them.

And in the year Sultan 'IZZ AD-DIN KAI KAUS, the lord of BETH [433] RHOMAYE, eagerly desired to reign over ALEPPO, for he saw that it was lacking a lord, and that a sucking child was proclaimed in it. And his nobles advised him that this could easily take place, 'if thou wilt take with thee this MALIK 'AFDAL, the son of SALAH AD-DIN, the lord of SAMOSATA, and wilt pretend that thou art jealous on account of him who is wronged by his brothers, and wilt restore to him the kingdom of his father because he is the eldest son of SALAH AD-DIN'. And Sultan 'IZZ AD-DIN sent and brought MALIK 'AFDAL from SAMOSATA, and he gave him gold, and apparel, and many horses, and armour, and he made him ready to go with him to SYRIA on the condition that ALEPPO and everything which appertained to MALIK 'AFDAL should belong to him, and that every country which they took from the dominion of MALIK 'ASHRAF in BETH NAHRIN should belong to Sultan 'IZZ AD-DIN.

And they collected troops and went first of all against 'AINTAB and took it; and MALIK 'AFDAL surrendered it. And they went from there to TALL BASHIR and took it likewise, and Sultan 'IZZ AD-DIN surrendered it and did not give it to MALIK 'AFDAL. And 'AFDAL was offended, and those who had surrendered also repented. And from this time 'AFDAL hid treachery in his heart, and he began to hold back 'IZZ AD-DIN from his going against ALEPPO. And he said, 'First of all let us go and take MABBUUGH and other places, and then it will be possible for us to take ALEPPO, which remaineth like a dove, the wings (or, feathers) of which have been plucked'. And when they went against MABBUUGH, SHAHAB AD-DIN sent a eunuch to MALIK 'ASHRAF, and entreated him to come to the help of the little boy who was his sister's son. And 'ASHRAF was roused to anger, and he came and met in battle the soldiers of BETH RHOMAYE by MABBUUGH, and the RHOMAYE (GREEKS) were broken at the beginning of the engagement. And Sultan 'IZZ AD-DIN did not continue the fight, but he left and returned to his own country. And 'ASHRAF went

against 'AINTAB and took it, and TALL BASHIR likewise. And he gave them again to the lord of ALEPPO. When those who had surrendered TALL BASHIR to 'ASHRAF went to their own country, Sultan 'IZZ AD-DIN took them and without mercy burnt them in a house.

And in the year when the FRANKS were encamped even as we have said at DAMIETTA, MALIK 'ADIL died on the seventh day of the sixth month [434] of the year six hundred and fifteen of the ARABS (A.D. 1218), aged seventy-five years, in the place which is called 'ALKIN'. And he was carried to DAMASCUS and there buried in a tomb which he had built for himself. He was a very astute man, and one who nursed his anger, and took vengeance [on an offender] after a long period of time. He left the following sons: MALIK KAMIL NASIR AD-DIN ABU AL-MA'ALI, the lord of EGYPT; and MALIK MU'ATAM MUTAFAR AD-DIN 'ISA, the lord of DAMASCUS and JERUSALEM; and MALIK 'ASHRAF SHARAF AD-DIN MUSA, the lord of EDESSA, and HARRAN and KHALAT; and MALIK MUTAFAR SHEHAB AD-DIN JAZI, the lord of MAIPERKAT; and MALIK HAFIT, the lord KAL'AH JA'BAR; and MALIK 'AZIZ 'OTHMAN, the lord of BANYAS; and MALIK SALIH 'ESMA'IL, the lord of BOSAR; and MALIK FAIZ YA'UB; and MALIK 'AMJAD 'ABBAS; and MALIK 'AFDAL KUTB AD-DIN; and MALIK KAHIR TAJ AD-DIN 'ESHAK (ISAAC).

And in the year when BADR AD-DIN saw that MUTAFAR AD-DIN, the lord of 'ARBIL, had covenanted with 'EMAD AD-DIN ZANGI, the lord of 'AKR, to lay waste the country of MAWSIL, and to become masters of the fortresses, and that any humility would not profit him with them, and that even if he would oppose them he was by himself unable to cope with them, he besought help from MALIK 'ASHRAF, the lord of BETH NAHRIN and of KHALAT, and he promised to hold himself in subjection to him like one of his own nobles. And 'ASHRAF rejoiced at this, and sent an army to NISIBIS, and they were to go to BADR AD-DIN whensoever he summoned them.

And in the year six hundred and sixteen of the ARABS (A.D. 1219) 'EMAD AD-DIN ZANGI went down from the fortress of 'EMADIYAH to the fortress of 'AKR, so that he might rule over the cities of the plain, for he was already master of these mountainous districts. And when BADR AD-DIN heard [this] he sent an army to protect the country. Then the nobles and the captains of the hosts took counsel together and decided to subdue 'EMAD AD-DIN ZANGI by the side of 'AKR without informing BADR AD-DIN. And they marched the whole night, and when the day of the Sabbath, at the end of the first month of the ARABS, dawned on them, they met in battle below the fortress of 'AKR. And ZANGI was broken [435] utterly, and he fled to MAWSIL to MUTAFAR AD-DIN, and the men of MAWSIL returned to their camp.

Then ambassadors came from the Khalifah NASIR, and from MALIK 'ASHRAF, and they made them to be reconciled and pacified them. And in the day wherein the peace was confirmed, the young man NUR AD-DIN, the son of MALIK TAHIR, the lord of MAWSIL, died. Now he was continually falling sick, and for ten days at a time he was not seen riding. Then BADR AD-DIN took his brother, a child three years old, whose name was NASIR AD-DIN MAHMUD, and seated him in the place of his brother. And he made the nobles to swear fealty to him. and they set him on a horse and showed him to the populace, and the hearts of the people were pleased, for they saw that they had a king of the house of 'ATABAG, and they loved that house greatly.

And NUR AD-DIN being dead, and the young child his brother standing in his place, MUTAFAR AD-DIN and ZANGI again quarrelled with the men of MAWSIL, and they began to raid the country. Then BADR AD-DIN, because he had sent most of the troops of MAWSIL to ALEPPO, to MALIK 'ASHRAF who was wishing to invade and spoil the country of the FRANKS, sent to 'AIBAG, the captain of the host of 'ASHRAF who had been sent to NISIBIS, and he brought him to him. And when BADR AD-DIN saw that those who had come with 'AIBAG, the slave of 'ASHRAF, were few in number, he was depressed and also

offended (or, annoyed), because the troops whom he had sent to 'ASHRAF were far more numerous than those who had been sent to him by 'ASHRAF. But 'AIBAG began to magnify himself, and he forced BADR AD-DIN to cross the TIGRIS, and to go and loot the country of 'ARBIL. Then when MUTAFAR AD-DIN heard [this], he collected his troops and crossed the ZABHA river. And BADR AD-DIN and 'AIBAG went and pitched their camp on both sides opposite to each other. And when midnight had come 'AIBAG rose up [and wanted] to go and crush the army of 'ARBIL, but BADR AD-DIN urged him not to go, but to wait until the day broke. He would not, however, agree, but he mounted his horse and made his party to mount their horses, and BADR AD-DIN also was compelled to join him. And they went and engaged MUTAFAR AD-DIN. And 'IZZ AD-DIN 'AIBAG, the slave of 'ASHRAF, fled to the left wing of the lord of 'ARBIL, and the right wing of the lord of ARBIL broke the left wing of [436] BADR AD-DIN.

And BADR AD-DIN remained with a few men in the middle, and he was unable to resist the heart (i.e. the main body) of the army of the lord of 'ARBIL. And BADR AD-DIN fled before MUTAFAR AD-DIN, and with rapid marches he came and crossed the TIGRIS to MAWSIL. And he did not stop, but went and pitched his camp in the city of BALADH, so that he might collect troops again. And MUTAFAR AD-DIN rode after him, and he came and encamped behind the hill of the fortress of NINEVEH, and he remained there for three days. And when he heard that BADR AD-DIN was preparing to crush him in the night, he departed and went to 'ARBIL. And in his passage through NINEVEH he harmed no man except only in one case where some of the men of SHAHARZUR who were with him carried off a newly wedded bride from the village of BETH SAHRAYE (i.e. house of the beggars). And her owners were infuriated, and they rescued the maiden, and they also killed some of the KURDS.

And MUTAFAR heard [of this] and was furiously angry, because it was said to him, 'Those peasants have disgraced thee, and are crying out, "[Long] live the staff of gold, BADR AD-DIN".' And he sent a force against the village, and they also attacked those villagers who were protected in the church, and they killed about three hundred souls and departed. And when they passed through BARTELI they cut off the hand of a certain young man with the sword. And after these things ambassadors were sent from one to another, and there was peace.

And in the year those who were in the fortress of KAWASHI, on seeing that the rest of the fortresses had surrendered to 'EMAD AD-DIN ZANGI, also sent to him and surrendered KAWASHI to him; and they drove out from there those who were of the house of BADR AD-DIN. And when BADR AD-DIN saw that MUTAFAR AD-DIN did not abide by his oaths, and did not cease from inciting ZANGI to quarrel with him, he sent to MALIK 'ASHRAF and begged him to come personally to his assistance, and to make the lord of 'ARBIL cease from [harrying] him. Now 'ASHRAF AD-ADIN, because his adversaries at that time were many (for Sultan KAI KAUS of BETH RHOMAYE, and the lord of 'AMID and of the fortress of KIPA, and the lord of MARDIN, and the Amir BAR MASHTUB, and the Amir 'IZZ AD-DIN HAMIDAYA had rebelled against him), was unable to come to the assistance of BADR AD-DIN until after a time.

And in the eleventh month of the year six hundred and sixteen of the ARABS (A.D. 1219) [437], which is the year fifteen hundred and thirty-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1220), in the month of the LATTER KANON (JANUARY), died Sultan 'IZZ AD-DIN KAI KAUS, the son of KAI KESRU, the son of KELEJ 'ARSLAN, the lord of BETH RHOMAYE. For he had collected troops in order that he might go again and wage war against 'ASHRAF in BETH NAHRIN, and when he arrived in MELITENE the disease of phthisis tightened its hold upon him, and because of it he turned back from it and died. And the nobles sent and brought out 'ALA AD-DIN KAI KUBAD, who was imprisoned in the fortress of MASARA, which is in MOUNT BRIKHA, and they made him king over them. Some say that Sultan 'IZZ AD-DIN himself before he died sent and brought him out of prison and made the nobles swear fealty to him, because he had no son who was of any use to the kingdom. Now Sultan 'ALA AD-DIN KAI KUBAD, at the beginning of his kingdom saw

that his enemies were many, that is to say the GREEKS and the ARMENIANS, who were round about him; and also his uncle the lord of 'ARZAN AR-RUM, made friendship with MALIK 'ASHRAF, and begged that his sister might be given him to wife. And after three years she was given to him.

And in this year, which is the year six hundred and sixty-eight of the ARMENIANS, LION the king of CILICIA died. He was a mighty warrior in battle, and a strenuous follower in the chase. He had only a daughter whose name was ZABIL (ISABEL?). And SIRA DAN PALI (SIRE DOM BAILE?), the lord of the fortresses on the sea-coast, received the allowance of the daughter of the king and of the kingdom for about two years—until the ISHMAELITES killed him.

(Continued on Next Page)

Bar Hebraeus'

Chronography

X

Concerning the Taking of Constantinople by the Franks from the Greeks (continued).

And in the year six hundred and seventeen of the ARABS (A.D. 1220), in the first month, CHINGIZ KHAN went in person and encamped against the city of BUKHARA, which was the tabernacle of the Faith of the Muslims in all the countries beyond the river GIHON. Now he encamped against the gate of the fortress, and many legions of MONGOLS, who exceeded the locusts and the ants in number, also came, and bodies of troops after bodies of troops encamped round about the wretched city. Now there were in it about twenty thousand horsemen, and the famous captains SAWINJ KHAN and KESHLI KHAN. And when [438] these men saw the vast numbers of the soldiery of the TATARS, they despaired of [winning] the war, and at sunset they went forth from the city to flee away. And when they arrived at the banks of the GIHON, the Mongol patrols of the roads fell upon them, and destroyed them all with the edge of the sword. And when the citizens saw that they had no one to resist the MONGOLS on their behalf, they opened the gates of the city, and they went to do homage to CHINGIZ KHAN. And he had mercy upon them and did not kill them. But he went into the city to see it, and when he came to the gate of the Great Mosque he asked, 'Is this the palace of the governor?' And the scribes said unto him, 'Nay, it is the house of God'. And CHINGIZ KHAN alighted from his horse and went in and sat down before the MIHRAB. And TULI, his young son, went up the steps of the *Menbar* (pulpit). And CHINGIZ KHAN commanded, saying, 'My horses are hungry, and the plain is destitute of grass: [feed them]'. And the nobles of the city went and opened the granaries and the bins of wheat and barley, and they carried [grain] on their shoulders and brought it and set it down as provender for the horses, and they sat down, watching them. And the citizens also brought vessels of wine, and gave drink to the TATARS, and singing men and singing women, and also other women who danced, and they danced indeed with their [whole] hearts.

And CHINGIZ KHAN cried out to the nobles of the city, and he spake unto them thus: 'We do not need you to show us your riches which are on the earth (i.e. above ground), but we wish you to bring forth those which are buried in the heart of the earth and to give them to us. [Do this] and ye shall live.' And they said, 'Thy command shall be fulfilled'. And they went and dug, and brought forth wealth which surpassed computation and carried it [to him]. And because very many warriors were hidden in the city, they set fire to it, and the fire burnt it all up, together with the treasure which was hidden in it. And those who were outside scattered themselves abroad in various countries. For certain men asked a man of BUKHARA on his coming to KHORASAN, 'How did it fare with them ' and he said, 'Why do ye weary me [with such a question]? The TATARS came, and they dug up [the treasures], and burnt [them], and plundered, and departed. He that hath ears let him hear!'

And in this year BAR MASHTUB, who, as we have said, rebelled against 'ASHRAF, attacked NISIBIS, so that from there he might pass over to 'ARBIL to MUTAFAR AD-DIN. [439] And the governor of NISIBIS went out and engaged him in battle, and he broke him and scattered those who were with him. And BAR MASHTUB himself fled with a few men, and he crossed over into the country of SINJAR. And FARUKH Shah, the son of ZANGI, the son of MAWDUD, the son of ZANGI, heard [of this], and he sent an army and

captured him, and he kept him with him as a prisoner. And because FARUKH Shah, the lord of SINJAR, was with 'ASHRAF (i.e. was a partisan), BAR MASHTUB led him astray, and made him an enemy of 'ASHRAF. And he promised him, with oaths, that he would fight with him until he could remove MAWSIL from the hands of BADR AD-DIN, and that it should be his. Then the lord of SINJAR released BAR MASHTUB, and he gave him an army of horsemen, and he came and plundered the country of BETH 'ARBAYE. And BADR AD-DIN heard [this] and sent troops, and BAR MASHTUB was defeated by them. And he fled and departed and went up into the fortress of TALL 'AFAR, because it belonged to the lord of SINJAR. And when BADR AD-DIN heard [of this], he sallied out in person and went and fought against the fortress of TALL 'AFAR until he captured it. And he took BAR MASHTUB prisoner, and sent him to MALIK 'ASHRAF, and he was shut up in prison in HARRAN until he died. Then MALIK 'ASHRAF gave HANI and JABALJUR to the lord of 'AMID, and he promised that he would also take the city of DARA and give it to him. And thus in separating himself from the lord of MARDIN he waxed strong and came to DUNAISER, and he ruled over the whole district of MARDIN. And he shut up the lord of MARDIN in the fortress, and deprived him of food.

Then the lord of 'AMID came to 'ASHRAF, and he intervened between them and made peace, the lord of MARDIN giving RAS 'AIN and thirty thousand *dinars* to 'ASHRAF, and MUWAZAR, of the country of SHABAKTAN, to the lord of 'AMID. And 'ASHRAF marched against NISIBIS. And the lord of SINJAR was afraid of him, and sent an ambassador to him whilst he was on the road, and he surrendered SINJAR to 'ASHRAF, and received from him in exchange CALONICUS. And he went forth and departed together with his brethren, and his household, and all his possessions. And when 'ASHRAF had taken SINJAR, he began to send his troops on before him to MAWSIL, so that he might come and pass over to 'ARBIL. And every day a great company of horsemen used to come, and after them all he himself came to MAWSIL on the third day [of the week] in the fifth month of this year.

And the ambassadors of the Khalifah of the lord of 'ARBIL came to him, and they promised [440] to give back to BADR AD-DIN all the fortresses which ZANGI had taken, and [asked] that there might be peace. And 'ASHRAF did not accept [the proposal], but marched from MAWSIL, and crossed the TIGRIS, and went and encamped in SALAMIYAH, a vilage in the neighbourhood of the river ZABHA. And it happened that MUTAFAR AD-DIN had encamped on that side of the ZABHA. Now because NASIR AD-DIN, the lord of 'AMID, was also with 'ASHRAF, and because he had a secret affection for MUTAFAR AD-DIN, he advised MALIK 'ASHRAF to make peace and to return with honour. And he also said unto him, 'If thou dost conquer thou wilt offend the Khalifah, and thou wilt be reviled by the whole of the Arab people; and if thou art defeated, thou, and those who are with thee, will acquire an evil name for ever'. And 'ASHRAF was cajoled, and he agreed to peace, and he took 'EMAD AD-DIN ZANGI, the lord of 'AKR, with him as an hostage, until he surrendered the fortresses which he had taken; and he went back to SINJAR. And certain men went to receive the fortresses from him and to transfer them to the adherents of BADR AD-DIN. With the exception of one fortress, which was on the frontier of the HAKARAYE, they were unable to take them, because the remainder of them showed themselves rebellious and they would not hand them over. And MUTAFAR AD-DIN cast himself on SHEHAB AD-DIN JAZI, the brother of 'ASHRAF, and he entreated 'ASHRAF on his behalf, and he left him without his handing over the fortresses. Now BADR AD-DIN was offended at this, but he was unable to resist the will of 'ASHRAF.

And at [this] time BADR AD-DIN learned secretly that 'ASHRAF was expecting to take TALL 'AFAR from him, for originally it had belonged to SINJAR. Therefore he sent and transferred TALL 'AFAR to him, and SINJAR and TALL 'AFAR belonged to 'ASHRAF. Then ZANGI, being master of all the fortresses of the HAKARAYE and of the ZAWZANAYE, began to treat those who were in them in an evil manner, and he harassed them with demands for compulsory gifts and imposts. And therefore those who had observed the covenant repented, and wished to hand over [the fortresses] to BADR AD-DIN, but they were afraid of the

opposition (or, resistance) which they showed. When BADR AD-DIN heard [this], he sent and bound them firmly with oaths and covenants that he would do them no harm, [441] on the contrary, that he would treat them well, and that he would reckon their offence as a benefit, that is to say it had freed him from the beneficence of 'ASHRAF. And the lords of the fortress of 'EMADIYAH agreed before [it was decided] that they should surrender it. And because he was unable to take anything without the command and permission of 'ASHRAF, he sent to 'ASHRAF, and asked for a command (i.e. patent of authority). And 'ASHRAF refused and would not give him permission until BADR AD-DIN had given him the fortress which is called 'HADHATTA' (i.e. the 'New'), which is by NISIBIS, and the region between the Two Rivers. And then BADR AD-DIN took 'EMADIYAH, and he rewarded those who had surrendered it with gracious concessions which were far greater than those which he had promised to them.

And the sons of the other fortresses heard [of this] and they all surrendered. And it is a very wonderful thing that although hordes of troops were gathered together from SYRIA, and from BETH NAHRIN, and from ARMENIA and other places, they were unable to take these fortresses; yet BADR AD-DIN through his astuteness, and without pressure, became the master of them. The conclusion of this matter is that it is better to trust in the Lord than to trust in the governor.

And in that year died MALIK MANSUR NASIR AD-DIN MAHAMAD, the son of MUTAFAR TAKI AD-DIN 'OMAR, the son of SHAHINSHAH, the son of 'AYUB, the lord of HAMATH, at the age of fifty years. And he commanded that his eldest son, who was in EGYPT with his uncle MALIK KAMIL, whose name was MALIK MUTAFAR TAKI AD-DIN, should rise up in his place. The nobles, however, sent and brought another son from DAMASCUS, whose name was MALIK NASIR KELEJ 'ARSLAN, and they transfereed to him HAMATH.

And in the year six hundred and eighteen of the ARABS (A.D. 1221), MALIK MU'ATAM, the lord of DAMASCUS, and MALIK 'ASHRAF, and the lord of MARDIN, and the army of ALEPPO, and MALIK NASIR, the lord of HAMATH, and MALIK MUJAHID, the lord of EMESA, went to the help of MALIK KAMIL. And they all departed and encamped against DAMIETTA, and they harassed the city and cut the roads against the FRANKS. And the FRANKS were afraid, and they agreed to surrender DAMIETTA together with all the Arab prisoners who were in 'AKKO; and the ARABS allowed them to go forth and depart to their own country in peace. And KAMIL took some of the FRANKS with him as hostages until they surrendered DAMIETTA and the prisoners. And the peace of the ARABS was confirmed for eight years with [442] the LEGATE, the deputy of the Pope of ROME, because he stood at the head of the Army of the FRANKS, and with JOAN (JOHN?), the lord of 'AKKO. And the ARABS took DAMIETTA again, and the labour of the FRANKS was in vain. For before help could come to MALIK KAMIL, he sent many times to the FRANKS, and made entreaties to them concerning peace. And he offered to give them JERUSALEM, and ASCALON, and TIBERIAS, and SAIDAN and GABALA and LAODICEA, if only they would evacuate DAMIETTA and depart, so that MESRIN and all EGYPT might be free from them. The FRANKS, however, refused, and they demanded also the fortress of KARAK, and three hundred thousand *dinars* in payment for the destruction of the walls of JERUSALEM which KAMIL had laid waste. And because of this KAMIL was afflicted, and he sent and summoned to his help his brethren and co-religionists, and they took DAMIETTA from the FRANKS for nothing. And the wretched men lost one-half of the crops of the country of EMESA which they used to take from the ARABS, and the Hospitallers the tribute which they had on BARIN. DAMIETTA remained with the FRANKS on this occasion for one year ten months and twenty-four days.

At this time the ISHMAELITES hurled themselves upon SIRA DAN, the governor of the kingdom of the ARMENIANS, in the narrow road which goeth down towards our church of MAR BAR SAWMA, which is in the city of SIS, and they killed him. And there rose up in his place PALI BARON CONSTANTINE, the son of BARON BASIL, the uncle of king LION. When RUFIN heard that LION the king was already dead,

and that also the governor SIRA DAN was killed, he rose up and took his mother, the daughter of the great king RUFIN, and embarked on the sea. And he went forth to the harbour of the fortress of CYRIACUS, so that he might go and rule in CILICIA. Then the lord of this fortress, who was BARON BIHRAM, the lord of SHAKAD, not only would not grant to him a place of passage, but also threatened him with many threats that if he did not give him his mother to wife he would most certainly seize him and destroy him. Then RUFIN, being sorely troubled, endeavoured to persuade [443] his mother about [this] matter. And when she had heard it she was greatly agitated, and she shrieked out revilings and abuse of BIHRAM. Then the free men and the free women persuaded her that if it was for the benefit of her son she ought even to give herself over to the fire. And thus under pressure she agreed, crying out at the same time, 'This is to me compulsory fornication and not lawful betrothal'. And BIHRAM having taken her to wife increased her honour, and devoted himself to her service and the service of her son; and he encamped against the city of TARSOS and took it.

And from there he went to 'ADANA, and it he also took. And he also went against MOPSUESTIA, and whilst encamped against it, PALI BARON CONSTANTINE collected an army, and went against them and smote them. And when they fled before him he pursued them and forced them into the city of TARSOS and shut them up therein. And there he seized and destroyed all of them, viz. BIHRAM, and RUFIN, and his mother, the daughter of RUFIN the Great. And from this time on PALI waited for the nobles of the ARMENIANS to speak to him about taking the daughter of king LION for one of his sons so that they might make him king, for he had five sons. And when this was not spoken of to him he was offended in his mind, and he made with them [another] arrangement. And they sent and brought PHILIP, the son of PRAYNS 'AWIRA, and gave him ZABIL (ISABEL?), the daughter of king Lion, and they made him king over CILICIA. And he governed them for about two years, but his governing was corrupt, for he had made it his object to destroy all the nobles of the ARMENIANS, and to appoint FRANKS in their places. And he began to treat the ARMENIANS with contempt, and instead of calling them '*falhe*' (i.e. soldiers) he called them '*fallahe*' (i.e. ploughmen or peasant labourers), and he did not permit them to eat with him at his table. And though they came to his door ten times, he would only with difficulty order them to enter his presence once. And thus his hatred of the ARMENIANS increased.

And when they could bear his tyranny no longer, they gathered together to PALI BARON CONSTANTINE, and besought him to help them to make a plan of escape from him, for they repented greatly that they had made him king. Then PALI, having made himself sure of them by oaths, made ready certain scouts and hunting men, and he rushed in on PHILIP in the night when he was lying on his bed, and he dragged him from the breast of the queen. [444] And she began to cry and to scratch her face with her nails, and she struggled and cried out, 'Sir, Sir,' for she was sorely smitten with love for him. But those principals made no reply to her, neither did they hearken to her voice. And they bound the man in fetters, and took him from TALL HAMDON, where they had seized him, and brought him to the city of SIS. And he was there kept a prisoner for two years. Now the prince his father, although he was a strong man, did not wish to annoy the ARMENIANS lest they in anger should destroy his son. But he only sent ambassadors and entreated them to release him; and he did not demand from them the kingdom. And when he was worn out with sending ambassadors he came in person to TALL HAMDON, and sent a message to them to give him his son. Then they hearkened unto him and they took him and went to the fortress which is called 'AMUDHA. And they sent to the prince [telling him] to send and take his son. And when he wished to take him it was said to him, 'Even though thou takest thy son he will not live'; for they had made him to drink poison; and it was impossible for him to live longer than ten days, which actually took place. For when the Prince left and departed, uttering curses and threats, after a few days PHILIP died, and no man knew where they had buried him.

When the queen heard that he was dead, she was in despair, and she departed and went to the fortress of SILAWKYA on the sea-coast. And she took refuge with the Brothers (Freres), the lords of the fortress, and

they protected her honourably. And her mother also came to her from CYPRUS; now she was a Frankish lady, the daughter of the king of CYPRUS. And when they gave her daughter to PHILIP, they wished to give her also to wife to SIR GOFRI (GEOFFRY), the lord of KIPA of SERWAND, who was the son of BARON SUNBAT, the brother (son?) of BARON CONSTANTINE PALI. And when she was unwilling they expelled her from her country and she went to CYPRUS. And at this time she returned to her daughter, and the two women lived in SILAWKYA until PALI brought them down by force.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

Concerning the Taking of Samarkand by the Tatars.

And in this year, which is the year six hundred and eighteen of the ARABS (A.D. 1221), after the TATARS had taken the city of BUKHARA, they came and encamped against the great city of SAMARKAND, [445] in which many large villages flourished, and it was surrounded with splendid paradises (or, gardens). And Sultan MAHAMAD had left in it to protect it one hundred and ten thousand mighty warriors and fighting men. Now when CHINGIZ KHAN heard that the city was so strong in respect of fighting men, he went in person to attack it. And the MONGOLS surrounded it, and they counted the towers thereof, and a destroying fire was lighted on the wall between those who were inside and those who were out. And on the following day the troops which were inside went forth on foot to the TATARS, and fought very fierce fights [with them]. And they killed many TATARS, and others they captured alive and took into the city, where they tortured them horribly and put them to death in a cruel fashion.

When the citizens saw this they were greatly afraid, and they said one to another, 'If we do not take great care vengeance assuredly will be taken for these [TATARS]'. And they took counsel together and then sent men secretly to CHINGIZ KHAN, and they promised to open the gates in the night and surrender the city. And CHINGIZ KHAN rejoiced at this, and gave them a pledge of security for their lives.

And when the evening had come, the Judge of the city, and one other official who was called 'SHAIKH 'ESLAM', [and] a great crowd of people [assembled], they opened the gates of the city and the MONGOLS went in. And the fighting men of the city fled and hid in the fortress, or Citadel. And the TATARS began to take the people captives and to loot. And they took the men and women of the city outside the city, hundred by hundred, and they made them to sit down in groups all except the fifty thousand who had escaped with the Judge and the SHAIKH 'ESLAM, and they did not go out. And when it was night the TATARS went out and killed all those whom they had taken outside the city, and they left [alive] only sons and daughters who were under twenty years of age. Then one of the chiefs who was in the fortress performed an act of great bravery. He took about one thousand men, and cut through the troops of the TATARS, and passed through them, and they fled without being able to harm any of them. And [this] chief went to KHORASAN, to Sultan MAHAMAD.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

Concerning the Taking of Khawarazm by the Tatars.

Then CHINGIZ KHAN, being no longer occupied with the taking of SAMARKAND, sent his two sons JAGATAI and 'AUKHATAI against KHAWARAZM. For KHAWARAZM is the name of the Clime, and the name of the [446] great city of that Clime is GURGANIYAH. And when certain of the TATARS, [that is to say] those who were accustomed to march in front of the troops, came to the gate of the city, the citizens thought that these men, few in number, were by themselves, and a great crowd of men, both horsemen and foot-soldiers, went out from the city to engage those TATARS in battle. And when they arrived at the vineyard of a man who was called KAWRAM, which was distant one stade, the army of the MONGOLS burst forth upon them and killed them all. Now those citizens who were destroyed and fell on the ground were about one hundred thousand in number. And the TATARS came along triumphantly and they made themselves masters of the city easily and they destroyed both it and the remainder of its population.

Now Sultan MAHAMAD had already left and passed over to the country of KHORASAN, and he was taking counsel with his nobles continually, [saying], 'What course [is open] to us? And how can we save ourselves from the hands of this mighty enemy?' And they said, '[All] hope [of help from] the countries which are beyond the river GIHON is cut off. Only here in KHORASAN, [in] the places in the neighbourhood of the Citadel, is it right to make ready (i.e. drill) troops to be ready to fight with them, supposing they come.' And the Sultan said, 'No heart remaineth with us to fight these people. And supposing they come over to us there is nothing for us [to do] except to flee before them into INDIA.' But the son of JELAL AD-DIN KHAWARAZM SHAH did not agree with [the suggestion] to flee, but [wanted them] all to fight until they died in the battle. Now his father rebuked him for this opinion, and like one who was prepared to die immediately, he began to eat, and to drink, and to delight himself in the pleasures of the world, after the manner of one who wished to have his fill of them. And whilst he was thus occupied he heard that the TATARS had crossed the waters of the GIHON. And he left and fled to HAMADAN, and he sent his wives and his little children to a fortress called BALAN.

And when the TATARS arrived at HAMADAN, the Sultan himself fled into the mountains opposite MAZINDARAN. And when the TATARS pursued him thither, he fled and went into one of the islands of the Sea of HYRCANIA. And there he remained until the report came to him that the TATARS had made themselves masters of the fortress in which his family were, and that they had taken prisoners his wives, and his sons, and his daughters, [447] and that they had killed the males, and sent the females to KARAKORAM. Then he was smitten with great grief, and he fell sick with a severe illness, and he departed from the world on the island and there they buried him; and some time later he was carried to the fortress which is called 'ARDAHIN' ('ARDAHAN). When JELAL 'AD-DIN, the son of Sultan MAHAMAD, heard of the death of his father, he travelled in one night forty stades in the direction of the countries of the PERSIANS, viz. those which are on the frontier of INDIA. And there gathered together to him ninety thousand chosen horsemen. Now when CHINGIZ KHAN heard that JELAL AD-DIN KHAWARAZM SHAH was far more mighty than

his father, he sent a numerous army of the MONGOLS against him. And JELAL AD-DIN heard [of this] and he came to meet them. And when they attacked the TATARS, he spake to the men of his bodyguard, and they all dismounted, and each man took (i.e. led) his horse in his hand, and they despised death. And many of the MONGOLS on the ground (i.e. the foot-soldiers) shot arrows until the evening. And that night each of the two parties of combatants passed the whole night in the place where it was. And on the second day, when the TATARS saw the bravery of KHAWARAZM SHAH, they turned their faces to flee. And KHAWARAZM SHAH pursued them, and they killed about five hundred of the heroes of the TATARS.

When CHINGIZ KHAN heard these things he came like a flash of lightning with an army, the soldiers in which were so many that they were beyond count. And immediately JELAL AD-DIN saw them he knew that he was no match for them in strength, and therefore he set his face to cross the river GIHON towards the east, and he sent [word] to make ready ships. But CHINGIZ KHAN heard of these things, and he sent on a numerous army before him, and it occupied the road [of JELAL AD-DIN]. And then there remained to JELAL AD-DIN no other hope except to fight to the last breath. And the battle between the two sides was set in array. And the right [wing] of KHAWARAZM SHAH [was broken], and the left wing of the MONGOLS also was broken. And JELAL AD-DIN KHAWARAZM SHAH himself remained in the midst with only seven hundred horsemen, and he leaped from one side to the other like a wolf, and hurled to the ground slain TATARS. And the MONGOLS increased more and more, and thronged in upon him from all sides. Then a certain Amir, a KHAWARAZMIAN, who was the son of JELAL AD-DIN'S uncle, laid hold on the bridle of his horse and thrust him [448] backwards. And when JELAL AD-DIN saw that no other hope remained to him, he alighted from his horse, and he kissed the members of his household and his children, and he and they wept with sobs and groans. Then he left them, and he mounted his horse, and he said unto the horsemen of his bodyguard, 'Whosoever loveth me let him cling to me in life and in death'. And he struck his horse and rode through the host of the TATARS, and still, sitting on his horse he hurled himself into the waters.

When CHINGIZ KHAN saw these acts he ran to the bank of the river and looked and marvelled. And certain men of the MONGOLS wished to hurl themselves into the waters and to pursue him, and the King of Kings would not permit them [to do so]. But laying his hand on his mouth he said unto his sons, 'It is meet that a son should be begotten by a father such as this'. And to his nobles he said, 'It is meet that a man such as this should be called a man. For many marvellous exploits are indicated by him, and a man of understanding who was careless could never spring from him.' Now JELAL AD-DIN having, with a sword, and a spear, and a shield, escaped from the waters, and from the flash of the sword, together with only the six horsemen who had been able to cross the river, remained there on the banks of the GIHON for about two days, until there gathered together to him about fifty other horsemen, and then they set out for INDIA. And about one hundred of his own horsemen overtook him there. And they sent a man on before them to explore. And he went and spied out the land. And he came and informed them saying, 'There are two thousand soldiers of the Army of the INDIANS in a certain place'; and KHAWARAZM SHAH went and captured them, and they killed them all, and took their horses. And they increased in number and became about five hundred horsemen. And about five thousand INDIANS were gathered together, and they came and met them in battle, and again the INDIANS were broken. And when the rest of the KHAWARAZMIANS who had fled, and were hidden in various places, heard [of this], they wished and came to him; now they were about three thousand in number. And when the kings of the INDIANS saw that they had no force [equal to the] KHAWARAZMIANS, they made friends with KHAWARAZM SHAH, and sent to him many gifts. And when they were not able to live in that country because of the heat, and they began to suffer from disease and sickness, [449] and they heard also that the TATARS had left KHAWARAZM, and had crossed the GIHON to the east, JELAL AD-DIN took those who were with him, and they went out from INDIA and came to SHIRAZ. And the 'ATABAG SA'D, the lord of SHIRAZ, sent him much money, and slaves, and handmaidens. And from there they came to 'ESFAHAN. And in the year six hundred and twenty of the ARABS (A.D. 1223) Sultan 'ALA AD-DIN took the strong fortress on the coast of the sea 'ADRIANOS, and he called it after his name "ALAIYAH'.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

Concerning the Murder of Amin ad-Dawlah Taoma in Baghdad.

And in this year, on the twenty-eighth day of the fifth month of the ARABS, on the night of the fifth [day of the week], the renowned physician who was famous for his superlatively good qualities, AMIN AD-DAWLAH ABU AL-KARAM SA'ID, the son of TAOMA, a native of BAGHDAD, one of our JACOBITES, was murdered. He was highly skilled in the art of healing, and was truthful in his acts, and a man of understanding, liberal-minded and a good intermediary in supplying the wants of the needy, and in answering their questions (or, demands), and fulfilling their affairs. This man was wholly loved and honoured by the Khalifah NASIR, and he had arrived at such a state of exalted rank that the whole administration of his kingdom and of his sons, and his daughters and his wives, was committed to his care. And because in his latter days the eyes of the Khalifah NASIR had failed, and he was no longer able to see to write secret (i.e. confidential) matters to the Wazir, a certain woman whose name was 'SIT NASIM', was found in BAGHDAD. And she wrote a hand which could not be distinguished from that of the Khalifah, and NASIR brought her into his presence and revealed to her his secrets, and everything which he wished to write he told her to write. And when the letters came to the Wazir he used to think that the writing was that of the Khalifah's fingers, because the Khalifah concealed his blindness even from the Wazir.

And the matter having remained thus for some time, a certain eunuch whose name was TAJ AD-DIN RASHIK struck up a friendship with the woman, and they used to write whatsoever they wished in the Khalifah's name to the Wazir, and he carried out [the commands]. And one day the Wazir himself, MUAYAD AD-DIN, the son of KASIMI, wrote to the Khalifah about a certain matter, and there came forth to him a confused and ill-arranged (i.e. disconnected) answer. And the Wazir felt a doubt about it, and he took it to the renowned 'AMIN AD-DAWLAH [450] and inquired of him privily about this matter. And he made known to the Wazir the blindness of the Khalifah, and that there was a certain woman who wrote these things and who could imitate the writing of the Khalifah, and that the eunuch RASHIK was in partnership with her, and that they wrote whatever they wished to write without the knowledge of the Khalifah. And from that moment the Wazir himself began to be careless in fulfilling the commands wherewith he was commanded. And the woman herself and the eunuch perceived that 'AMIN AD-DAWLAH had exposed them, because of those who were able to see the Wazir and to hold converse with him, 'AMIN alone knew the secret. Therefore they worked upon two brothers who were known to be of the sons of KAMR AD-DIN, and they lay in wait for the physician one night when he was leaving the palace of the Khalifah and going to his house, and they leaped upon him, and stabbed him with two daggers (or, knives). And when 'AMIN saw them he cried out, 'Seize ye them, for they are so-and-so and so-and-so'; and those wicked men heard [him] and they went back a second time and killed him completely. And they also stabbed the man who was with him carrying the lamp, and him also they stabbed again with a knife. And immediately the city was thrown into a state of excitement, and the palace of the Khalifah, and the dead man was lifted up and carried to his house, and he was buried there.

And after nine months they carried him to the church of MAR TAOMA and buried him with his fathers. And his two accursed murderers were captured on the same night on which that renowned physician was

murdered, and they were crucified on the very spot on which they had murdered him. The deceased man left three sons who were honoured, viz. SHAMS AD-DAWLAH, FAKHR AD-DAWLAH, and TAJ AD-DAWLAH. These also attained great honours, and especially SHAMS AD-DAWLAH.

And in this year, which is the year six hundred and eighteen of the ARABS (A.D. 1221), JELAL AD-DIN HASAN, the chief of the ISHMAELITES, died, and 'ALA AD-DIN MAHAMAD, his son, rose up after him, being nine years of age. Now this boy had been brought up with other little boys of the same age as himself in the occupation of rearing lambs and going round with camels; and he deputed the whole direction of his domain to women. And when he had reigned five years, a certain physician who was with them, without any illness which demanded the letting of blood, slit [451] a vein and drew out from him a very considerable quantity of blood. And because of this black bile obtained the mastery over him, and he began to imagine horrible imaginings, and to think that he was God. And because the minds of those who were under his hand were obscured by great error, and they were delivered over to the knowledge of vanity, they believed whatsoever he told them. And no man was able to admonish him, but every man he cursed or abused, [his curses] caused to die an evil death. And because of this the wise men also who were under the yoke of his service, because of their fear of him, magnified him as God. And 'ALA AD-DIN constitutionally hated ornamented apparel, and he dressed himself in raiment made of wool and blue *'amarkuba* (brocade?), and he dwelt continually with the sheep. It is said that one day when he was sitting on a pinnacle of a certain high mountain, with ambassadors from the various countries round about him, that at a mere hint (i.e. motion) of his eyebrows, fifty of the men who were standing before him cast themselves down from the pinnacle of that high mountain and died. And thus the fear of him fell upon all the kings of the earth, and they were bowed down under the yoke of the tribute which they were giving to him and were sending with the good products of their lands.

And in the year six hundred and twenty-one of the ARABS (A.D. 1224), MALIK 'AFDAL, the son of SALAH AD-DIN, the son of 'AYUB, the lord of SAMOSATA, died in SAMOSATA. This man was highly trained in literature (or, books), and in rhetoric and poetry, but his actions were feeble, and he lacked sagacity (or, astuteness), which is a necessary accomplishment for kings. And because of this he was deprived of the kingdom of his father, and instead of that great dominion he received, though against his will, a small tract of country.

And in the year six hundred and twenty-two [of the ARABS, A.D. 1225], the Khalifah NASIR ABU AL-'ABBAS 'AHMAD died, aged seventy years, on the night of the dawn of the festival of the Passover of the ARABS. He was very alert (or, watchful) and diligent, and he was always changing his place and sallying out, and going round about in the bazars of BAGHDAD, and he made it his care to know from the thread to the needle, i.e. matters which were very great and those which were very small. He exhibited himself from time to time in the garb of the TURKS, and sometimes in the garb of the PERSIANS, and at others in the garb of the merchants, and because of this [452] very many perished. For when he perceived anyone who recognized him, without mercy he would send and kill him. Still, however, he did not keep himself concealed, for he used to walk about with famous men who shared his secret. For this reason men fled before him when he passed by. Moreover, even in the night season, a man was afraid to talk to his wife indiscreetly, for they were afraid lest he might be in the house, or in some porch on the roof, because he would appear there having climbed up into the porch on the roof, and on to the walls of the habitations of men. He was immeasurably anxious to know the details and particulars of the things which were done, not only in his own dominions, but also in the dominions of the kings of the other countries.

It is related that the Khatun, the daughter of KELEJ 'ARSLAN Sultan, who was called KHALATAITA, came to BAGHDAD when she was going to worship at MAKKAH. And he was told of her beauty, and he sent to her the old women of his palace to betroth her to him. But the Khatun made the excuse that she had a

husband, and said that it was impossible for this to take place. And she left and went to MAKKAH, and because of her fear of him she decided to return to her own country by the Syrian road. And the Khalifah NASIR himself thought that she was preparing to do this, and he sent in her train a company of horsemen as if they also were going to worship [at MAKKAH]. And when the Khatun wished to go by another road, they prevented her doing so, and by force they brought her back again to BAGHDAD. And as soon as ever she arrived, a report of the death of her husband reached [her]. But how did he die? God knoweth! And NASIR sent and had her brought into the palace, and he took her to wife.

And this NASIR loved her wholly, for when she longed to have for herself a palace in the style of that which she had in KHALAT, and a garden, he learned (i.e. obtained) from her the particulars thereof. And in the night he sent and had the Wazir brought, and he gave him a drawing of the palace and the garden. And the Wazir went out forthwith, and made ready two hundred architects and two thousand workmen, and they prepared slabs of stone and mortar sufficient [for the work], and they worked at the building the whole day, each man on one section. And they took the folding doors which had been constructed from other gates of the palace, and set them up in the new gates which they left the same size as the folding doors. [453] And they also lifted out of the ground trees which were rooted therein and planted them in the new garden which they dug. And when the evening came they had finished the whole work. And carpets and woven stuffs were spread about, and all the necessary things were ready there, and the lady of KHALAT passed over into it. And after some years she died, and NASIR was enveloped in a great mourning for her. And he commanded and they destroyed the palace and the garden, and they left the place a ruin. And on that spot he built for her a famous sepulchre wherein praying men dwell at the present day, and alms and charitable gifts are distributed.

After NASIR, TAHIR his son [ruled] nine months. They used to proclaim this man the heir during his father's lifetime, and his father NASIR being afraid of him, he annulled his proclamation and shut him up in prison, and he made his younger son, whose name was AMIR 'ALI, to be proclaimed. And AMIR 'ALI died in the days of his father, and left young sons. And his father mourned for him with so great and indescribable grief that he sent to all the kings and told them that not one of them was to send an ambassador or a letter of consolation. And he dwelt alone by himself in a dark house for many days. And all the people of BAGHDAD also mourned, and in every family a company of women sat down and wailed. And they went round about in the bazars of BAGHDAD wearing sackcloth and with blackened faces, and they uttered loud cries of grief and wailed for many days. And forthwith there went forth the command that every woman who wished to weep must weep in her own house, and they were not to go outside again.

And NASIR the Khalifah being dead, the nobles brought out his son TAHIR from prison, for they loved him because of his goodness. And they swore oaths of fealty to him, and seated him upon his father's throne. And when they were enthroning him, he said, 'How fitting is it for a man to open an inn (*khan*) after the ninth hour! For I have passed fifty years.' Then having taken his seat he showed justice and generosity, and he restored to their owners sums of money which had been plucked from them, for his father had been avaricious. And fear was lifted from the children of men, and the calumniators were suppressed. And he built another bridge over the TIGRIS at BAGHDAD, and it had two bridges, whereas before for a period of two hundred years the city had only had one bridge. [454]

And in this year MALIK MU'ATAM, the lord of DAMASCUS, sallied out and plundered the country of HAMATH. And MALIK 'ASHRAF, his brother, heard [of this] and sent and admonished him for this act. Then he being offended with him, sent to him SHEHAB AD-DIN JAZI, another brother, who at that time was the lord of KHALAT and MAIPERKAT, and he made him to rebel against 'ASHRAF. And 'ASHRAF sallied out and went against KHALAT, and he took it from his brother by fighting. And having captured his brother he did not kill him, but he left to him MAIPERKAT and sent him there.

At this time BARON CONSTANTINE PALI sent to MAR IGNATIUS, our Patriarch, and to MAR CONSTANTINUS, the Catholicus of the ARMENIANS, concerning the daughter of king LION, that she should come down from SILAWKYA and make peace, so that they might make an arrangement which would benefit the Christian community, For behold because of the schism, Sultan 'ALA AD-DIN, the lord of BETH RHOMAYE, was master of many of the fortresses of CILICIA and those two blessed men went, and although they entreated earnestly and admonished her, she would not incline to their petition. Moreover, she reviled them and called them friends (or, associates) of murderers and shedders of innocent blood. And in no way were they able to make any apology to her, but they left her and came away as unsuccessful men. Then PALI himself went there in person, and he begged the Freres to give her to him by force. And they replied, 'Our houses and our strongholds are the villages of refuge of the Christians, and we cannot deliver up a woman, a queen, who hath taken up asylum with us'.

Then PALI formed a plan, and with gold he bought from them the fortress with everything which was therein, and he turned them out, and he himself became the lord and governor [of the fortress]. And he took the queen by her arm and led her out and brought her down by force to TARSOS. And he collected Patriarchs, and bishops, and priests; and they crowned her with his son HAITUM (OTTON?) [RB: Het'um], and HAITUM was proclaimed king of CILICIA on the first day of the week of Pentecost, on the fourteenth day of the month of HAZIRAN (JUNE), in the year fifteen hundred and thirty-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1226). And queen ZABIL (ISABEL?) remained for ten years without permitting the king [455] to have intercourse with her, but afterwards she was reconciled to him, and she bore him sons and daughters. And in the year six hundred and twenty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1226) the Khalifah TAHIR died, on the fourteenth day of the seventh month.

After TAHIR his son MUSTANSER [ruled] seventeen years. This man began [to rule] in an open fashion, he rode and he went in and came out, and hid himself from no man. And there was exhibited by him a justice which was greater than that of his father, and he began to distribute alms generously, and he restored many buildings. And he built that House of Instruction (i.e. College) which is called by his name, and the like of which exists nowhere in the world. And he appointed therein four doctors (i.e. professors) of their Four Faiths, and three hundred chief instructors, and every instructor in the Law was provided with adequate rations (or, maintenance money) from day to day. And he built a bath for their private use, wherein no stranger might enter, and he appointed for them also a private physician who would administer medicine unto them when they were sick.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

Concerning the Death of Chingiz Khan.

In the year six hundred and twenty-four of the ARABS (A.D. 1226), when CHINGIZ KHAN returned to the east from the countries of KHORASAN, he set his mind on going to conquer the country of the TANKURTAYE who were on the frontier of INDIA. And whilst he was on his journey thither a severe sickness attacked him, and it was due to the excessive (moisture) of the atmosphere. And having despaired of obtaining help from the physicians, he sent and called his sons to him: JAGHATAI, and 'AUKHATAI, and TULI, and KHALKAN, and JURKHATAI, and 'AURDJAR, and he said unto them, 'I am near to depart, and from every point of view it is right that [I] should see a man (or, some one) who is able to keep my kingdom unshaken. This is what I wish: as I have told you many times, 'AUKHATAI shall sit upon the royal throne in my place, because I have confidence in his understanding and his power of organization. Now, as for you, my sons, what is your opinion?' Then they all kneeling down upon their knees said, 'Our father, and lord, and king, we are all thy slaves, and we will hearken to and obey every command wherewith thou commandest us, and directest [us]'. And after this his illness grew more severe, and he departed from the world on the fourth day of the ninth month of the Arab fast of that year (twenty-fourth of 'AB, A.D. 1227).

Then the sons who were present [456] sent ambassadors to each other, and they summoned all the children and the kinsmen from the plains of the rocks (or, mountains?) of the KAPSHAKAYE, viz. TUSHI, the eldest son, and also HARDU (HARRU), and BATHU, and SIBAKAN, and TANGUT, and BARAKA, and BARKASHAUR, and BOKA TIMUR, and 'AKNAS, and JAGHATAI. And from the south they summoned 'AUKHATAI, unto whom the kingdom had been committed. And from the east they summoned their uncle 'AUTKIN, and BULKHATAI NAWIN, and 'ALJATAI NAWIN, and TULI, and the rest of the younger brothers who were in the camp of CHINGIZ KHAN. And they remained [as they were] for about two years, within a very little, until the assembly was complete, and they seated 'AUKHATAI upon the royal throne as has been shown forth.

And in this year died MALIK MU'ATAM, the son of 'ADIL, the lord of DAMASCUS and JERUSALEM. This man was truculent, and terrifying, and he had the feeling that he ought to reign over all countries, And he appointed the MA'DAYE, who pillaged the countries of the others, especially the country of EMESA and HAMATH. And MALIK NASIR SALAH AD-DIN DAWUD rose up after him, and his two uncles MALIK 'AZIZ and MALIK SALIH carried the saddle-cloth before him.

And in the year six hundred and twenty-five [of the ARABS] (A-D. 1227) MALIK KAMIL sallied out from EGYPT to come and take DAMASCUS from his brother's son. And when he came to SHAMRIN, the 'Anpror (i.e. Emperor) the great king of the 'ARMNAYE (i.e. 'ALIMANAYE) [the Emperor was FREDERICK II of GERMANY] went forth to JOPPA, and KAMIL was prevented (or, restrained) in the matter of DAMASCUS. And his brother 'ASHRAF came to him, and MALIK MUJAHID, the lord of EMESA, and they went and encamped against TELLA DHE-'EGHLE; and they sent ambassadors to the Emperor and they learned the reason of his coming forth. And the Emperor replied that he had gone forth

through zeal for the house of the Lord, JERUSALEM. And the ARABS surrendered JERUSALEM to the FRANKS, but only the city, without the surrounding country, and there was peace.

In this year died HASNON, the physician, a native of EDESSA. This man went to [457] BETH RHOMAYE, and treated SAIFAD-DIN AMIR 'AKHUR, and 'EKHTYAR AD-DIN HASAN. And from there he went forth to DYAR BAKR. And he treated the sons of SHAHARMAN and HAZARDINARI who rose up after these, and then the sons of 'ADIL who reigned there, and finally he returned to EDESSA. And when he heard that TUGHREL the eunuch (who was his friend from the time when he attended 'EKHTYAR AD-DIN) had become the father and counsellor of the kingdom of ALEPPO, he rose up and came to him. But the eunuch, who was a man lacking in discernment, did not receive him with the degree of honour which was meet for him. And when he was rebuked for this behaviour he said, 'It was on account of his Christianity that I was negligent about him'.

And HASNON the physician remained in ALEPPO, and it was grievous to him and he was greatly distressed. And when he wished to return to EDESSA a violent fever attacked him, and together with the fever there came colic and bleeding of the bowels (dysentery), and he died in ALEPPO, and he was buried in the church of MART BARBARA, which is therein. He was a handsome and corpulent old man, and he was fully learned in the art of healing, and in the details of philosophy. And it is said concerning him that he was always reading (or, studying) the Book of LUKARI (LUBARI). His conversation was very pleasant, and he kept [in mind] many stories of ancient kings and sages and of those whom he used to see in his own days. And in his time GABRIEL, an eminent physician, was also well known in EDESSA. He wrote many books on the art of healing and philosophy in SYRIAC.

And in the year six hundred and twenty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1227), when MALIK KAMIL and 'ASHRAF, his brother, were encamped together on TELLA DHE-'EGHLE, they agreed that they would take DAMASCUS and its surrounding country from MALIK NASIR DAWUD, the son of MU'ATAM, their brother, and that the city of DAMASCUS as far as the hill of PAIK should belong to 'ASHRAF, and from PAIK as far as GAZA to KAMIL; and 'ASHRAF was to give to MALIK NASIR certain places (or, towns) in the east instead of DAMASCUS. And MALIK NASIR agreed with them. And when he went to DAMASCUS to take away his treasure and his household, and go forth again, he repented and did not wish to surrender [the city]. And 'ASHRAF took his troops, and some of the troops of KAMIL also, and he went and encamped against DAMASCUS [458] and besieged it. And when he was unable to capture it, he sent and called KAMIL, his brother. And KAMIL came, and he began to make strenuous war on DAMASCUS, and he took it at the beginning of the eighth month and handed it over to 'ASHRAF. And 'ASHRAF gave to KAMIL his brother, instead of DAMASCUS, EDESSA, and HARRAN, and CALONICUS, and SERUGH, and RAS 'AIN, and MUAZAR and JAMLIN. And he left to NASIR, the son of MU'ATAM, the lord of DAMASCUS, the fortress of KARAK, and BALKA, and the country of JERUSALEM and SHAMRIN (SAMARIA).

And KAMIL sent troops with MALIK MUTAFAR TAKI AD-DIN against HAMATH, so that he might take it from his brother MALIK NASIR KELEJ 'ARSLAN. Now this man came down secretly from the fortress and went to KAMIL, and he promised [to give him] gold so that he might not expel him from HAMATH. And KAMIL would not accept [it]. And NASIR said unto KAMIL, 'If thou must perforce take HAMATH from me, swear to me that thou wilt take it for thyself and wilt not give it to my brother TAKI AD-DIN'. And KAMIL swore, and he sent his men to take over the city. Then the inhabitants of the city and of the fortress objected, and said, 'None but our own king shall reign over us'; and they began to fight strenuously. Then KAMIL sent to them, saying, 'Behold ye have your king TAKI AD-DIN with you; deliver ye him up'. And the citizens rejoiced with a great joy and they delivered up TAKI AD-DIN, and he went in and ascended to the fortress. And after some days he went to HARRAN to KAMIL, who had gone there to inspect the

countries which had been given to him; and he honoured him greatly and showed him affection; and he gave him his daughter to wife. And he arrayed him and those who were with him [in robes of honour], and he sent him down again to HAMATH. For certain calumniators had told him that TAKI AD-DIN will never go down again from the fortress of HAMATH, and thou wilt not see him [going down], and since he walked simply he honoured him greatly. And in the year Sultan 'ALA AD-DIN became master of the cities of 'ARZENJAN and KAMAK.

Bar Hebraeus'

Chronography

X

Concerning the seating of the Khan [Ogedei] upon the throne of the kingdom of the Mongols after Chingiz Khan his father.

In the year six hundred and twenty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1228), when the assembling of the princes and nobles of the MONGOLS was completed, they ate and drank for three days. And afterwards they said unto 'AUKHATAI [Ogedei], 'The command of CHINGIZ KHAN [459] hath gone forth thus: Thou shalt reign in his place'. And he like a wise man replied, 'Although our father commanded thus, we have, nevertheless, a brother who is older than I am. And there are uncles also who are more suitable for this position than I am. Moreover, our brother TULI is himself the son of the Great Camp, and he was constantly occupied in the service of our father. He is more learned than I am in the laws and in the administrative affairs of the kingdom. If it pleaseth you let him sit on the throne.'

Then they all cried out together, 'It is wholly impossible for the command of our blessed father to be done away; and as he commanded, even so shall it be'. And they uncovered their heads, and they threw their belts over their shoulders. And JAGHATAI took his right hand, and 'AUTKIN his left, and they went in and set 'AUKHATAI on the Throne of the Four Cushions, which indicate sovereignty over the Four Quarters of the world, and they called his name 'KHAN'. And TULI, the younger brother, because 'AUKHATAI had said that he was fitted for sovereignty before all the others, presented the cup for the Khan to drink from, and he knelt down on his knees, and did homage to him, and he made manifest [his] submission [to him] most absolutely. And the rest of the brethren, all of them who were in there (i.e. in the tent), did likewise. And the nobles who were outside the tent smote the earth nine times with their knees, and they did homage to the Khan. Then [those who were in the tent] went forth, and they bowed themselves down to the ground three times to the sun according to their custom.

Then the Khan being settled on the throne opened the treasures and riches of his father, and he distributed gifts to his brothers and uncles, and to the rest of the nobles, to each man according to his rank and position. And the nobles also selected from among their daughters forty virgins who were like the moon for beauty, and having decked them out in raiment of great price and with chains and ornaments set with precious stones, they presented them to the Khan. And they all rejoiced with an exceedingly great joy. Then the Khan passed an edict that all the laws and ordinances which CHINGIZ KHAN had laid down should be kept, and that every one who transgressed them should die the death.

And because JELAL AD-DIN KHAWARAZM SHAH was at that time leaping all over the countries of KHORASAN like a stag, [the Khan] sent SHARMAGHON (JURMAGHON?) NAWIN with thirty (or, three) thousand [460] men to that quarter of the world; and SUNATAI 'AGHONESTA also with a numerous army to the quarter of the CAPPADOCIANS and BULGARIANS; and a large number of other soldiers against INDIA; and he went in person, together with the brethren and kinsfolk, to CHINA.

And in the year six hundred and twenty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1229) MALIK 'ASHRAF took B'ELBAK from MALIK 'AMJAD, its lord, and he went into DAMASCUS and dwelt in the palace of his father after he had sent out with him everything which he had found in the treasuries of B'ELBAK. And in the year, in the beginning of it, KHAWARAZM SHAH JELAL AD-DIN MANJABARNI, the son of KHWARAZM SHAH MAHAMAD, went down against KHALAT and invested it, and he made strenuous war upon it. And there were in it two brothers of MALIK 'ASHRAF, viz. TAKI AD-DIN 'ABBAS, and MUJIR AD-DIN YA'KUB. Now this JELAL AD-DIN KHAWARAZM SHAH wished at the beginning, five years earlier, to reign over the land of SEN'AR, and he came to DAKUKAH, and BAWAZIGH (BETH WAZIK KUNI SHABHOR?), and he laid waste, and burned, and destroyed [the people] with the edge of the sword. And from there he went to MARGE of SHAHARZUR, and MUTAFAR AD-DIN, the lord of 'ARBIL, sent many gifts to him, and he made peace with him. And in this year he came against KHALAT, and set up against it twenty engines of war on the side of it by the lake. And the war became so fierce, and the famine among the people of KHALAT was so severe, that they ate the flesh (or, bodies) of dogs and asses. And a *litra* of meat, according to the Syrian weight (i.e, six *litre* SYRIAN = one *litra* BABYLONIAN) was sold for an Egyptian *dinar*.

Then Sultan ALA AD-DIN KAI KUBAD collected a great gathering of twenty thousand men, and he came to MELITENE, and he sent ten thousand to the city of 'ARZENJAN, and he kept ten thousand with him. And he sent a message to his uncle 'ASHRAF, and told him that he must go in person and meet KHAWARAZM SHAH by KHALAT, and that if the Lord willed, he should water his horses with the waters of the GIHON of PERSIA; And he also sent an ambassador to KHAWARAZM SHAH, and he said unto him, 'Thou art Sultan, and the son of a Sultan, and it is not right for thee to do anything illegally. Moreover, God stirred up the armies of the TATARS from the East against thy father because of his infidelity. And this house of BETH 'AYUB [461] is a great and blessed house, and with two thousand horsemen ride all the brothers, and the sons of the brothers, and the sons of the uncles, and their sons. Do not think that I am their enemy. Believe, not that I am their enemy, but their friend, and that I am one who fighteth on their behalf. For there is affinity between us. And also my own uncle was their kinsman. And it is meet for thee to make friendship with them, so that both we and they may become the enemies of thine enemies.' But KHAWARAZM SHAH was stubborn and he replied, 'It is impossible to leave KHALAT', and to this he added war.

Then certain men of BETH WAN acted treacherously and surrendered the city, and the men of KHAWARAZM became masters of it. And the brothers of 'ASHRAF fled, but HUSAM AD-DIN KAIMARI, the son-in-law of 'ASHRAF through the sister of the mother, and 'IZZ AD-DIN 'AIBAG, the governor of KHALAT, saved themselves in the fortress of KHALAT. And after some days they received a pledge for their lives, and they surrendered the fortress. Now when KHAWARAZM SHAH took KHALAT, he did not imprison the brothers of 'ASHRAF, but they entered his service, and they rode with him, and they took part every day in the sports in the stadium in his presence. When 'ASHRAF heard [this] he was perturbed, and he rose up hastily and came to 'ABLASTIN, and his troops gathered together about him.

And Sultan 'ALA AD-DIN also sallied forth with his troops, and they all assembled in AKSHAHAR. And when KHAWARAZM SHAH heard [this] he went with his troops to meet them. And they were [in number] forty thousand. And they found about four thousand horsemen from BETH RHOMAYE, who were separated from their companions, and they killed them all. And they approached and the soldiers met each other in battle on the day of Friday, and the victory was to MALIK 'ASHRAF. And they remained the whole night before the Sabbath destroying and being destroyed. And when day broke on the Sabbath, the battle was [again] set in array, and a great breaking fell on the KHAWARAZMIANS, and a very large number of [their] people were killed; and no man was able to ascertain their number; and certain satraps and famous men of war were taken prisoners. And very many of them fled to TRAPIZON (TREBIZOND) and to the country of the IBERIANS, and about fifteen [462] hundred horsemen fell from a high rock during the night and died.

These things took place in the month of 'AB (AUGUST), in the year fifteen hundred and forty-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1230). And because the lord of 'ARZAN AR-RUM, who was the son of the uncle of Sultan 'ALA AD-DIN, and was his son-in-law, acted deceitfully towards the Sultan and made friends with KHAWARAZM SHAH and went to the war before them, he also was taken prisoner. And the Sultan went with 'ASHRAF against 'ARZAN AR-RUM, and they made strenuous war upon it. And after those who were inside had sworn to the Sultan that they would not kill their lord, who had been made a prisoner, they handed over the city to him. And there was in it the sister of the lord of 'ARZAN AR-RUM, whom for a very long time the Sultan had longed to take to wife, but her brother would not permit it. And when the Sultan had taken her, he rejoiced over her more than over the victory which had come to him. But after a short time, when she asked the Sultan to release her brother from the prisoners, he was angry with her and destroyed her, and he also sent and drowned her brother in the sea.

And after the breaking of the KHAWARAZMIANS, 'ASHRAF went to KHALAT that he might build up the breaches [in the walls] and make it fit for habitation; and the Sultan sent with him a thousand horsemen and abundant gifts. And the Sultan himself also returned to his own country. Then JALAL AD-DIN KHAWARAZM SHAH took his household and went and dwelt in KHOI, a city of 'ADHORBIJAN. And he sent TAKI AD-DIN, the brother of 'ASHRAF, bound in chains [as] a gift to the Khalifah in BAGHDAD, and the Khalifah released him and sent him with honour to 'ASHRAF. And 'ASHRAF sent an ambassador to KHAWARAZM SHAH, and said unto him, 'Thou didst come and lay waste our countries, and didst kill and loot; we having in no wise committed an offence against thee. And if thou didst wish to take vengeance on us because of HAJB 'ALI who devastated a part of thy country, behold he was killed in the war and was rewarded according to his works. We ask thee to relinquish the country which thou hast taken tyrannically, and to make peace with us.' But KHAWARAZM SHAH treated him with contempt and would not make peace. And 'ASHRAF left and went to BETH NAHRIN. And KAMIL was in EGYPT. And MUJIR AD-DIN YA'KUB, the brother of 'ASHRAF, was a prisoner with KHAWARAZM SHAH.

And in this year the Brothers, the miserable Freres, [463] and the Hospitallers sent and demanded from the lord of HAMATH the thousands of *dinars* for which he was liable as tribute. And when he laughed at them and would not give [them], they collected five hundred Brothers [who were] horsemen, and two thousand seven hundred footmen, and they came to take the country of HAMATH; and TAKI AD-DIN met them in battle and broke them.

And in the year fifteen hundred and forty-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1231), the TATARS pursued the KHAWARAZMIANS, and KHAWARAZM SHAH fled towards SYRIA. And they overtook him in the country of 'AMID, and destroyed the force which was with him; he escaped by himself from the TATARS, and went up into one of the mountains of the SUFNAYE. And there, although they did not recognize him, the KURDS killed him. Some say that it was the custodian of his apparel who was killed, and that he himself escaped and dressed himself in the apparel of him who had been killed. Now the apparel was [made] of wool. And he wandered round about through the countries secretly (i.e. disguised).

Then a legion of the TATARS invaded the country of the fortress of ZAID, and it came on as far as the EUPHRATES, which is in MELITENE, and it crossed the plain of HANAZIT. And because the whole population through their terror had fled to the places and towns which were disaffected and the fortresses, there was not much destruction. And those TATARS went back and ruled over 'ADHORBIJAN, and SHAHARZUR, and they subjugated the IBERIANS also. And MUTAFAR AD-DIN heard and was afraid, and he sent and begged for help from the Khalifah. And JAMAL AD-DIN KASHEMUR was sent to him with a numerous army. And the remnant of the KHAWARAZMIANS which remained—about ten thousand—went back and took refuge with Sultan 'ALA AD-DIN, the lord of BETH RHOMAYE, and they gave them places for them to live in (or, their maintenance), and they continued to be subject unto him until he died.

At this time the Khan, the son of CHINGIZ KHAN, having received the kingdom of the MONGOLS, took a numerous army and went to the countries of the OUTER SINAYE (CHINESE), that is to say KATAYE, who are called 'KATA'. And first of all they encamped against a city the name of which is KHUJBANUTAKSIN (KHUJABNUYAKSIN?), which is [situated] on the great river which is called KARA MURAN, wherein there were twenty (or, ten) thousand warriors. [464] And having made war on it for forty days, those who were inside it were vanquished. And certain of the nobles of the city went out and received a pledge for their lives from the Khan. And all those fighting men embarked in boats and fled by river. And the Khan became master of the city, and he did no harm to any man therein.

And from there he began a march of penetration into those countries. Then the king of the KHATHAYE, who was called 'ALTON KHAN', that is to say, 'Gold King', collected his army of one hundred thousand valiant men of war and sent them to meet the TATARS. And when they came they surrounded the TATARS like a ring, for they were very mighty warriors. Then when the Khan saw their strength he employed another plan of action, and he commanded the sorcerers and men who knew enchantments who were with him to bring forth the rain-stone. And when they had brought it out and had performed their mysteries for three whole days and three whole nights, mighty torrents of rain began to come down on the KHATAYE, and heavy falls of snow and frosts and bitterly cold blasts in the days of TAMMUZ (JULY). Then the TATARS, like the wolves which worry the flocks, worried the KHATAYE, and they broke them with an evil breaking. Then 'ALTON KHAN fled to his royal city, and he collected his wives, and his children, and his brethren, and all his kinsfolk into his palace. And he commanded all his servants and they heaped up many piles of blocks of wood and set them on fire, and he and all his people were burned to death. And the Mongol troops came and looted the city, the name of which was 'NAMKINAG', and many other cities, and they killed many people in them, and they took fine young men and lovely maidens as prisoners without number.

And thus the Khan returned from there with great joy, and he came to the mountains of KARA KURAM, and he built a city and he called it 'URDU-BALIK', that is 'the City of the Camp', and which is known at this day as the city of KARA KURAM. And he brought craftsmen and dwellers from the country of the KHATAYE and the Countries of the ARABS, and he settled them therein. And whilst the Khan was engaged in rejoicing over the victory which had come to him, his young brother TULI, whom he loved dearly, died, [465] and he grieved for him greatly. And he commanded that his queen, whose name was SARKUTANI BAGI, the daughter of the brother of king JOHN, should administer his dominion. Now this queen had four grown-up sons: 1, MUNGA, who ultimately became Khan; 2, KUBLAI; 3, HULAKU; and 4, ARIGH BOKA. And this queen trained her sons so well that all the princes marvelled at her power of administration. And she was a Christian, sincere and true like [queen] HELENA. And it was in respect of her that a certain poet said. 'If I were to see among the race of women another woman like this, I should say that the race of women was far superior to that of men'.

And at this time TUSHI, the eldest son of CHINGIZ KHAN, died. And he left seven grown-up sons who were: TAMSHAL, HARDU, BATU, SIBARAN, TANGUTH, BARAKAH, and BARKAJAR. And from among these the Khan selected BATU, and to him he handed over the northern countries of the SLAVS, and the GERMANS, and the RUSSIANS, and the BULGARIANS. And his seat was on the great river which is called 'ITIL (i.e. the VOLGA). And BATU, whilst going on the northern road from the country of the IBERIANS to the countries of the BULGARIANS and SCYTHIANS, destroyed their populations by the edge of the sword, and blotted out their kingdoms. And because the command of the Khan had gone forth in this wise: '[The troops] shall cut off the right ear of every BULGARIAN and RUSSIAN who is killed, when they counted the ears, two hundred and seventy thousand ears were found with the TATARS.

And the Khan continued to wax strong, And he prepared to attack CONSTANTINOPLE from the quarter of the BULGARIANS. And the kings of the FRANKS heard [of this], and they gathered together and they met

BATU in battle, and they broke him and made him flee. And no man of the TATARS afterwards went to the country of the FRANKS, but they dwelt in the plain of CAPPADOCIA. Now the son of this BATU was called 'SARTAK'. This man loved the Christian religion and was baptized. And he learned to read and to write, and was appointed a deacon. He died on the road as he was going to the service of MANGU KHAN, as will be shown.

And in the year [466] fifteen hundred and forty-three [of the GREEKS, A.D. 1232], the TATARS sallied forth again and laid waste certain towns and returned to PERSIA. And when the Sultan 'ALA AD-DIN saw that he was no match for their strength, he decided what tribute he was to pay, and made friends with them. And being free from anxiety in respect of the TATARS, 'ALA AD-DIN SULTAN went and took KHALAT from 'ASHRAF, and he also took many fortresses from DARMANIA, together with the city of SURMARI. And KAMIL, the lord of EGYPT, took 'AMID from its lord and gave him village[s] to provide for his subsistence.

And in the year six hundred and thirty of the ARABS (A.D. 1232) the physician MUHADAB, a native of DAMASCUS, who was called 'DAKHWAR', died. This man in the beginning of his career dwelt in the bazar, and he healed the sick for money. Then he was in the service of one of the sons of 'ADIL, and he did much harm to his fellow physicians, and stopped them from practising. For he was a deceitful (or, treacherous) man with his tongue, and a reviler [of men], and in his habits he was prodigal and dissolute. And at the end of his days he was attacked by an evil disease in his tongue—the member wherewith he injured his fellow physicians, and the power of speech was taken from him and he became dumb. And that disease increased in virulence, and overcame him, and at length it killed him by death. And because he had no heir, he made a will in which he directed that his house should become a training college for those who were learning and teaching the art of healing; and he also placed all his books therein. And in his evil-mindedness he decreed that no men other than MUSLIMS, neither JEWS nor Christians; should enter that college to read (or, study) therein. And this regulation is observed at the present day in DAMASCUS. And Jewish and Christian students of medicine read and study outside the precincts of that training college.

And in this year, that is to say in the ninth month of the year six hundred and thirty of the ARABS (A.D. 1232), died MUTAFAR AD-DIN KUKBURI, the son of ZAYN AD-DIN 'ALI KUSHAK (KUJEK), the lord of 'ARBIL, and he was taken to the city of MAKKAH and there he was buried. And the Khalifah sent troops to 'ARBIL with TAHIR AD-DIN 'ABU 'ALI 'ARID 'ALGASH, and the captain of the host BAHA AD-DIN BUNGUSH. And when the men of 'ARBIL refused to yield, SHARAF AD-DIN SHERABI was sent and he made war on it, [467] and he burnt the GATE OF 'AMKAWA ('AMKABAD), and the BABHLAYE entered 'ARBIL and they looted it, and after a short time they became masters of its Citadel also. And there were in it the governor SHAMS AD-DIN BATKIN, and 'ARID ALGASH, and a nobleman (*sharif*) whose name was 'ABU AL-MA'ALI MAHAMAD, the son of NASIR SALAYA, and MUSHRIF, the son of SADAKAH.

Bar Hebraeus'

Chronography

X

Concerning the beginning of the kingdom of Badr ad-Din Lulu, the lord of Mawsil.

And in the year fifteen hundred and forty-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1232-1233), a patent of sovereignty was written by the Khalifah for BADR AD-DIN, the lord of MAWSIL, and he was proclaimed Sultan. For the young man NASIR AD-DIN MAHMUD, the son of KAHIR (KRAH), the son of NUR AD-DIN, was already dead. Now the sons of 'ADIL murmured greatly against the Sultan 'ALA AD-DIN because he had taken KHALAT from them. And they collected a mighty crowd [of soldiers] from EGYPT to BIROA. And there were associated with the EGYPTIANS also the lord of the fortress of ZAID, and the lord of MARDIN, and the lord of MAWSIL, and MALIK 'AFDAL, the son of SALAH AD-DIN, the lord of SAMOSATA, and a very large number of the MA'DAYE, and also the TAGHLABAYE.

And in the year fifteen hundred and forty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1234), the Sultan also collected a great gathering of FRANKS, and GREEKS, and ARMENIANS, and IBERIANS, and KHAWARAZMIANS, and more than one hundred thousand [men], all of them men of the chase, and he took them and went to the country of PALESTINE, whither the EGYPTIANS and those who were with them were ready to go. And the sons of 'ADIL having sent out spies, and seen that they were unable [to cope with] the force (or, army) of the Sultan, went and took the fortress of MANSUR, and destroyed all his country, and then their gathering was disbanded and they returned to their own country. And the Sultan came to MELITENE with the great army which was with him, and then he crossed the EUPHRATES and went and encamped against the fortress of ZAID, and he made himself master of the city quickly and looted it. Now the lord thereof, together with six thousand horsemen who had come from the EGYPTIANS to his help, fled and went into the Citadel of the city. And the Sultan set up engines of war against them, and being reduced to misery by the war, and by hunger and thirst, they took a pledge for their lives. Then the Sultan sent those EGYPTIANS, whose captain was SHAMS [468] AD-DIN SUAB, the chief eunuch of KAMIL, in honour to EGYPT. And the lord of the fortress of ZAID, together with all his treasures and wives, he sent to the sea coast. And when he had been living therefor about three years he destroyed him secretly, and he built the Citadel and the city strongly and caused it to be inhabited. And again he sent an army to SAMOSATA, and he laid waste its country, but he was unable to take the city. Because the winter was coming on the Sultan left and went to 'ITALYA ('ATALYA or SATALYA?), a city on the sea-coast, in order to pass the winter there according to his custom. And when the summer came the Sultan collected his troops from among various peoples, about one hundred horsemen, and a large number of footmen, and he made them ready to go and attack the city of 'AMID.

Then the report reached him that KAMIL was perturbed by the treachery which had overtaken him through his son who reigned in the south. Therefore the Sultan stopped the expedition against 'AMID, because [that city] was very strong, and it could only be captured with difficulty after a prolonged [attack]. And he sent his troops against the city of EDESSA in the month of HAZIRAN (JUNE) of the year fifteen hundred and forty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1235), and they attacked it with fierce warfare. And the men of EDESSA who were inside the city fought upon the walls strenuously. And in those days certain troops from BETH RHOMAYE went against SIBABARAK and took it. And they also went against CALONICUS, which is

RAKKA, and they took that also; and they broke down the walls and looted it in anger. Then the men of HARRAN became afraid, and they took the keys of HARRAN and brought [them] to the Sultan in MELITENE; and he accepted them and sent [the men] back in honour. But the men of EDESSA were very audacious, and they hurled insults and mockings at the Sultan, and because of this the Sultan was exceedingly angry, and he went personally to attack it. Therefore the troops of BETH RHOMAYE fought with their utmost strength and skill, and they captured the city by means of the holes [which they made in the walls], and the ladders which they set up against the ramparts. And a countless host of men thronged into it, and they plundered and looted the houses of the nobles. And they stripped the men and women naked, and they carried away the furniture and adornments of the 'temples' and the sacred vessels of the famous churches which were in the city. And they undressed the free men and the free women, and drove them outside the city on to the dung heaps that were between the tents of skins, and they became scorched and blistered by the fierce heat of the days of [469] TAMMUZ (JULY). And the captains of hosts, and the fighting men who were found in the city, about two thousand, were sent away naked into the inner countries of BETH RHOMAYE. And in the city of EDESSA were found vast amounts of gold and silver, and saddles, and bridles and harness, and war equipments which KAMIL had left there when he returned from 'ABLASTAYN. And the Sultan fortified EDESSA anew, and he left therein fighting men, and architects and carpenters, and likewise in HARRAN, and he returned to BETH RHOMAYE.

When KAMIL heard of the calamity which had taken place in EDESSA, he sallied forth from EGYPT with a great army and came against EDESSA four months after the army of BETH RHOMAYE had departed therefrom. And with great violence he destroyed the great tower of the fortress of EDESSA, and he mounted the nobles, and the fighting men, and the artisans whom he found therein on camels and carried them away and sent them to EGYPT.

And in this year there was a great scarcity of grain in BETH RHOMAYE and BETH NAHRIN, and the vines and the trees shrivelled up through the severity of the winter which took place. For from the month of the LATTER TESHWIN (NOVEMBER) to the full moon of the month of SHEBAT (FEBRUARY), the great EUPHRATES was frozen over, and no rain fell on the young crops.

And in the year fifteen hundred and forty-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1236), the Sultan 'ALA AD-DIN sent many troops against 'AMID, and they waged war against it for four months, and they were unable to take it, but they looted and laid waste its suburbs, and went back. And in the year six hundred and thirty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1235), MALIK NASIR DAWUD, the son of MU'ATAM, the son of 'ADIL, the lord of KARAK, went to BAGHDAD to the Khalifah to lay complaints against his uncles KAMIL and 'ASHRAF, who had robbed him of DAMASCUS. And in the year also RUKN AD-DIN MALIK SALIH 'ESMA'IL, the son of BADR AL-DIN, the lord of MAWSIL, went to BAGHDAD to render service to the Khalifah.

And at this time the TATARS arrived at 'ARBIL, and from there they came to NINEVEH, and they encamped on the canal of the village of 'KARMELISH', and the inhabitants fled and went into the church therein. And the TATARS took the church, and two nobles sat by the two doors of the church. And one of them spared and set free those who went out by his door, and the other with the edge of the sword destroyed the men and women and children who went out by his door.

And from there the TATARS passed over to the country of SINJAR, and they attacked suddenly the great camp [470] of the merchants who were going to SYRIA, and they killed them all.

And in the year fifteen hundred and forty-eight [of the GREEKS, A.D. 1237], Sultan ALA AD-DIN collected various people, the MA'DAYE, and the KHAWARAZMIANS, and the HUNS, and the GREEKS, and the FRANKS, and the ARMENIANS, and the IBERIANS, and he made them ready to march against 'AMID.

Now the festival of the ARABS was nigh at hand, and the Sultan made a great feast for all his nobles. And whilst they were eating, and drinking, and enjoying all the various songs [and dances], the Sultan, who was seated on his lofty throne, and was in high spirits and enjoying the sight of them thoroughly, felt a pain in his bowels, and he went forth to the latrine and began to evacuate blood in large quantities. And having continued to suffer violent pain for a day and a night, he departed this life on the second day [of the week], at the beginning of the month of HAZIRAN (JUNE) of the year fifteen hundred and forty-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 1237), which is the year six hundred and thirty-four of the ARABS (A.D. 1236), at the beginning of SHAWAL, the ninth month.

And in this year also died MALIK 'AZIZ, the lord of ALEPPO, and his son MALIK NASIR SALAH AD-DIN, whom the ARABS killed in our own days, reigned after him. And in the year there died also MALIK MUHSIN, the son of the great SALAH AD-DIN, in ALEPPO. And in the tenth month of this year the TATARS came again to 'ARBIL, and they encamped on the LOWER ZABHA river. And the people of 'ARBIL fled naked to the Citadel, and the TATARS took possession of the houses of the city, and carried away much loot; and then they burned many houses, And they attacked the Citadel for about forty days, and much gold was given to them, and they took [it] and departed.

Now this Sultan 'ALA AD-DIN KAI KUBAD was one by himself among the kings of his generation. He was alert in appearance, and perfect in mind, and pure in body. For he was exalted above all the foul passions wherewith the kings of the Arabs are accustomed to pollute themselves. He was fierce towards offenders, and in judgements just. He brought into subjection to his dominion many cities and fortified towns (or, citadels), and he made his power to spread abroad. And in the hour in which he died, at noon of the afore-mentioned day, the nobles being assembled took his eldest son, whose name was GHAYATH AD-DIN KAI KESRU, [471] and brought him into the city of CAESAREA, and swore oaths of fealty to him. And they seated him on the throne of KAI KUBAD, his father, and proclaimed him Sultan, and there was great joy among the populace. And he commanded, and the prisoners who were in bonds were set free throughout his dominions, and those who were in EGYPT were made free men by the death of him because of whom they had been made captives. And it is said that the number of those who were liberated from affliction amounted to twelve thousand.

And the new Sultan himself wished to seize the chiefs of the KHAWARAZMIANS, because he was afraid of them, lest they might rebel. And he seized one great chief whose name was KAIR (GAIR) KHAN, and the remainder of them when they heard [of this] fled, and went forth from BETH RHOMAYE. And every place where they passed they made horrible desolation. And they came to MELITENE and took prisoner SAIF AD-DAWLAH, its Subashi. And they crossed the EUPHRATES on foot to the Citadel of MASARA (MUKRA?). And when they arrived at the frontier of the fortress of ZAID, by the side of the Citadel of KHARBIZAG, the armies of those countries met them in battle, and they were broken before the KHAWARAZMIANS, and the Subashi of the fortress of ZAID, whose name was BAIRAMIZ, was killed. And they also despoiled the country of SAMOSATA ('ARSHMISHAT). And from there they went down to the country of SIBABARAK and of HAMIMTA, and they dwelt there for about three years, during which they plundered the countries [round about]. Then they went and became subject to a young man whose name was MALIK NASIR, the lord of ALEPPO, and he gave them EDESSA and HARRAN and the other cities of BETH NAHRIN, and the land had rest from them.

Then the new Sultan GHAYATH AD-DIN sent and had brought to him the daughter of the queen of the IBERIANS for a wife; and he loved her dearly. And he gave himself up to childishness of mind, and he began to occupy himself with wine-bibbings and drinking bouts, and he amused himself with birds and animals. And he left the government of his kingdom in the hands of his slaves, and each of them began to act as he pleased. Now the queen, the IBERIAN woman, came from her country in the garb of the Christians, and with

her were a Catholicus and holy men, and priests of the Church. And with her also was her brother, who was called 'DAVID THE LITTLE', and was the king of INNER IBERIA. And after a short time she renounced the Christian Faith and became a Muslim. And her brother DAVID and the Catholicus were seized and shut up in one of the Citadels, and they remained [472] there until the TATARS arrived, and took the fortress in which they were imprisoned, when they were set free.

And at the beginning of the year six hundred and thirty-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1237), MALIK 'ASHRAF 'ISA, the son of 'ADIL, the son of 'AYUB, died in DAMASCUS when he was about sixty years of age. There was no limit to the generosity of this man, and he was a great lover of dainty meats and luxurious repasts. And in this year, which is the year fifteen hundred and forty-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 1238), the TATARS turned and came again to the country of 'ARBIL, and they looted and laid waste. And they came as far as the frontier of BAGHDAD, to the place which is called 'ANGABAD (ZANGABAD), and they looted it. Others of them arrived at SURMANRAI, and they killed the population thereof. And the armies of BAGHDAD sallied forth, and at their head stood MUJAHID AD-DIN DAWITHDAR, and the chief of the nobles was SHARAF AD-DIN 'EKBAL SHERABI. And they met the TATARS in battle and put them to flight. And being afraid lest they should return, the [soldiers] set up engines of war on the wall of BAGHDAD.

And in the year also MALIK PAIZ YA'KUB fled from his brother MALIK KAMIL to BAGHDAD, and he wished to be in the service of the Khalifah. And after a short time MALIK KAMIL, the son of 'ADIL, the lord of EGYPT, died, and he was buried in DAMASCUS. He was an alert man and one to be feared, and he lived seventy years. And his son MALIK 'ADIL, who was called by the name of his ancestor, rose up after him in EGYPT. And MALIK SALIH, the brother of KAMIL, ruled over SYRIA, and he became powerful among the KHAWARAZMIANS, and he added to them also HABURA. And MALIK NASIR, his brother's son, who was at one time the lord of KARAK, wished to rule, but the time[s] did not help him (i.e. were unfavourable). For this man was well instructed and was well versed in philosophic doctrines. It is related concerning him that when he used to go to read with SHAMS AD-DIN, the philosopher in DAMASCUS, he used to dismount a long way from [his house], and leaving there the slaves who were in his service, he would carry his book under his cloak and go in to the philosopher, and read and go out, and that he would not permit him to stand up to him.

And in the year the ISHMAELITES leaped upon BADR AD-DIN, the lord of MAWSIL, and he was not wounded. [473] And in the eleventh month of this year the TATARS returned to the frontier of BAGHDAD, and they came as far as the place which is called KHANIKIN. And the armies of BAGHDAD sallied forth and met them in battle. And the BABHLAYE (i.e. BABYLONIANS = men of BAGHDAD) were broken, and of them only three nobles escaped, and the rest were destroyed by the edge of the sword. And the TATARS took great loot and departed.

And in the year fifteen hundred and fifty of the GREEKS (A.D. 1239), which is the year six hundred and thirty-six of the ARABS (A.D. 1238), the river TIGRIS overflowed, and destroyed many houses in BAGHDAD, and two ships foundered and about fifty souls were drowned. And in the following year nothing remarkable happened in the countries round about us.

And in the year fifteen hundred and fifty-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1240), in the month of HAZIRAN (JUNE), the TATARS came, and they pillaged the country from the land of the IBERIANS to the frontier of 'ARZAN AR-RUM. And the armies of the RHOMAYE were called up, and they went to ARMENIA so that they might prevent the TATARS from invading BETH RHOMAYE. And when the TATARS heard that there was a gathering [of troops], they retreated and returned to the country of the SCYTHIANS. And those of BETH RHOMAYE remained there until the winter, and then they returned to their own country. And in the

year TAJ BULGHARI, the compounder of THIRYAKI (i.e. the medicine which cured all ailments), was sent as an ambassador from BETH RHOMAYE to BAGHDAD, and he died there aged ninety years.

And in the year fifteen hundred and fifty-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1241), which is the year six hundred and thirty-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1240), at the season of the TESHURNS (OCTOBER and NOVEMBER), an evil heresy concerning the Faith of the ARABS broke out. For a certain TURKOMAN, an old man and an ascetic, whose name was 'PAPA' (BABA?), became notorious in the country of AMASIA. He called himself 'RASUL' that is to say, 'One who is sent' (i.e. Apostle), for he said that he was the Apostle of God in truth, and that MAHAMAD was a liar, and not the Apostle [of God]. And a great many people of the TURKOMANS cleaved to him, and they believed in him because of the apparitions which he showed them. And he sent one of his disciples, whose name was 'Old man Isaac', to the country of HSEN-MANSUR, which was the limit of the countries of BETH RHOMAYE, so that he might teach from there, and come; and when this man came he captivated many with the love of his master. And he made ready for him implements (or, weapons) of war. And all the TURKOMAN troops sold their asses, and their oxen and their sheep, and bought horses, and mounted them, [474] and began to loot the countries of HSEN MANSUR, and GARGAR, and GAKHTI. And they killed every one who did not confess with his tongue that PAPA (BABA?) was 'a divine Apostle and Prophet'.

Then the chief of MELITENE collected his army of five hundred horsemen, and he took to help him some of those who were subjects of the Monastery of MAR BAR SAWMA, chosen men, fifty footmen, who could shoot with the bow. And they went and met the TURKOMANS in battle, and those of BETH RHOMAYE were defeated, and only a very few of the subjects of the Monastery escaped. Then the TURKOMANS became exceedingly powerful, and many crowds of people cleaved to them. And they went to the country of 'ABLASTAYN and defeated the army there also; and they took (i.e. felt) an impulse to go to 'AMASIA that they might meet him whom they proclaimed. Then the nobles of BETH RHOMAYE made an ambush for that old man PAPA (BABA?), and they caught him and strangled him. And when ISAAC his disciple and those of his party went and could not find him, they spread the report that 'he had gone up to bring the angels to their assistance'. And they waged savage war against 'AMASIA. And about sixty thousand horsemen were gathered together from BETH RHOMAYE, and they were unable to attack the little camp of those six thousand ARABS.

Then one thousand Frankish horsemen who were in the service of the Sultan became inflamed with anger, and they gnashed their teeth, and made the Sign of the Cross on their faces, and they rushed on those erring men and scattered them. Then the ARABS also clung to them, and they surrounded the TURKOMANS like a circle, and they destroyed them all with the edge of the sword, and of them they left no creature, neither man nor woman, nor child, nor animal, with the breath of life therein. And thus that heresy was extinguished.

And in this year the armies of BETH RHOMAYE were gathered together, and at their head stood SINAN, the Subashi of the fortress of ZAID, who was appointed in the place of BAIRAMIZ, who had been killed, and they went and encamped against 'AMID. And the lord thereof, who was the son of KALLIL, was in EGYPT. And those who were from BETH RHOMAYE made a pact with the guards, and they promised them silver (i.e. money) and the guards surrendered the city. And the men of ALEPPO also went with those of BETH RHOMAYE as auxiliaries. [475] And when they had taken 'AMID, they also wished to go against MAIPERKAT and to take it. But MALIK GHAZI, its lord, the brother of KAMIL, sent and brought KHAWARAZMIANS from BETH NAHRIN to his help. And he waxed strong and he was not overcome by his enemies, especially because the men of ALEPPO had ceased to fight with him; for he was the brother of their Lady (i.e. queen), that is to say, the mother of MALIK TAHIR, the father of MALIK NASIR, the lord of ALEPPO. Then SINAN having taken 'AMID, a command of the Sultan came to him to go to 'ARZAN AR-ROM, and to rule there and to stand up against the onset of the TATARS. And as soon as he had gone

JURMAGHON NAWIN came with a strong army of the TATARS. And in a very few days they captured that fortified place, and they destroyed the whole population thereof with the edge of the sword, both men and women, with the exception of the young men and maidens who were suitable for slavery; and they also killed SINAN and his young son, and they left the place a ruin and departed.

And at the turn of the year, which is the year fifteen hundred and fifty-three [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1242)], the TATARS again sallied forth, and came as far as the country of the fortress of ZAID, and they looted everything which they found and returned to PERSIA. And in the year fifteen hundred and fifty-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1243) the Sultan GHAYATH AD-DIN collected very many troops, and he took for gold (i.e. he hired) horsemen from ALEPPO, and from the GREEKS, and from the FRANKS, and from the MA'DAYE. Then the lord of EMESA, and MALIK GHAZI, the lord of MAIPERKAT, promised that they also would come, but they deceived the Sultan and did not come. And BARON CONSTANTINE, the father of the king of the ARMENIANS, HAITUM, came to the Sultan at CAESAREA, and he was received with great honour, and he collected many gifts, and he promised to go and call together many ARMENIANS, and to come to the help of the Sultan. And the Sultan marched on towards SEBASTIA. And also the TATARS came and invaded the country of 'ARZENGAN. And the Sultan made haste and went to meet them. And his armies met the TATARS in battle at a place which is called 'KAWSATAGH', that is to say, TURA MESANTA. And like inexperienced troops, from the very beginning of the attack they turned [their] backs [in flight], and they were wholly unable to continue the battle before the TATARS; on the contrary, in one hour they fled and left the Sultan by himself. Then the Sultan, [476] who was smitten with astonishment, took his wife and his sons and went and made himself safe in the city of ANCYRA.

Now when the TATARS saw that the [Sultan's troops] had fled without striking a blow, and had left their tents standing, they thought that there was treachery afoot, and that like men who were making an ambush, they had turned away. And when they had waited a day, and had sent out spies, and were certain that their flight was not a stratagem, they roared like panthers and rushed into the tents and looted everything which they found. And they spread themselves about in the countries of BETH RHOMAYE. And they came to SEBASTIA, and the people who were therein made terms with them, and they brought out much gold and bought their own souls from slaughter, and their sons and daughters from slavery. And the TATARS went into the city, and sacked the royal treasuries, and whatsoever pleased them they took, and the weapons of war they burned, and they wrecked four (or, forty) cubits of the [top of] the wall all round the city.

And another chief went to CAESAREA, and the inhabitants thereof did not wish to surrender it. Then they all gathered together against it, and they breached its wall with engines of war, and they went in, and sacked the royal treasuries, and burned the wonderful houses and buildings. And they tortured the nobles and the free men, and they stabbed them with swords until they had stripped them of all their money. And after that they killed therein many tens of thousands of people, and carried off the young men and the young women into captivity.

And when the mother of the Sultan GHAYATH AD-DIN heard of the destruction, she took her daughter, the Sultan's sister and her slaves, and her handmaidens, and her treasures, and went into the country of CILICIA. And she took refuge with BARON CONSTANTINE, the father of king HAITUM, who also had deceived the Sultan in respect of coming to his assistance, and who had delayed until he saw what the end of the matter would be. Now when they heard that the mother of the Sutaan was there, they sent a messenger and demanded her from PALI, the father of the king. And some say that PALI himself to please the TATARS had sent a message to them saying, 'Such and such a person is with me; send ye that I may give her to you'. And as soon as ever the ambassadors had gone they delivered her over into the hands of the TATARS. And this most hateful and blameworthy act appeared in the sight of all kings as a thing which should never have been

done. And the queen was carried away into captivity, and behold, she is there to this day, [477] and is not released.

And at that time the TURKOMANS of the country of 'ABLASTAYN invaded our glorious monastery which is called DAIRA DHE KARIRE, and they killed therein fifteen monks, the greater number of them being doctors, together with deacons and other subordinate clergy. And when those accursed men set their faces to flee, the TATARS overtook them and destroyed them all with the edge of the sword. And thus justice was avenged on them after three days, and with the same death wherewith they had put other's to death, they themselves were put to death.

Now when the report of the breaking of the Sultan burst into MELITENE, the Subashi RASHID AD-DIN, together with the rest of the officers of the palace, went by night into the royal treasury, and divided the gold and the silver which they found there among themselves, and they threw open the doors and fled towards ALEPPO. And the famous men among the nobles of the city, and especially Christians who had the power to flee, went forth from the city. And when they arrived at the mountain which is called BETH GAWZE, one day's journey from the city, a body of TATARS overtook them and destroyed most of them; and they carried off the sons and daughters into captivity. And a few of them saved themselves by flight, and they came into the city naked and sandalless. Now when the various sections of the peoples who were inhabitants of the city, the robbers (?), and the weavers, and others, saw that the governors and chiefs had left the city and fled, the ARABS and the Christians gathered together to the Metropolitan of MELITENE, MAR DIONYSIUS, that is to say 'ANGUR, who afterwards became Patriarch. And they entreated him to undertake the protection of the city, for he was a watchful and diligent man, and the Christians and the ARABS swore oaths of fealty to each other. And all night long they marched round on the walls and kept watch, and in the day-time they sat at the gate of the city, for there was only one of them which they could open, that is either the main gate or the gate of the palace. And the city remained in a state of perturbation for about two months, until the TATARS had departed from BETH RHOMAYE. And God helped, and they did not come to MELITENE, except those only who chanced to be on the path of the fugitives in BETH GAWZE.

Then the TATARS on their return encamped against 'ARZENGAN, and they demanded gold from the lords thereof, and they would not be persuaded to give [any]. Then the TATARS were filled with anger, and they set up engines of war against it, and they threw down its wall very quickly; and they went in and looted it, and killed its population and utterly destroyed the city. Then Sultan GHAYATH AD-DIN sent ambassadors to the TATARS, and sued for peace, and he undertook to pay tribute [in] gold, horses, cattle, sheep, and slaves.

And in this year, which is the year six hundred and forty of the ARABS (A.D. 1242), the Khalifah MUSTANSER died.

After MUSTANSER, MUSTA'SEM, his son, [ruled] sixteen years. This man possessed a childish understanding, and was incapable of distinguishing good from bad; and he occupied all his time in playing with doves, and in amusing himself with games with birds. And when it was said unto him, 'The TATARS are preparing to capture BAGHDAD, even as they have captured other, famous cities in PERSIA and destroyed [them]', he replied, 'This is our throne, and if we do not give them permission they cannot come in'. And thus God made an end of the kingdom of the 'ABBASIDES in the days of this foolish man.

And in the year fifteen hundred and fifty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1244) one of the chiefs of the TATARS whose name was YASAWUR (NASAWUR) NAWIN descended on the country of MAIPERKAT, and MARDIN, and EDESSA. And he crossed the EUPHRATES and came to the place, the name of which is HAILAN, which is by the gate of ALEPPO. But he did not draw nigh unto the city because the horses of the army which was with him were smitten in their legs (hooves?) by the dryness of the ground and the heat; now

they descended in the days of summer. And having taken those countries NASAWUR sent to the lord of ALEPPO and demanded gold from him. And [this lord] having given to him everything which he demanded, NASAWUR went back from there. He came and he encamped against MELITENE, and he destroyed the crops, and the vineyards and the bees. And they killed every one who was found outside the city. And they sent and threatened the governor of the city, who was RASHD AD-DIN, for he had returned from ALEPPO. And the governor collected a very large amount of money, *zuze*, and *dinars*, and chains (i.e. jewellery), and vessels of gold and silver, which was equal [in value] to forty thousand *dinars* of gold. And he stole also the vessels of the sanctuary, and he brought out chalices, and phials, and censers, and lamp-stands, and the coffins (funerary caskets) of the saints, from [479] the treasury of the great church, and gave them to the TATARS. And they took [them] and departed to PERSIA. And after their departure there was a great famine in MELITENE and its suburbs, and sickness (plague), and the land was filled with wretched people who were perishing like animals in the bazars. And many people [tried to] sell their sons and their daughters for slaves, but there was no one to buy them.

At this time 'ISA, the physician of EDESSA, who was the disciple of HASNON the physician, was famous in MELITENE. This man went from MELITENE to CILICIA, and lived in the service of the king. And he built the foundations of a wonderful church in the name of Saint MAR BAR-SAWMA.

And in the year fifteen hundred and fifty-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1245), the TATARS went to BAGHDAD, and they were not able to capture it because a great crowd of the people rose up and opposed them with a violent assault, and turned them back empty. And in this year the Sultan GHAYATH AD-DIN became inflamed with anger, and he sent a multitude of troops to lay waste CILICIA, because they had handed his mother and sister over to the TATARS. And the men of BETH RHOMAYE went and encamped against the city of TARSOS, and they made fierce war upon it. And there was present there PALI, the father of king HAITUM, with the KONTUSTABL (= Constable) his eldest son, and they also from within successfully resisted those who were outside because of the large number of FRANKS which they had with them. And torrential downpours of rain drenched those who were outside, and they began to be in evil case. And they were unable either to depart to another place in the country, or to bring food for themselves and their horses, because of the abominable mud (or, clay) which was there, and which was almost deep enough to swallow up a horse and his rider. And whilst they were in this miserable state the report of the death of the Sultan reached them. And they had a period of relief, and they left and went out of the country before this report was heard by the ARMENIANS. Now the Sultan GHAYATH AD-DIN died in the season of autumn, at the beginning of the year fifteen hundred and fifty-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1246). He had three young sons, 'IZZ AD-DIN, and RUKN AD-DIN, and 'ALA AD-DIN. And the nobles swore oaths of fealty to 'IZZ AD-DIN, the eldest son, and proclaimed him [480] Sultan KAI KAUS. And then the ambassadors of the MONGOLS came requiring the Sultan 'IZZ AD-DIN to come and pay homage to the Khan. And he excused himself, saying that if he turned aside the GREEKS and ARMENIANS who were his enemies would snatch his country from him. Therefore he sent his brother RUKN AD-DIN as a mediator, and he promised that at some other time he himself would go.

Bar Hebraeus'

Chronography

X

Concerning the enthronement of Ghoyuk [Guyuk] Khan in the place of the Khan his brother.

At this time when the Khan was sick, he sent a messenger to fetch his son GHOYUK, so that he might come and have the kingdom handed over to him if the lot fell upon him. And having risen up to come, and having arrived in the neighbourhood, the Khan departed from the world before his son could reach him. Now the Khan's queen, who was the mother of GHOYUK, and whose name was TURKINA, was exceedingly wise and discreet. And therefore JAGHATAI, and the other sons of kings, commanded that she should govern the kingdom until they could all be gathered together and form an administration. And having sent ambassadors to each other, they all assembled in the early days of the spring. From the east KUTAN (KUBAN?) and 'AUTKIN, the brother of CHINGIZ KHAN, and 'ALSHATAI ('ALJATAI); and from the west KARAMURI, and BAIDAR and TURKAN, the sons of JAGHATAI; and from the north, since BATU could not come in person, he sent four of his brothers; and from the IGHURAYE the Amir MAS'UD BAG; and from KHORASAN the Amir 'ARGHON; and from BETH RHOMAYE Sultan RUKN AD-DIN; and from CILICIA HAITUM the king; and from the IBERIANS DAWID the Great and DAWID the Less; and from SYRIA the brothers of the lord of ALEPPO; and from BAGHDAD FAKR AD-DIN, the Judge of the Judges; and ambassadors from the FRANKS; and also ambassadors from 'ALA AD-DIN, the lord of 'ALAMUTH, that is to say the chief of the ISHMAELITES who carry daggers (or, knives).

And there being three sons of the Khan who were eligible for the kingdom, GHOYUK, and KUTAN, and SIRAMON, who was a young child, TURKINA, the queen their mother, chose GHOYUK, and all the sons of the kings and the nobles agreed with her. And when GHOYUK himself according to [his] custom [481] put forth excuses and said, 'So-and-so is [more] fitting, and so-and-so is [more] fitting', they took him by force and seated him on the throne of the kingdom. And they bowed their knees nine times and did homage to him, and they took the cup and made him drink therefrom.

And being firmly seated on the throne he began to rule well, for he was an enlightened man and he was very sagacious. He handed over the countries of BETH RHOMAYE and of the IBERIANS, and 'ATHOR (ASSYRIA), and SYRIA, and CILICIA to one of the chiefs whose name was 'AILSHIKATAI (or, ILJIKATAI). He sent the great Amir YALWAJ to the country of KATA. He gave PERSIA to MAS'UD BAG. And he delivered over to the Amir 'ARGHON KHORASAN, and HAMADAN, and ADHORBIJAN, and SHERWAN, and LOR, and KERMAN as far as INDIA. And he commanded that RUKN AD-DIN should be Sultan of BETH RHOMAYE. And he sent king HAITUM back with honour, and the IBERIANS and the FRANKS likewise. He sent to the Khalifah threatenings as concerning rebels, and he drove away the ambassadors of the ISHMAELITES with mockings and insults. And because KADAK the Christian was employed in his service from the beginning, he became a councillor and governor. And GHOYUK KHAN himself was a true Christian, and in his days the horn of many followers of CHRIST was exalted, and his camp was filled with holy men, and priests, and monks. At this time a certain Arab woman whose name was FATMAH KHATUN was a close friend and beloved by TURKINA KHATUN, the mother of GHOYUK

KHAN, and unto her the secrets of the queen was revealed. And by ill luck calumnies were uttered concerning her to GHOYUK KHAN, and the calumniators said, 'She will work sorcery (or, magic) on thee and thy brothers'. And he sent and demanded her from his mother, and when she would not give her up, he took her by force from her and killed her. And through this, strife broke out between him and his mother, and after a little while his mother died also.

As for the Arab woman FATMA, they left her naked and without food and drink for many days, and then they flogged her until she confessed that she was a sorceress. Then they sewed up the openings in her body, the upper and the lower, and they placed her in cloth and cast her into the water and she was drowned. And they also killed all her kinsfolk who had gathered together about her. For within a very little she became the ruler of all [482] the great kingdom through [her influence with] queen TURKINA.

And very soon after that [event] GHOYUK KHAN, having risen up to go to the western countries, and arrived at a certain place which was only a journey of seven days distant from the city of BISH BALIGH, the end overtook him. Then certain of the nobles of BETH RHOMAYE also wished that the intermediate son of GHAYATH AL-DIN, that is to say RUKN AD-DIN, should reign. And when the Wazir SHAMS AD-DIN, a native of 'ESFAHAN, perceived [this], he seized them all and killed them. And he magnified himself in his own eyes, and he took the mother of the Sultan 'IZZ AD-DIN to wife, and he begot by her a son. And this high-handed (or, arrogant) act was evil in the eyes of every man. And having made ready much gold, and royal apparel, and horses, together with the intermediate son RUKN AD-DIN, he sent him, as a hostage to the TATARS, as we have said, for the sake of consolidating the peace. When the young man came to GHOYUK KHAN, one of the nobles who was with RUKN AD-DIN, that is to say BAHA AD-DIN TARJAN, calumniated the Wazir to the Khan, saying, 'He killed the nobles, and he took the wife of the Sultan who was dead, and he commanded and set up a new Sultan without your command'.

Then the Khan commanded that 'IZZ AD-DIN should come down from the throne, and that RUKN AD-DIN, who hath seen our face, should reign, and that BAHA AD-DIN TARJAN should be his Wazir, and that SHAMS AD-DIN should finish (i.e. lose his office). And when they turned their gaze to come, the Wazir heard and trembled. And he sent to RASHID AD-DIN, the Subashi of MELITENE, who was then the Amir 'ARID, with much gold and precious stones, [asking him] to go to the Khan and bring to him the confirmation of the command. And when this man arrived at 'ARZENGAN he heard that RUKN AD-DIN SULTAN and BAHA AD-DIN TARJAN were near to arrive (i.e. they would soon appear). And being afraid, he took up the treasure which he had with him to the fortress of KAMAH, and he together with a few men fled to ALEPPO. And after a little time BAHA AD-DIN arrived, and with him there were two thousand MONGOLS. And RUKN AD-DIN was proclaimed Sultan in 'ARZENGAN, and in SEBASTIA, and in CAESAREA, and in MELITENE, and in the Citadels of ZAID and 'AMID. And new rulers and governors were appointed in every place, and they abolished those of 'IZZ AD-DIN. And TARJAN sent an ambassador [483] to ALEPPO, and he seized RASHID AD-DIN, who had fled thither, and brought him and shut him up in the fortress which is called 'HABIG'. No man of those who were shut up in that fortress escaped death except this man, who was subsequently pardoned and was saved. For on the wall of this fortress, upon a very high rock, is a door, and outside this is a small tablet (or, step) on which—unless he sitteth down—a man can only with the greatest difficulty find standing room. And when the judgement of death went forth against one of the honourable nobles, and they did not wish to lay hands upon him and kill him, they would take him out and make him stand upon that step, and shut the door in his face. And when he had stood there for a day or two, he would be overcome by sleep and would fall down and die. All these goings and comings to the TATARS took place within three years.

And in the year fifteen hundred and sixty of the GREEKS (A.D. 1249), when BAHA AD-DIN arrived and the TATARS with him, SHAMS AD-DIN, the native of 'ESFAHAN, feared and trembled, and he wished to

take Sultan 'IZZ AD-DIN and to go in and rebel in one of the fortresses on the sea. And there was in KANYA (KONYA?) a certain noble, an old slave of Sultan 'ALA AD-DIN, whose name was JALAL AD-DIN KARATAI, and he was an ascetic who abstained from the eating of flesh, and from the drinking of wine, and from women, and he was a good and merciful man. When this man perceived that the Wazir was ready to take 'IZZ AD-DIN and flee, he sent and seized him in his house, and he cast iron fetters on him, and made haste to inform BAHA AD-DIN. And he sent TATARS, and they came and tortured SHAMS AD-DIN, the native of 'ESFAHAN, until he revealed and showed them endless treasures, and then they killed him. Now this man was an educated and intelligent man, and when he perceived that they were going to put him to death, he sent forth lamentations for himself in the Persian language, tearful phrases which were full of sorrow, and were expressed in eloquent and polished words, and were exceedingly sweet. And when this man was killed, JALAL AD-DIN became the director (or, administrator) of Sultan 'IZZ AD-DIN. And the countries were divided between the two brothers. And ICONIUM, and 'AKSARA, and ANCYRA, [484] and 'ANTALYA (SATALYA?), that is to say, the western cities, belonged to 'IZZ AD-DIN, and the eastern cities to RUKN AD-DIN.

But the nobles of RUKN AD-DIN did not cease from quarrelling, and they wished that RUKN AD-DIN only should be named Sultan, and that 'IZZ AD-DIN should be repudiated. On this KARATAI made a plan, and he sent to them, saying, 'Your wish shall be [accomplished] and RUKN AD-DIN is the great Sultan according to the command of the Khan who is with you. But rise ye up and take him and come to 'AKSARA. And let 'IZZ AD-DIN also come, and what his brother giveth him, in affection let him accept.' And those nobles being persuaded, took RUKN AD-DIN and came to 'AKSARA. And 'IZZ AD-DIN also went forth from ICONIUM to go to 'AKSARA. And the troops of the MA'DAYE hid themselves (i.e. made an ambush}, and they came from the other side and smote and broke the bodyguard of RUKN AD-DIN, and they also seized BAHA AD-DIN, his 'Atabag. And 'IZZ AD-DIN took his brother RUKN AD-DIN, and did him no harm, but carried him into ICONIUM. And the three brothers sat together on the throne of his kingdom, and money was stamped with the three names.

And after these things, that is in the year fifteen hundred and sixty-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1250), RIDAFRANS (i.e. the king of FRANCE), one of the kings of the inner (i.e. remote) countries of the FRANKS, went forth with a mighty collection of people, horsemen, and footmen, and soldiers, and mighty men of war, and they sailed on the sea in great ships and in vessels which were filled with an endless amount of gold and silver, and weapons of war, and provisions. And the earth quaked at the sound of them, and it was reported that they were prepared to go forth to EGYPT. Now MALIK AS-SALH, the son of KAMIL, the lord of EGYPT, who, because his younger brother 'ADIL died, had succeeded him [as lord} over EMESA, a city in PALESTINE, was fighting in order to take it from MALIK 'ASHRAF, its lord, who was descended from 'ASAD AD-DIN SHIRKUH, the uncle of SALAH AD-DIN the Great, and subsequently TELL BASHIR was his. Then SALIH, hearing the report of the FRANKS, left [485] EMESA, and with swift marches came to EGYPT. And he went and encamped at a place which is called MANSURAH, where there are dense plantations of trees. And he threw down the word (i.e. commanded) in the Arabic language, and there gathered together to him large crowds of ARABS from ALEXANDRIA, and from KUS and from 'ASWAN. And when the people of the city of DAMIETTA saw that the gaze of the FRANKS was directed to them, terror fell upon them. And without the tribulation or war they emptied the city of everything which was in it, and they took their families and all their possessions and went to EGYPT.

And the nobles of DAMIETTA went to the Sultan, and MALIK SALIH asked them 'if the FRANKS had harassed them with war'. And they replied, 'No, but we are afraid lest that which happened once in 'AKKO may happen to us; the FRANKS killed them (i.e. the men of 'AKKO), and no man pleased them'. And SALIH was exceedingly angry with them, and he hung up sixty-four famous nobles on thirty-two crosses (or, stakes), two to every cross, just as they were, with their apparel on their bodies and their shoes (or, sandals) on their

feet. And when he had crucified these men, he himself died a few days later through a virulent ulcer which had broken out in his thigh; and it was cut out from him just as it was and fell down. And the Egyptian nobles sent and brought MALIK MU'ATAM, the son of SALIH, who was then in the citadel of KIPA, and they made him king in the place of his father. And his administrator was FAKR AD-DIN 'UTHMAN, the son of the SHAIKH ASH-SHYUKH, the great Wazir.

Then the FRANKS drew nigh to the wall of DAMIETTA, and they did not hear the voice of the guard[s], neither did they see any man in the towers, and they marvelled. And they also sent men who went inside the harbour, and they never met a single person. And then they knew of a certainty that [the people] had fled, and they drew nigh and went into the city with great content and gladness. And that day was the sixth day of the week, and they did not find any man micturating by the wall; and the ships were supplying them with food of all kinds from the sea.

But their contemptuous mind did not permit them to have patience until they learned the lie of the country, and the fords of the rivers, and the roads, but they made haste and crossed a canal from the NILE, and they marched a long way from water towards EGYPT by a road where there was no water. And certain [486] troops of the ARABS passed on after them, and became a fence (or, barrier) between them and the water, and others were in front of them. And they remained between the two [bodies of ARABS], being tortured with hunger and thirst, and their horses with them. And the ARABS plucked up courage and smote them with an exceedingly great smiting, and killed the greater number of them. And they made the nobles prisoners, and the king whom they carried to MU'ATAM, and he shut him up near him in the place where he was encamped. Then the young slaves who were of the same age as himself counselled MU'ATAM and said unto him, 'If thou dost kill this Frankish king, during the whole time of thy life thou wilt never be free from war with the FRANKS; for their kings are many and they are strong in their power. But make this king swear an oath that for one hundred and twenty years from now neither he nor his brothers, or their sons or their grandsons will draw swords against the ARABS. And set him free, and let him depart to his fellow religionists, giving thanks for thy goodness. Thus thou wilt have rest and live in peace. And it will be unnecessary for thee to scatter among the troops the treasures which thy fathers have laid up.'

And MU'ATAM inclined to their advice, and he had the king of FRANCE brought to him by night, and he made him to take the oath according to what he wished. And he gave him many gifts and dismissed him.

It is said that during the days in which the king of FRANCE was a prisoner, the report reached him that the queen his wife in DAMIETTA had borne him a son. And MU'ATAM heard [of it], and he sent to her gifts, namely ten thousand red *dinars* and a golden cradle, together with royal raiment. Now as soon as the old slaves of MU'ATAM'S father perceived that he had dismissed the king of FRANCE, they were filled with rage, and they sent ships out to sea to seize him. And when they could not overtake him, they drew their swords and attacked MU'ATAM. He fled from before them and went up into a wooden tower which he had [available]. And they set fire to the tower. And when he saw himself in the middle of the fire he cast himself into the sea and was drowned, and his body was never found.

Then the king of FRANCE brought out all his family from DAMIETTA, and came to 'AKKO, and he dwelt there for some time. And he built CAESAREA of PHILIP, and other cities, and he left and went to his own country.

And when MU'ATAM, the lord of EGYPT, was killed, [487] a certain man whose name was 'IZZ AD-DIN, a TURKOMAN, one of his father's slaves, ruled over EGYPT, and he took to wife his lord's wife, a Turkish woman who was called SHAJARATH AD-DURAR. And when he had been [king] for some time, one day when he had gone to the bath to swim, she sent some of her small slaves and drowned him, because she

perceived that he wished to destroy her. And after the TURKOMAN there rose up in EGYPT his Turkish slave whose name was 'KUTUZ', and he was called 'MALIK MUTAFAR'. And he killed SHAJARATH AD-DURAR, and cast her body to the dogs, pretending that he was avenging his lord, but he killed her because in truth he was afraid lest she should kill him. Otherwise he would never have killed her, for she was renowned for her beauty as a woman, and for her vigorous actions, which were those of a man. And at this time when MALIK AN-NASIR, the lord of ALEPPO, saw that the slaves were reigning in EGYPT, and that they were killing each other as a pastime, he collected his troops and rose up and went to DAMASCUS, and he reigned over it quietly and in peace without any war.

Bar Hebraeus'

Chronography

X

The Enthronement of Munga [Mongke] Khan.

Now when BATU, the son of TUSHI, the son of CHINGIZ KHAN, moved from his camp which was in the country of the SAKSIN and BULGARIANS to go to see GHOUYUK KHAN, and he came to the place which is called AL-'AKMAK, in the neighbourhood of the city of KAYALIGH, the report of the death of GHOUYUK KHAN reached him. Therefore he remained where he was. And he sent ambassadors to all the sons of the kings, and collected them near him. Those who were unable to come sent letters and said, 'BATU is the greatest [prince] of us all. And we will approve of whatsoever he doeth and accept it.' And at the beginning the sons of GHOUYUK KHAN, together with the queen their mother, whose name was 'AOJUL GHANMISH KHATUN, came to BATU, and they only remained two days. And they left and departed, leaving behind TIMOR NAWIN, to whom they said, 'When the sons of the kings, great and small, are gathered together, to whatsoever they agree, do thou also agree on our behalf. And when the whole collection [of princes] was complete, they all committed the selection [of the Khan] to BATU, saying, 'If he himself wisheth to be [Khan], let him be [Khan]; and if he doth not, then we all will be subject unto whomsoever he choseth'. [488] Then BATU said, 'With the exception of MUNGA I cannot see any man of us who is capable of ruling rightly a great kingdom like this'; and they all said, 'He is worthy and suitable'. And when MUNGA, like a wise man, exhibited signs of excusing himself, they took him by force and seated him on the throne. And BATU, together with all the other princes, knelt down on their knees and did homage to him. And BATU took the cup according to custom and made him drink.

And the kingdom being assured to him in the year six hundred and forty-nine of the ARABS (A.D. 1251), on the ninth day of the fourth month, the all-wise and believing queen, SARKUTANI BAGI, the mother of MUNGA KHAN, began to make friends of all the chiefs and nobles by means of liberal gifts and presents, and to bring into subjection the rebels through promises of good treatment. And whilst they were awaiting the coming of the sons of GHOUYUK KHAN and of his mother 'AOJUL JANMISH, a certain man who was one of those who train lions for the amusement of princes came and said, 'When I was out hunting for a certain lion to kill, I went a journey of three days in search of him. And I came to the houses (i.e. tents) of the sons of GHOUYUK KHAN, who were coming here. And I saw a chariot which had broken down, and a young man was sitting by the side of and repairing it, and he called me to help him. And when I came near the chariot I saw that it was armoured and that it was filled with weapons of war. And I asked the young man, saying, "What are these?" And he said unto me in a surprised fashion, "Seeing that thou art of our party, how is it that thou knowest not what these things are? All the chariots which are with us are like this." And having left him I have come to inform you; now ye will know [what must be done].'

Then MUNGA KHAN sent a chief whose name was MANGASAR, with two thousand horsemen, to meet the sons of GHOUYUK KHAN. And he said unto them, 'Before ye [deal] with little men it is right that ye should come to MUNGA KHAN and see him; and then let your armies come'. And being unable to reply with hard words they did so. And when they came, after they had eaten, and drunk, and rested for three days, MUNGA KHAN revealed the matter unto them; and they were ashamed, and were unable to make any apology

whatsoever. Then he commanded, and they killed all those nobles who were participators in the treachery, [489] having departed from 'AILJIKATAI NAWIN whom GHOUYUK KHAN had made ruler of the west. And all the others who were with him they cast down on the ground. And he sent and had KADAK NAWIN brought upon a chariot (or, wagon), and after he had confessed his sin he was killed in an agonizing manner. And so also was it the case with the wife of GHOUYUK KHAN, for having passed judgement upon her they killed her. Her sons, however, he did not kill because of the honour of the royal succession, but he commanded that they should dwell each in his specially appointed place together with a few men to minister unto them. And thus was the kingdom established (or, founded) for MUNGA. He committed to his brother KUBLAI the countries of the CHINESE, that is to say, the KHATAYE; and he sent another brother, that is HULABU, to the countries of the west; and the younger brother whose name was 'ARIGH BOKA he kept near him.

And he laid down the Law for the countries of the KHATAYE:

Every rich man was to pay a tribute each year of fifteen *dinars* in gold, and the poor man one *dinar*. And for the territory of the PERSIANS: Every rich man [was to pay each year] ten *dinars*, and the poor man one *dinar*.

And concerning the beasts and cattle he commanded:

From every hundred head of cattle one head was to be taken, and from the man who had less than one hundred head nothing was to be taken.

And he granted to all prisoners and captives freedom from afflictions.

And he commanded that heathen (?) priests, and the Christian priests, and deacons, and monks, and the learned men and scribes of the Muslims should be free from taxation; and among all the peoples the JEWS only were to be deprived of this benefit, and a certain poet of that period said:

In this freedom for thee, O Jew, there is no portion.
With the exception of disgrace, O wretched man, there is for thee
no companion.

And in this year, which is the year fifteen hundred and sixty-two of the GREEKS (A.D. 1251), dissension fell among the Turkish slaves in EGYPT. And some of them sent to MALIK AN-NASIR whilst he was reigning in DAMASCUS, and pressed him to go to EGYPT, [promising that] they would deliver it over to him. And he collected a numerous army, and he went to GAZA that he might go into EGYPT and reign over it. And when the TURKS who had no liking for him heard [this], they collected their troops. And they brought out also a multitude of FRANKS who were imprisoned with them, and they set them on horses. And they came and engaged MALIK AN-NASIR by the side of [490] GAZA, and they broke him badly, and only with the greatest difficulty did he and some men, very few in number, escape and come as fugitives to DAMASCUS.

And in this year, in the LATTER KANON (JANUARY), died ZABIL (ISABEL?), the believing queen, the daughter of LION the Great. She was the consort of king HAITUM, the son of CONSTANTINE, and the mother of king LION (II) the Less of CILICIA. Now the goodness of this woman, and her charitableness, and her humility no man can describe [adequately]. For she used to go about barefooted in the nunneries and the churches, and however long she stood up in prayer she never ceased to weep. May God give her rest with the other holy women!

And at the return of the year, that is to say the year fifteen hundred and sixty-three of the GREEKS (A.D. 1252), HAITUM, king of CILICIA, went to do service to MUNGA KHAN the Great. He partook of the Lifegiving Mysteries on the fifth day [of the week], and he marched away on the Friday of the Crucifixion. And because he was afraid that the nobles of BETH RHOMAYE would smite him in treachery, he made a report to go out that he was sending an ambassador on in advance to the Khan, and that when he received the command [i.e. permit to travel] he would set out. And he also wrote letters to the lord of BETH RHOMAYE with this same object. And he himself went forth with this ambassador, and he was disguised in the dress of servants and he was leading a horse; now he was dressed in filthy rags, and he rode upon a most wretched beast. And he passed through all the cities of BETH RHOMAYE, and no man knew him, but in 'ARZENGAN a man in the bazar recognized him, and said, 'This is king HAITUM'. And when the ambassador heard [this] he turned round to the king as he was leading the horse, and he smote him on his cheek and reviled him, and said, 'Yea, O fool, here thou wouldst be a king, and they would liken thee to a king!' And thus [the man's] suspicion was removed. And the king continued to wear the garb of peasants (or, husbandmen) until he came to the frontier of the IBERIANS, and then he revealed himself. At this period he lived outside his country for nearly three years and a half, and then he returned.

And in this year, which is the year six hundred and fifty of the ARABS (A.D. 1252), after the 'KURILTAI', that is to say, the 'Great Assembly', HULABU, the brother of MUNGA KHAN, struck his camp to come to these western countries, which are without in the territory of 'AILJIKATAI, who GHOUYUK KHAN [491] sent. Then MUNGA KHAN commanded that from all the armies of the east and of the west, out of every ten persons two persons should go [to fight]. And among the sons of the kings he sent with him a young brother of his own whose name was SABATAI (SUNTAI? STAI?) 'AOGHUL, and from the side of BATU BULGHAI, the son of SIBAKAN, and KUTAR, 'AOGHOL, and KULI together with many troops. And from the country (or, quarter) of JAGHATAI TAKODAR his grandson; and from the side of SHISHKAN (JIJKAN?) BAGI, the sister of the Khan, and BOKA TIMOR with an 'AWIRATHAIN army. And from the countries of KHATA they brought one thousand houses (companies?) of men who were skilled in the working of engines of war and in throwing naphtha. And KIT BOKA, who was the chief of the bakery, was sent on in advance of the troops. And HULABU left SHUMAGAR (JUMAGAR?), his son by the Great Queen, together with his mother, in his place in the service of MUNGA KHAN. And this same son, after some time, having risen up to come out to his father, died on the road. And he took with him from among his other sons his eldest son whose name was 'ABKA ('ABAKA?), and his other son whose name was 'ASHMUT (BASHMUT?). And of the wives of TULI KHAN their father, DAKUZ (TOKUZ?) KHATUN, the truly believing and Christian queen. She had been given to HULABU to wife, according to the custom of the MONGOLS, and she came with him. And she raised on high the horn of the Christians in all the earth.

Now they remained on the road until the year six hundred and fifty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1255), and then they came to PERSIA. And in this year, in the month of TAMMUZ (JULY), suddenly an army of the TATARS burst forth, and came against MELITENE; at their head stood YASAWUR, who had come there eight years previously. And he spoiled villages and hamlets, and he burned houses and store-houses (or, granaries), and he killed every one who was found on his road; and he pitched his camp on the northern side [of the city].

And certain of the TATARS, as they were passing through the country of GHUBUS, [492] went up to the Monastery of MAKRUNA and demanded gold. and meat, and drink, from the monks. And they, poor miserable wretches, in their simplicity would not consent to give them anything, and they thought that they would probably go on their way. And they did go away, but they took many other TATARS and then came back. And again they asked the monks to give them something. And when they would not be persuaded, the MONGOLS made war on them. And they set fire to the tower of the monastery wherein were many loads of '*amar kubha*, and wax, and a large quantity of oil, which became food for the flame. And they burned all the

monks, both young and old, about three hundred souls, and men and women, who were natives of the country.

In that year the writer of these things was the Bishop of GHOBOS, who was present in the Monastery of MAR BAR SAWMA at the Synod of the election of MAR DIONYSIUS the Patriarch, who is 'ANGUR. And no man was present with him there except two disciples, viz. FARAJ, a native of DOMNINAYA, and KAWMA, a lay brother (?) of LUAZNAYA. FARAJ cast himself down from the tower to the TATARS, and they did him no harm, but after a little he died; and KAWMA was burned in the fire. And 'AHRON the physician, an old man, the father of the bishop in the village of MARGA, was present in the granary with BAR SAWMA, his little son. And when the TATARS burst forth he did not wish to flee to the monastery with the rest of the people of that village, but he climbed the mountain on the other side, and he went and hid in a strong and rocky place on the banks of the EUPHRATES. And he remained there in hiding with his little son for a period of about forty days—until the TATARS departed, and only one mule was drowned by them in the river. Now there were other fugitives in the place which is called BAR'AMA, and they used to go forth in the night, and prepare food for themselves and their beasts.

And in the year six hundred and forty-seven of the ARABS (A.D. 1249), BADR AD-DIN LULU, the lord of MAWSIL, reigned over GAZARTA, a city of KARDU, for the following reason: when MALIK MU'TAM, the lord of GAZARTA, who was descended from the sons of 'ATABAG ZANGI, saw that BADR AD-DIN had waxed strong, and was possessed of an army which could injure or help, he wished to make a friendship with him, and he took the daughter of BADR AD-DIN to wife for his son [493] MALIK MAS'UD. And, in accordance with the operation of SATAN, MUS'AD hated the daughter of BADR AD-DIN with all his heart. And MU'ATAM, his father, admonished him strictly that he should not make apparent his hatred of her, but he was unable [to hide it]. And when the daughter began to set herself against BADR AD-DIN, her father, he sent and took her. And after a little MU'ATAM died, and MALIK MAS'UD, his son, rose up in his place. And BADR AD-DIN began to harass him with demands to so great an extent that he sent and said unto him, 'I want such and such a stone which is in the necklace of such and such a hand-maiden by name, and such and such a thing of so-and-so'. And giving him everything, at length he sent to him, saying, 'Didst thou truly sell GAZARTA when we were encamped against NISIBIS?' And MAS'UD sent to him, saying, 'I have taken every thing from thee; even if I would give thee my kingdom, I cannot do so'.

Therefore BADR AD-DIN collected his troops, and he went and encamped against GAZARTA, on the third day [of the week], on the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month of the aforesaid year, in the days of NISAN (APRIL), and he afflicted it with war. And MAS'UD sent and demanded a pledge [of safety] for his life. And BADR AD-DIN promised to give him the fortress which is called PARAH, [saying] that he must take his family and his wives and depart thither. And MAS'UD consented and he removed the guards and men of war from it.

And BADR AD-DIN sent one of his eunuchs, and he cast iron fetters on him, and brought him out by night from GAZARTA and seated him in a boat, pretending that he was sending him to MAWSIL. And he commanded the sailors and the slaves whom he had placed with him to drown him in the TIGRIS, and then to leave [the boat] and to flee to SYRIA. And they were to send forth a report that MAS'UD had cast himself into the river and was drowned, and 'we are afraid that our lord BADR AD-DIN will destroy us because we were negligent in respect of him, and because he did this to himself'. And having taken him they went down to sail on the TIGRIS and did as they had been commanded, and they fled to SYRIA, and spread abroad the above report, and after a year they went back again to MAWSIL. Then BADR AD-DIN went to GAZARTA and took possession of it on Friday the eleventh day of the seventh month of the above-mentioned year. This city is not one of those builded by the GREEKS, but the MA'DAYE people (i.e. nomad ARABS) who are called the 'Sons of 'OMAR' built it, [494] and is therefore called by their name.

At this time, when certain merchants were crossing the great river of PERSIA which is called 'GIHON', there was with them a poor man who was wearing such apparel as Fakirs wear. This man said to the boatman, 'I, even I, am Sultan JALAL AD-DIN KHAWARAZM SHAH, concerning whom they say that the KURDS killed me in the mountains of 'AMID. Now, it was not I, but the keeper of my apparel who was killed, and behold, for a number of years I have been going round about in the world secretly (i.e. in disguise) and enjoying myself.' Then the sailors being afraid took him and carried him to the nobles of the MONGOLS who were near. And they tortured him very severely, and he did not deny [what he had said], but up to the moment when he died he continued to say 'I am he' (i.e. I am JALAL AD-DIN).

And in the year fifteen hundred and sixty-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1254) ambassadors began to come at frequent intervals with the request to Sultan 'IZZ AD-DIN of ICONIUM that he would go in person and do service to the great Khan (i.e. acknowledge his overlordship), for if he did not the [Mongol] troops would invade his country and lay it waste. And being pressed to go by those inside and those outside, he came by force as far as SEBASTIA, when he gave himself up to a life of riotous luxury and to the gratification of lusts of various kinds. For wherever he heard [about] a wife, or a daughter, or a son of any of the nobles or of the people generally, he took them by force and debauched them. Therefore the nobles hated him, and they wished that his intermediate brother, that is to say RUKN AD-DIN, could reign over them. And when 'IZZ AD-DIN heard [this], he was afraid, and he returned again to ICONIUM, and he made ready his young brother, that is to say 'ALA AD-DIN, and sent him to pay homage to the Khan. And he wrote [and sent] with him a letter, saying, 'Behold, I have sent my young brother, that is 'ALA AD-DIN, who is a Sultan like myself, and it hath not been possible for me to come because JALAL AD-DIN KARATAI, my 'Atabag, is dead, and an enemy from the west hath stirred himself up against me. Assuredly I will come at another time.'

And the young brother having gone, and the nobles who were with him, he died on the road through the treachery of those nobles. And 'IZZ AD-DIN and RUKN AD-DIN remained in ICONIUM. And when 'IZZ AD-DIN heard of the death of his young brother, he wished to take and destroy the intermediate brother; so that he alone might be left. And when the nobles perceived this they made RUKN AD-DIN to take to flight. It is said [495] that they dressed him in a dirty tunic [such as is worn by] the servants of cooks, and that having loaded on his head a tray of boiled meat, they took him out by night from the palace and set him upon a horse. And they brought him to CAESAREA in one night, and seated him upon the throne, and a multitude of his troops gathered together about him. And RUKN AD-DIN took them and came to do battle with his brother 'IZZ AD-DIN. And 'IZZ AD-DIN sallied forth and engaged him in battle, and again he broke him, and he took him prisoner and shut him up in the fortress which is called DAWALU.

And in the year fifteen hundred and sixty-six of the GREEKS, which is the year six hundred and fifty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1255), 'ALA AD-DIN, the head of the ISHMAELITES, was killed in the fortress which is called 'SHIR KUH', that is, 'Mountain of the Lion', and RUKN AD-DIN, his son, rose up after him. And HULABU sent and said to him, 'If thine aim is straight towards us, and thou desirest friendship and peace, destroy all thy fortresses, and do thou come to us in person; and if not prepare thyself for war'. Then quickly RUKN AD-DIN sent and destroyed five fortresses in which there were no stores (or, provisions) and which would not have been able to resist the TATARS. And he sent a reply to HULABU saying, 'Behold I have fulfilled thy command in part, and little by little I will pull down the rest of the fortresses'. Now HULABU knew well that in his craftiness RUKN AD-DIN wished some days to pass (i.e. he wanted to gain time). Therefore he sent KID BUKA against the fortress which is called 'SHAHD AIR' (SHAHDIZ?), and he took it in two days, and three other fortresses which were round about it.

Then RUKN AD-DIN took a son of one of the poor men, and he dressed him in royal apparel, and sent him to the king as a hostage. Now although HULABU knew that he was a liar-son (i.e. pseudo-son) of RUKN AD-DIN, he did not show that he knew it, but he sent him back with honour, and he said, 'It was thee for

whom I asked, and not thy son'. And afterwards RUKN AD-DIN again sent, [this time] his real brother, whose name was SHIRAN SHAH, together with three hundred horsemen. And HULABU having taken the horsemen and sent them to KAZWIN, sent back RUKN AD-DIN'S brother to him, and said that he himself, RUKN AD-DIN, must come. And on the night of the Birth of the Redeemer, when RUKN AD-DIN rose up to come to the service, his slaves drew their daggers, and said, 'If thou goest we will kill thee'. Then he sent and made the matter known to the King of Kings. And HULABU commanded him, saying, 'Protect thyself against them, [496] and concoct a plan so that thou canst come to us, and thou shalt live, for they all are about to be destroyed with the edge of the sword'. And RUKN AD-DIN accepted the command.

And one night he came down, together with his sons and his household, and was received (or, welcomed) splendidly by the King of Kings, and he was sent to the city of KAZWIN with honour. As for the three hundred horsemen, the MONGOLS killed them secretly, and they also made themselves masters of the fortress from which RUKN AD-DIN had come down—now its name was 'MAIMUNDUR'—and they destroyed it. Thus also did it happen to the strong fortress which is called 'ALAMUTH', and the fortress which is called 'GERDKUH', which is situated in the heart of the heavens. And the TATARS took fifty other fortresses which were round about it, and they laid them waste and pulled them down; and all those who were in them they killed. And by means of these blessed captures God had mercy on all and Christians who lived in terror and trembling through the fear of the ISHMAELITES who were carriers of daggers and were shedders of innocent blood.

Then when RUKN AD-DIN saw that the mercies of HULABU in respect of him were manifestly sincere, he said unto him with frank boldness, 'The days in which I now live thou hast by thy goodness added to my life; therefore I beg of thee to permit me to pass them pleasantly'. And HULABU commanded the treasurers that a large amount of gold and silver should be given to him. And having received it he began to eat, and to drink, and to enjoy himself. And he loved one of the daughters of the MONGOLS, and HULABU commanded and she was given to him to wife. And one day when he was drinking wine he spoke to a player on the lute, and he sang the following verse in the Persian language:

I have come to thee, sick man, as to the physician.
I have come to thee, O King of Kings, that I may obtain life by meeting
thee. I have come to thee that I may pluck the health-giving fruit of thy crop.
If it were not so, with what kind of merchandise could I have come to thy land?

And when HULABU heard these [lines] his words were very pleasing to him, and he was given over to affection in his eyes (i.e. HULABU felt affection for RUKN AD-DIN).

And subsequently RUKN AD-DIN asked for a *Pukdana* (i.e. command; or, permit; or, warrant) to go and see the face [497] of MUNGA KHAN; and HULABU appointed a messenger [to go] with him, and sent him [thither]. And when he was on the road he quarrelled with the messenger, and took such a hatred of him that when they arrived at the camp of MUNGA KHAN, the messenger calumniated him and he was killed. And the command went forth that all the seed of the ISHMAELITES, both males and females, should perish wheresoever they were.

And in the year BASHU (BAJU ?) NAWIN, the captain of the soldiery of the TATARS, went forth towards 'ARZAN AL-RUM. And he sent a messenger to Sultan 'IZZ AD-DIN in the month of 'AB (AUGUST) and asked him for a place wherein to pass the winter, because in MUJAN the country in which he usually passed the winter each year, HULABU, the King of Kings, the brother of MUNGA KHAN, wished to winter. And with BAJU came HAITUM from the service of the Great Khan, and he entered his own country on Friday,

the first day of the month of ILUL (SEPTEMBER), and there was rejoicing for the Christians. Now the Sultan did not wish to give BAJU a place [to winter in], and he treated him with contempt, because he heard that another chief who was greater than he, or rather his lord, had driven him out of his country. Therefore he made ready for war with him. And when BAJU came the Sultan 'IZZ AD-DIN met him in battle by the side of the store-house (or, khan?) of the Sultan, between ICONIUM and 'AKSARA, and he was broken and fled to his inner countries which are on the frontier of NINEVEH. The captain of the host of BETH RHOMAYE was YAWTASH BAGLAR BAG, who was killed in this war. And BAJU NAWIN brought RUKN AD-DIN out of prison, and made him king over BETH RHOMAYE in the year fifteen hundred and sixty-seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1256).

And 'IZZ AD-DIN sent an ambassador from the place where he was to HULABU, and he laid a complaint against BAJU, saying that he 'was alienating him from the kingdom and from the inheritance of his fathers'. And HULABU sent a '*Yarlikh*', that is to say a *Pukdana* (i.e. royal decree), [saying] that the countries were to be divided between the two brothers. Therefore when the year fifteen hundred and sixty-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 1257) began, 'IZZ AD-DIN was restored, and he came to KUNYA (KONIA). And RUKN AD-DIN [went] with BAJU into winter quarters in the inner countries of BITHYNIA which were on the sea-coast, And because 'IZZ AD-DIN was afraid of BAJU [498] he began to make ready an army. And he sent one of his slaves whose name was TUGHR HAPA (TUGHR BALABA?) towards MELITENE that he might make up an army [composed] of KURDS, MA'DAYE, and TURKOMANS. And when that slave had come, he went to the fortress of ZAID. And he sent and had brought [to him] two nobles of the KURDS; to the one, SHARAF AD-DIN 'AHMAD, the son of BELAS, he gave MELITENE, and to the other, SHARAF AD-DIN MAHAMAD, the son of SHAIKH 'ADI, he gave the fortress of ZAID.

Now when the son of BELAS had come he was not received by the people of MELITENE, because they had sworn fealty to RUKN AD-DIN, and he began to make war on the citizens. And they lived in tribulation because of him during the whole winter, and there was famine, for [the price of] one *kepiza* of wheat went up to one hundred and twenty coins of the Sultan. And when the people of MELITENE could bear with him no longer, they rose up against the son of BELAS, and they killed about three hundred men of his followers. And he himself fled and passed over into the country of KLAUDYA, and he burnt the Monastery of MADIK, and the Monastery of MAR 'ASYA on the first day of the week of Hosannas (Palm Sunday), on the first day of the month of NISAN (APRIL); and he wrought great destruction in the country and likewise in the country of GHUBOS. And from there he marched straight to 'AMID, and there he was overtaken by the lord of MAIPERKAT and killed.

And the other slave, the son of SHAIKH 'ADI, who was in the fortress of ZAID, having made the inhabitants of the fortress to endure many trials, took his wives (brothers?) and marched towards KAMAH in order to come to the help of 'IZZ AD-DIN SULTAN, and there the troops of 'ANGURAK NAWIN overtook him and killed him. Now when 'IZZ AD-DIN SULTAN heard of the evil end which had befallen the KURDS who had come to help him, he sent the captain of his host to MELITENE. He was called 'ALI BAHADUR, and was short in his stature, and of meagre proportions, but a strenuous fighter and one highly skilled in the questions (or, tactics) of war. When this man came the people of MELITENE welcomed him. From him came help for the citizens and the country, and the roads were open [again], and men were bringing wheat from everywhere. For at that time [499] the mountains, and hills, and valleys round about MELITENE were filled with the TURKOMANS and with the AGAGRAYE (or, 'A'JAZAYE) who were pillaging everywhere. From one village alone in the country of HASEN MANSUR they took seven thousand bulls, and cows, and asses, and she-asses, and forty-five thousand sheep and goats. And they took also the Monasteries of MADIK, and MAR 'ASYA, and MAR DIMAT, and they carried off from them a great mass of goods. And, ALI BAHADUR himself pursued [them] and expelled them from the country, and he caught their chief whose name was SHUTI (JUTI?) BAG, and shut him up in the fortress of MASARA.

And whilst the people of MELITENE were experiencing this opportune peace, BAJU and his armies sallied out from the inner country of BITHYNIA, and during the days of the month of NISAN (APRIL) they spread themselves about over the countries of GALATIA and CAPPADOCIA. And they began to make war on the fortresses so that they might hand them over to RUKN AD-DIN. And they came to the region of 'ABLASTAIN, and they shed the blood of all the people who were in it, about seven thousand [souls], and they carried off the young men and maidens into captivity. And they arrived in MELITENE on the Sabbath of the full moon of the month of ILUL, (SEPTEMBER), and BAHADUR fled to GHAKHTAI. Then BAJU made the people of MELITENE swear oaths of fealty on behalf of RUKN AD-DIN, and he took from it a very large number of *dinars*. And he left in the city one of the slaves of RUKN AD-DIN whose name was FAKHR AD-DIN 'AYAS, and he himself removed to the fortress of ZAID, because a command had come to him from the King I of Kings, HULABU, that he should come down in all haste to BAGHDAD.

And at the beginning of the year fifteen hundred and sixty-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 1258), in the season of the autumn, BAJU NAWIN came to MAWSIL; and he did not harm that country much. For MALIK SALIH; the son of BADR AD-DIN, the lord of MAWSIL, had in those days just come from doing service of HULABU. And TURKAN, the daughter of JALAL AD-DIN KHAWARAZMSHAH, had been given to him to wife, and she was with him in the dress of the MONGOLS. Rightly did all the country folk flee to the city and hide themselves until BAJU had passed. Then, as soon as ever BAJU had crossed the EUPHRATES, 'ALI BAHADUR turned and came to MELITENE. And the citizens, because they had sworn oaths of fealty to RUKN AD-DIN, and also because of their fear of [500] BAJU, shut the gates of the city in his face. And he collected an army of the 'AGAGRAYE, and began to make war on it, and the city was in great tribulation through war and famine. A *kapiza* (i.e. an ass's load) of salt in it [was sold] for four hundred white coins of the Sultan, and [a *kapiza*] of wheat for seventy. And when the peoples of the city could not endure hunger and imprisonment [any longer], they leaped up one night and opened the gates of the city, and they brought in BAHADUR and the 'AGAGRAYE who were with him. And in the night he made the criers go up into the minarets of the mosques, and he cried peace to the ARABS and the Christians. And he encouraged them to fear not, for his charge was against the nobles and not the citizens.

And on the following morning he seized the slave of RUKN AD-DIN and shut him up, and he set SHEHAB 'ARID upon the colt of an ass, and made him to ride through the city, and he held him up to ridicule and then killed him. And he tied a head of cotton on the neck of another man who was called MU'IN IGDISH (or, IGRISH) BASHI, and another head in the form of a dog, and he made him march round about through the city and then killed him. And in the same way he killed the Greek priest whose name was KALAWYAN, and his two brothers BASIL and MANIL (MANU'IL?), and his son KIRYAWRI, who were great lawyers. And together with these he also destroyed the three sons of SHEHAB ISAW, who were Kurdish Amirs. Then the killing ceased, and the city enjoyed a little peace. But the famine increased greatly after the gates of the city were opened, because the country had become an absolute desert, and nothing came in from any other place because of the TURKOMAN highway robbers. Many people sold their sons and their daughters to the 'AGAGRAYE, and others soaked their old shoes in water, and boiled them and ate them. And a woman was found who had roasted her son, and when they charged her she swore that she had not roasted him alive, but only after he was dead. And some women were discovered with the body of a dead woman before them, and they were cutting off slices of her flesh and roasting them and eating them.

Now when BAHADUR knew that it was impossible for him to resist the [501] advance of the TATARS, he forsook the city and fled to the Sultan 'IZZ AD-DIN, and with him were HUSAIN JOBAN, and BAR SAWMA, the son of ANDRIOS, who was subsequently killed by them on the road. And during this famine certain young men of the country of GHUBOS, who were Christians, rebelled in the GAZARTA of the village of 'EBRA, and they sallied out and robbed and killed their brethren who were Christians, and they went in there and ate food.

At this time THEODORE, the son of KALAWYAN, the king of NINEVEH, fell sick in a city the name of which was NIPI. And when he felt that he was going to die, he called to him ARSENIUS the Patriarch, and committed to him the care and upbringing of KALAWYAN his son. For as yet he was small in stature (or, of tender age), and he was at that time under the direction of a certain general whose name was MICHAEL, and who was called 'PALAIOLOGOS'. And because of this king THEODORE was afraid lest he would meditate rebellion and seize the kingdom with the hand of violence. Which thing actually took place. Therefore he commanded one of the generals whose name was GADINOS to go to THESSALONICA, where MICHAEL was living; and cast fetters of iron upon him and bring him to him. Now when GADINOS went he said unto MICHAEL, 'I know that thou art going to be king, but submit thyself to fetters with cunning, and come with me to the king. And when he seeth thy submission he will release thee and magnify thee.' And thus MICHAEL did, and he went to the king bound in fetters. And when the king saw that he was not complaining, he was gracious to him and released him, and made him a partner with the Patriarch in the management of the young man. And after a few days he departed this life. And MUZALON, his deputy, who was also the son-in-law of KIRA BALWINA, the sister of the king, took him and carried him to the Monastery of MAGNESIA, and he deposited him there in the grave of his fathers. And he tarried a few days in the monastery whilst he arranged affairs with his mother-in-law, who was the sister of the deceased king, so that he might become king, and destroy the nobles who would not consent to accept him.

And when [502] this plot was revealed to MICHAEL and the other nobles, they commanded the FRANKS who were their fellow soldiers to go up to the monastery, and to hack MUZALON in pieces with their swords, wheresoever he might be. And when they went up they found him in the church praying, and there they hacked him limb from limb. And the nobles also went up and they cried out with a loud voice, 'May the king of the GREEKS, MICHAEL PALAIOLOGOS, live [long]! May the Autocrator of RHOMANIA, MICHAEL PALAIOLOGOS, live [long]!' And they all went from there to NICAEA, and they seized the young man KALAWYAN, and they sent him and had him shut up in one of the fortresses. And they also sent ARSENIUS the Patriarch, who had rebuked them for his murder, into exile, in a monastery in one of the islands of the sea of PONTUS.

And after MICHAEL had reigned for a time he determined within himself to go and attack CONSTANTINOPLE, because he heard that there was a small army therein with BO'DWIN the Frankish king its lord. And during his journey he sent and had NICEPHORUS, the Metropolitan of EPHESUS, brought, and he made him Patriarch in the city of KALYOPOLI (GALLIPOLI) in the place of ARSENIUS, who had been exiled. And he departed from there and went and encamped against CONSTANTINOPLE, and he was unable to capture it, because the citizens and the soldiers stood up strenuously on the walls and fought fiercely. And when MICHAEL saw that he could not succeed, he left and went back.

And after a short time the Frankish merchants who were in the city of 'AKKO and were called 'BUNDIKAYE' (VENETIANS), began to quarrel with those who were called 'JANABIZ' (GENOESE), and the PIZANAYE (PISANS) attached themselves to the VENETIANS. And when the VENETIANS who were in all the other countries heard [of this], they ran without delay to the help of their companions, and CONSTANTINOPLE was empty of them. And MICHAEL himself perpetrated another fraud, and he told one of his adherents who was the captain of a fortress to show signs of rebellion, and to send a message to BO'DWIN [saying] that he must send an army, and that he would transfer that fortress to him. And the captain of the fortress did even so, and he flattered BO'DWIN and led him into error and when [503] BO'DWIN sent the little army which he had with him, MICHAEL made ready swiftly and went and encamped against it. And MICHAEL himself also flattered certain of the citizens, and one night they opened to him an old gate which had never been opened since the time of CONSTANTINE the Conqueror. And the GREEKS went in and put [the city] to the sword, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that BO'DWIN himself and his household was able to save themselves by embarking in a small shallow boat, and they fled to

the FRANKS. And thus once again CONSTANTINOPLE remained in the possession of the GREEKS after belonging to the FRANKS for a period of fifty-three years. As for NICEPHORUS the unlawful Patriarch, he did not live very long, but died quickly. And king MICHAEL appointed in his place ROMANUS, the Patriarch of the city of ADRIANOPOLIS. Now this man, as soon as ever he rose up, became involved in some scandalous affair and was cast forth. Then king MICHAEL sent and brought ARSENIUS the Patriarch from exile, and he promised him that he would bring out KALAWYAN, the son of the king, from prison, and would transfer to him the kingdom of his father, and that he himself would only hold CONSTANTINOPLE, which he had taken with the sword. And the Patriarch prayed over him, and was reconciled [to him], and sat again on the [Patriarchal] throne.

Then MICHAEL, having placated the Patriarch, added wickedness to wickedness, and instead of bringing KALAWYAN out of prison and making him king, sent and had his eyeballs taken out and blinded his eyes. When the Patriarch understood this he again relinquished his office, and returned to his imprisonment. And the king brought an archimandrite whose name was JOSEPH (?) and made him Patriarch, and behold he standeth at the head [of the Church] this day. And it was in the days of winter that these wickednesses were perpetrated in MELITENE.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

X

Concerning the Taking of Babel (Baghdad).

HULABU, King of Kings, went down to BAGHDAD; and BAJU also arrived from BETH RHOMAYE. And the armies of the men of BAGHDAD sallied forth to meet the TATARS in battle. And those who stood at their head (i.e. were their captains) were: the Great Amir, a KURD, who was called 'BAR KURAR', and DAWITHDAR the Little, a slave of the Khalifah. And the two [504] sides (or, hosts) remained facing each other, without engaging in battle, for twenty-three days. Then straightway on the fourth day [of the week], on the eighth day of the first month of the ARABS, in the year six hundred and fifty-six (A.D. 1258), which is the year fifteen hundred and sixty-nine of the GREEKS, BAJU NAWIN and his troops drew nigh to a place which is called 'the Grave of AHMAD', on the western side of BAGHDAD, and the BAGHDAD troops approached and the armies met each other in battle, and the company of BAJU NAWIN was broken, and the BAGHDAD troops were triumphantly victorious. And the Amir SULAIMAN SHAH and his army were on the walls of BAGHDAD.

And when the evening had come, BAR KURAR, an old man, said unto DAWITHDAR, a young man, 'This time God hath given us the victory. It is right that we should go into our houses and rest, and then we will sally forth again and attack forthwith.' The young man, however, was puffed up, and did not want to go in, and both of them passed the night outside. And because those BAGHDAD troops were encamped on low-lying ground, the TATARS went and made a breach in the banks of the great canal of water [fed], from the TIGRIS, and floods of water poured down on them at midnight. And they began to flee from the waters, and their bows, and their arrows, and the sheaths of their swords were soaked with water. And when the day broke the TATARS of the battalions of HULABU returned, and the battle continued until the ninth hour of the fifth day [of the week]; and the BAGHDAD troops were defeated and stricken helpless, and BAR KURAR was killed, and DAWITHDAR fled and went into the city.

Then BAJU and his troops came and encamped on the western side of BAGHDAD, and HULABU encamped on the east side, on the second day [of the week], on the thirteenth day of the first month, and he made war on the city with great fierceness—opposite the crown of the palace of the Khalifah. And the Khalifah MUSTA'SIM, the wretched man, in despair called his Wazir 'ALKAMI, and NAJM AD-DIN 'ABD AL-JANI, the son of DARNUS, and MAR MAKIKA, the Catholicus, and he commanded them to take gold in abundance, and royal possessions, and Arabian horses, and to fetch the ambassadors of the TATARS out of prison, and to array them in [fine] apparel, and to give them lavish gifts, and to go forth with them to the King of Kings. And they were to demand a pledge of safety for the lives of the Khalifah, [505] and his sons and his daughters, and to make an apology saying that the things which had happened had taken place through evil counsellors. Then, if he would be gracious, and would grant them their lives, they would become his slaves, and subjects who would pay tribute.

And when these men had gone forth to the King of Kings and fulfilled their embassy, HULABU detained them and would not let them return to the Khalifah. And he continued the war with still greater ferocity, and

the TATARS made a great breach in the 'Ajami tower; and they entered the city on Friday, the twenty-fifth day of the first month, but the citizens prevailed over them, and drove them outside again. And the TATARS renewed their attack in full strength, and on the following day, that is to say the Sabbath, they became masters of all the walls. And the people of BAGHDAD fled and hid themselves in the houses and in the underground chambers (*sardabs*). And on the Sabbath day the two sons of the Khalifah went out to the King of Kings, and an hour later the Khalifah himself went forth [to him]. And the King of Kings commanded, and they cast iron fetters on him, and stood over him in a tent for seven days—until the King of Kings had gone in person to the palace of the Khalifah and had inspected the treasures, and the rich things, old and new, which were hidden away and laid up in stores; and he uncovered them all and had them brought out. And the MONGOLS drew their swords, and slew all the people of BAGHDAD—tens of thousands of men—the IBERIANS especially effected a great slaughter. And the Catholicus collected all the Christians into the church of the Third Bazar, and there he protected them, and none of the Christians was injured. And the wealthy ARABS brought out vast amounts of their riches to the Catholicus, that peradventure if they were able to save themselves they might retain their property, but all of them were killed.

And afterwords when the wrath of the King of Kings had subsided somewhat, he had the wretched Khalifah brought before him, and he passed judgement on him and condemned him to death. And he commanded and they put him on a piece of sackcloth and then sewed it up round about him, and with kicks of their feet they killed him. [They did this] because certain of the ARABS had frightened the King of Kings saying, 'If the blood of this man be shed on the earth, no rain will ever again fall thereon, and also coals of fire will burst forth from it'. And in this wise the kingdom of the ABBASIDES came to an end. And also the other kingdoms of the ARABS [506] began to totter. And the kingdom of the MONGOLS stood and triumphed in the countries which are outside (i.e. foreign) as well as those which are within (i.e. native).

And the TATARS on their return from BAGHDAD came and encamped against the fortress of 'ARBIL. And when SAHIB BAR SALAYA wished to surrender to him, the large number of KURDS who dwelt therein threatened him with violence, and he fled from them to the TATARS. Then came BADR AD-DIN LULU and bought the fortress and everything which was in it from the TATARS for seventy thousand *dinars*. And the TATARS marched off, and BADR AD-DIN received the fortress of 'ARBIL and placed guards therein. And after a short time a certain Kurdish Amir whose name was SHARAF AD-DIN JALALI brought a *Pukdana* (i.e. a Decree = Patent), and took the fortress from BADR AD-DIN, and drove out his guards who were therein. And when that same JALALI, together with his TATAR troops, were going against the rebellious KURDS who were in JULMARG, BADR AD-DIN sent certain KURDS and they killed him whilst he was sleeping in his tent. And a certain Christian whose name was MOKHATAS, the brother of SAFI SULAIMAN, the great physician, became master of 'ARBIL. And after his death TAJ AD-DIN 'ISA, his son, rose up in his place, and he was a good, believing man. And in his time there was a very severe famine and a pestilence in all the land of SEN'AR, and 'ATHOR (ASSYRIA), and BETH NAHRIN, and SYRIA and BETH RHOMAYE; for in DAMASCUS a young dove for a sick man was sold for twelve *nasraye*

(1) i.e. *zuze nasraye*. These were coins struck by Saladin = Gr. drachmae (?).

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

And here beginneth the Eleventh Dynasty which passeth from the Arab kings to the kings of the Huns

XI

Hulabu [Hulegu], King of Kings and brother of Munga [Mongke] Khan the Great.

WHEN the Khalifah MUST'ASIM was killed, the King of Kings appointed a certain man whose name was 'ALI BAHADUR to rule over BAGHDAD. And in this time of the war the Christians of TAGRITH sent to the Catholicus and asked for a ruler to protect them, and a man who would take care of them was sent to them. And when the TATARS had gone, now they had killed [507] the nobles of the ARABS and had plundered their rich possessions, all the Christians who were in the Green (?) Church, which was dedicated in the name of MAR 'AHUDEMEH, and which the ARABS had seized, had asylum, and they remained unharmed from the beginning of the [Lenten] Fast to the Sunday of Hosannas (Palm Sunday), which was the seventeenth day of the month of 'ADAR (MARCH) of the year fifteen hundred and sixty-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 1258). Then a certain wicked man, an ARAB, whose name was BAR DURI, calumniated the Christians to their governor, saying, 'These Christians have hidden away much treasure of the ARABS, the owners thereof having been killed, and they have given nothing to thee'. And when the governor questioned the Christians concerning this matter, they were unable to deny it, but they admitted it and brought everything before him, and he sent and made the matter known to the King of Kings. And the sentence of death went forth against the wretched TEGRITIANS, according to the Law of the MONGOLS. And a certain great chief was sent, together with an army of TATARS, and they began to take the Christians, twenty at a time, and they led them up to the citadel, pretending that they were going to demolish it, and [there] they killed them. And this they continued to do until they had made an end of all of them. None escaped except some old man or some old woman, and [their] sons and [their] daughters were carried off into captivity. And the ARABS took the great church again. And two aged men from the village of KARMAH [near TAKRIT] only, and the very few men who lived there, remained to pray in the rest of the churches. As for BAR DURI, the calumniator, a certain Christian whose name was BIHRAM, and who had been governor of TAGRITH, killed him.

And when BADR AD-DIN, the lord of MAWSIL, heard that BAGHDAD had been taken, he sent his son MALIK-SALIH and one thousand horsemen, ostensibly to help the King of Kings, but he did not receive him gladly. And the King of Kings said unto him, 'Ye wanted to see to whom the victory would be so that ye might cleave to him. If the Khalifah had conquered ye would have come to him and not to me'. And when SALIH returned to BADR AD-DIN his father and informed him, BADR AD-DIN trembled. And he rose up and took a very large and incalculable amount (of money, and went in person to the King of Kings, and he propitiated him and returned in peace. But after his abject terror [had passed], he used such boldness and freedom of speech [508] towards the King of Kings that he went up on the throne by his side, and took him by the ear, and with his own hands fastened therein an ear-ring [made] of pearls of great price.

And at the time when BAGHDAD was taken, the lord of MAIPERKAT, that is 'ASHRAF, the son of MALIK GHAZI, the son of 'ADIL the Great, was meditating (or, was resolved on) rebellion in his heart. Now he had crucified a Syrian elder from the country of BEDLIS, who had come to him from the Great Khan with a Yarlik (i.e. a royal Mongol permit) and had driven away the governors of the MONGOLS from his Court. And he rose up and went to DAMASCUS to MALIK NASIR and asked him for help, so that he might engage the TATARS in battle, and might prevent them from making a descent on SYRIA, and, if possible, to kick them far away from BAGHDAD. But MALIK NASIR dismissed him with empty promises, and he returned to his city MAIPERKAT. And immediately he arrived, the armies of the TATARS encompassed him round about, and the bulls of BAISHAN, 'ASHMUT, the son of the King of Kings, being their captain. And they built a wall round the city, and they set up strong towers in which to fight, and they began to make fierce war upon it from the outside, and those who were inside made war against them even more fiercely. And thus it (i.e. the city) remained unconquered for a space of two years. Then, after BAGHDAD was taken, the troops invested MAIPERKAT. And ambassadors from the King of Kings began to come frequently to MALIK NASIR, demanding that he should go to his service (i.e. acknowledge his overlordship). And because his nobles did not approve of his going, he made an arrangement, and sent his son MALIK 'AZIZ with treasures, and offerings, and large gifts in the autumn of the year fifteen hundred and seventy of the GREEKS (A.D. 1259), and he remained there the whole winter. And in the spring he came back to ALEPPO, after the Festival of the Resurrection, and said to his father, 'The King of Kings commanded me and said, "We have not asked for thee, but for thy father. Therefore if it is to be peace, let him come [to me], and if not, we will come to him."' And MALIK NASIR continued to be unable to move through two obstacles: it came to him that he could not sit still because of [his] fear of the TATARS, and he could not move lest his nobles and slaves should rise up against him and kill him. And he became terror-stricken and stupefied.

[509] And at [that] time also the King of Kings sent for Sultan 'IZZ AD-DIN, and RUKN AD-DIN, the lords of BETH RHOMAYE, to come and acknowledge his overlordship, and both of them went and were well received. And the King of Kings commanded that RUKN AD-DIN should hold [the country] from CAESAREA to the frontier of GREAT ARMENIA, and that 'IZZ AD-DIN should reign over [the country] from 'AKSARA to the sea-coast, the frontier of the kingdom of the GREEKS (1). And the two brothers went down amicably with the King of Kings as far as BETH NAHRIN, and they went up from there to BETH RHOMAYE. And RUKN AD-DIN dwelt in SEBASTIA and 'IZZ AD-DIN went and dwelt in ICONIUM. And at this time Sultan 'IZZ AD-DIN went up to the Monastery of BAR SAWMA, and promised benefactions to MAR DIONYSIUS.

And in this year BADR AD-DIN, the lord of MAWSIL, died on the twentieth day of the month of TAMMUZ (JULY), and his eldest son, MALIK SALIH 'ESMA'IL, reigned in his stead; his intermediate son whose name was, ALA AD-DIN reigned in SINJAR, and his youngest son whose name was SAIF AD-DIN reigned in GAZARTA of KARDU.

And in the year six hundred and fifty-eight of the ARABS (A.D. 1259), which is the year fifteen hundred and seventy-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1260), in the autumn season, the King of Kings came down with troops, four hundred thousand horsemen, to the countries of BETH NAHRIN. He encamped first of all against HARRAN, and the citizens surrendered it peacefully and remained unharmed, and the citizens of EDESSA did the same. The citizens of SEROGH, who did not send [ambassadors], demanded a pledge of security for their lives, and were all killed. And the King of Kings commanded, and bridges were tied together over the EUPHRATES at MELITENE, and at KAL'AH RHOMAITA, and at BIRAH, and at CIRCESIUM (OSRHOENE), and the troops crossed over into SYRIA, together with the King of Kings himself, with whom was TOKUZ KHATUN, the believing queen and lover of CHRIST. And a great slaughter took place in the city of MABBUUGH (MANBIJ), and troops, fighting men, were posted against the fortress of BIRAH, and against the fortress of KAL'AH NAJM, and against that of KAL'AH JA'BAR, and CALONICUS, and

BALASH, and [510] all the people who were in them were killed. And at first troops few in number came to the neighbourhood of ALEPPO and MALIK MU'ATAM, an old man, the son of SALAH AD-DIN the Great, sallied out and engaged them; and he was broken and fled and went into ALEPPO. And the TATARS passed on and went and laid waste the city of MU'ARAH. And they went against HAMATH and [the citizens] surrendered it in peace, and thus also did [the citizens] of EMESA.

And MALIK NASIR took his wives, and his sons, and his slaves, and went forth from DAMASCUS, and he fled to the desert of KARAK and SHAWBAK. And the TATARS went against DAMASCUS, and the lords thereof surrendered it in peace, and no evil thing happened to them. But the King of Kings in person encamped against ALEPPO. And he commanded and walls were built outside the whole of the great circuit of the wall of ALEPPO. And the TATARS began to make fierce war on the city, and in a few days they were masters over the walls from the side of the 'IRAK GATE. And they entered ALEPPO on the first day of the week which introduceth the Fast of NINEVEH, in the month of the LATTER KANON (JANUARY) of the year [above] mentioned. And there took place in ALEPPO a slaughter like unto that of BAGHDAD, only more [terrible]. And because they had destroyed the upper portions of the walls of our church in which were the citizens of B'ELBAK, I, the feeble one, who was the Metropolitan thereof, through fear for these men, sallied forth to go to offer fealty to the King of Kings, and I was shut up in KAL'AH NAJM. Our believers who were among the population of ALEPPO remained without a head, and the greater number of them assembled in the church of the GREEKS. And the TATARS attacked them and killed them and made captives of their families. And finally TOROS, the Armenian elder, the son of the brother of MAR CONSTANTINE, and the monk KURAK, went in and liberated all those whom they found alive, and they collected them in our church. And having taken the city the TATARS rose up and made war on the fortress (or, Citadel), and that they took also in peace.

And from there the King of Kings went against HARIM, and he asked [the citizens] to surrender, and [said that] he would swear to them that he would not harm them. And the fools replied, 'Though thou art king thy Religion (or, Confession) is not known. By what are we to make thee swear? But if FAKHR AD-DIN, the governor of the fortress of ALEPPO, will swear to us that he will not harm us, [511] we will come down.' And the King of Kings commanded FAKHR AD-DIN, who went and swore to them. And they opened the gates of the fortress and came down. And the King of Kings commanded, and they were all killed, men and women, and sons, and daughters, also sucking children; and none escaped except an Armenian blacksmith. And they also killed that FAKHR AD-DIN who had sworn to them, because WALI AD-DIN, the son of SAFI AD-DIN, a nobleman of ALEPPO, made an accusation against him, saying, 'It was he who killed my father and my brothers, and who said to them, "Surrender the city so that ye may not die by the sword".'

And when all these things had been brought to an end, the King of Kings left in PALESTINE a certain chief whose name was KIT BOGHA with ten thousand—that is to say a *tuman*, which is ten thousand-horsemen, and he went back by the road he had come. And when he came to TELL BASHIR the report reached him that the TATARS had taken MAIPERKAT. And they took also MALIK 'ASHRAF, its lord, and brought him to him (i.e. the King of Kings), and there he killed him. And he made ruler over MAIPERKAT a man who was the chief of the stables of the father of 'ASHRAF, and his name was, ABD ALLAH. And there was a famine in the district, whereof the like had never been heard, and it was so severe that of its whole population there only remained [alive] about one hundred souls, and only with the greatest difficulty were they able to capture it. 'ARDU, one of the natives of MAIPERKAT who had been saved from it like a burnt stick from a fiery furnace, related to me the following: 'One day I longed greatly to eat wheat boiled with the flesh of the ox, together with my household. And for five hundred Christian *zuze* I could only with the greatest difficulty boil a pot[ful] which was sufficient for us.'

And when the King of Kings had crossed the EUPHRATES, he sent a message to the lord of MARDIN to come down to him, and the lord did not wish [to do so]. And he also sent [a message] to MALIK MUTAFAR, his son, because he and the son of BADR AD-DIN, the lord of MAWSIL, were in his service concerning ALEPPO. And he said to him, 'Go and admonish thy father that he go down, and do not allow him to rebel and perish'. And when the young man came to his father, not only would he not hearken to him, but he bound him in fetters and shut him up in prison. And the King of Kings sent troops and they encamped against MARDIN, and they began to make war [512] on it. And if God—glory be to His Name!—had not cast pestilence therein, even after years they would never have been able to capture it. And the greater number of the people who were therein having perished, according to the nod of God, and the Sultan himself being dead, MALIK MUTAFAR, his son, came down and surrendered the fortress. And the King of Kings magnified him exceedingly, and paid him the highest honours, and he felt affection for him and made him a governor.

Now KIT BOGHA searched diligently and found the place where MALIK NASIR was hidden in the desert, and he sent a force against him, and it captured him, and took him and brought him to him, and with very great care KIT BOGHA sent him to the King of Kings. And when he (MALIK NASIR) went to him he received him gladly, and honoured him, and promised to send him back again to his kingdom.

And in those days RABBAN SIMEON the Elder and physician, the son of RABBAN ISHO' the Elder, deceased, who was a native of KAL'AH RHOMAITA, was taken into the service of the King of Kings, HULABU. And he flourished and prospered greatly, and he was beloved by all the sons of the kings and by the queens. And he possessed dwellings like those of kings, and gardens, and plantations, and towers in the meadows, and his income yearly was five thousand *dinars*, from BABIL (BAGHDAD), and 'ATHOR (ASSYRIA), and CAPPADOCIA, and from MARAGHA. The remnant of our people obtained through him help, and great lifting up of the head, and honour. And the Church acquired stability and protection in every place.

Then when KOTAZ the TURK, who reigned in EGYPT, heard that the King of Kings had gone away, and that MALIK NASIR had been taken and sent to him, and that KIT BOGHA alone with ten thousand men remained in PALESTINE, he collected the armies of EGYPT and sallied forth and met the TATARS in battle in the plain of BAISHAN, before MOUNT TABOR. And the TATARS were broken and KIT BOGHA himself was killed in the battle, and his sons were carried away prisoners on the twenty-seventh day of the ninth month of the ARABS, in the year six hundred and fifty-eight of their reckoning (A.D. 1259).

And when this report reached the King of Kings he was angry, and he determined that he would tear up the kingdom of the ARABS by the roots. And he commanded and MALIK NASIR and his brother MALIK TAHIR, and every one who was with them, were killed on the fourth day [of the week], [513] on the twentieth day of the tenth month of the ARABS, in the year fifteen hundred and seventy-one of the GREEKS (A.D. 1260), at the ninth hour in one of the ravines of NAWSHAAR, when the moon was in the tetragonon of HERMES. And none of them escaped except MUHAI [AD-DIN], the geometrician and astronomer. For this man told me: 'One day when MALIK NASIR was sitting in his tent, he called me to him and asked me about his nativity. Then there came a certain great Mongol chief at the time of noon, and there were about fifty MONGOLS with him, and MALIK NASIR went out to meet him. And the MONGOL said unto him, "A drinking festival is being held this day by the King of Kings, and he telleth thee that thou must take thy brother, and thy sons, and the nobles who are with thee, and that thou must come there". And MALIK NASIR rose up and took with him the members of his household, and his nobles, about twenty souls, and they mounted their horses and departed. And after a little while twenty horsemen came to us in the tents, and they said, "The horsemen and the lawyers must come, and there must remain behind none but the servants who pitch the tents, and the cooks, and the shepherds ". And when we had mounted our horses, they carried us

through deep defiles, and took us down to the place where the nobles of the MONGOLS had encamped, and the others who were standing before them. And when we had drawn near, and they began to have speech with us, suddenly the MONGOLS sprang up behind us, and each of them seized one of us. And I made a sign to the nobles that I was an astronomer, and that I had knowledge of the motions of the heavens. And they called me and seated me behind them. As for the rest, they carried them away a little distance and slew them, and they also killed MALIK NASIR, and his brother, and the nobles. They did not kill his sons, and behold they are with them to this very day as prisoners. Then the MONGOLS went and brought along also the few men who had remained in the tents, and them also did they kill.'

(1) Bedjan notes the variant: From CAESAREA to GREAT ARMENIA to 'IZZ AD-DIN the King of Kings gave, and from 'AKSARA to the sea-coast to RUKN AD-DIN.

Bar Hebraeus'

Chronography

XI

Concerning the seating of [Qubilai] Kubilai Khan on the throne of the kingdom of the Mongols.

At this time a certain great king among the kings of the SINAYE (CHINESE), or KHATA, who are also called 'MANZAYE', rebelled against the MONGOLS. And because he possessed a great army and had, [514] according to what is said, four hundred towns, MUNGA KHAN was obliged to collect a far more numerous force, and to go in person and engage in battle with that Chinese king. And taking with him his brother KUBLAI, who was younger than he, he went to the inner countries of the CHINESE. And he left in his place his brother 'ARIGH BOKA, who was the youngest of them all. And having gone and engaged that king in battle, by ill-luck an arrow came to him, and there he ended [his life]. And his brother KUBLAI took all the armies of the MONGOLS, and went forth from that inner country of the CHINESE and sat down in their outer country, in the great town which is called KHAN BALIK (PAIKIN or PEKIN), and his brothers agreed that he should be Khan. But his young brother 'ARIGH BOKA said, 'It is meet that the kingdom should be mine, because MUNGA KHAN handed it over to me when he went to the war, and during his lifetime he made me to sit in his place'. And a great quarrel broke out between the two brothers, and for a period of seventeen years [they fought] many battles; at length the younger brother was defeated and captured, and his name ceased [to be heard]. And the kingdom remained the peculiar possession of KUBLAI KHAN, the just and wise king, and lover (or, friend) of the Christians; and he honoured the men of books, and the learned men, and the physicians of all nations.

KOTAZ, having killed KIT BOGHA, ruled over DAMASCUS, and over ALEPPO, and over all SYRIA, and he appointed a governor over every town and men versed in the Law (lawyers). And he moved his camp that he might invade EGYPT, and prepare armies, and go forth again to meet in battle the whole force of the TATARS. And whilst he was on the road, and had arrived in the neighbourhood of GAZA, BAIBARZ, that is BUNDUKDAR (BUND KDAR) the Younger, the slave of BUNDUKDAR the Elder, rose up against him and killed him. And he went into EGYPT and made himself governor thereof, and he was called MALIK TAHIR RUKN AD-DIN. And at [that] time the lord of SINJAR, that is 'ALA AD-DIN, the son of BADR AD-DIN, the lord of MAWSIL, fled to him and he gave him ALEPPO. And the Christians of the sea-coast suffered great tribulation from BUNDUKDAR, and continue to do so to this day, for he was master of [515] all their fortresses, and only 'AKKO and TRIPOLI and TYRE were left to them.

With the return of the year, which is the year fifteen hundred and seventy-two [of the GREEKS, A.D. 1261], the TATARS came to SYRIA with KUKALAGA (KUKALEK) NAWIN at their head; and he came as far as EMESA and took the country and killed [the people]. And because all the inhabitants of SYRIA had fled to ALEPPO, NAWIN commanded that all of them should depart outside, and that the natives of every [other] country and city should sit on one side and return to their native places. And when they had done thus he killed them all. And he left [alive] only the citizens of ALEPPO. Then to those who were left they said 'If ye had been our friends ye would not have fled before us'.

And KUKALAGA NAWIN, having done these things, turned back from SYRIA and crossed the EUPHRATES. And the EGYPTIANS came back again and ruled over the whole of SYRIA. And in the summer of this year, 'ALA AD-DIN, the son of BADR AD-DIN, the lord of SINJAR, who had fled to the EGYPTIANS, sent a letter to MALIK SALIH, his brother, the lord of MAWSIL, informing him concerning the strength of the EGYPTIANS, and [saying] that 'it would be better for him to leave MAWSIL immediately and go to BUNDUKDAR, so that when he broke the TATARS he might make him king not only over 'ATHOR, but over all the East'. And one day when one of the nobles of BADR AD-DIN, whose name was BAR YUNES, was sitting by MALIK SALIH, he stretched out his hand under the carpet and drew forth from beneath it the letter which had come from his brother; and he rose up and went out and departed to his village, the name of which is BETH 'ASHIKA in NINEVEH. And after a time SALIH searched for that letter and could not find it, and he knew that BAR YUNES had taken it. And he made haste and sent two slaves in search of him. And when they arrived at the house of BAR YUNES he knew that evil was intended, and that if he fell into the hands of SALIH he would perish. Therefore he gave gifts to those slaves, and he had some wine brought to them and said, 'Eat ye, and drink, and enjoy ye yourselves this evening, and in the mornipg we will go together to MAWSIL '. Thereupon they drank and became drunk, and BAR YUNES rose up in the night, and he took his men, and mounted his horse and came to BARTELI (BARTELLI). And he said unto the governor 'ABD ALLAH, the son of [516] KHOSHU, ' Inform thy people, and flee all of you, for SALIH is preparing to kill the Christians, and, he is going to flee to EGYPT'. And every man who was able to do so rose up and fled to 'ARBIL in the days of Pentecost.

And on the [following] morning when the slaves rose up and they could not find BAR YUNES, they thought that he had started for MAWSIL before them, and they went in to MAWSIL, and made the matter known to SALIH. Then SALIH feared greatly lest BAR YUNES should reach the TATARS and bring a force to seize him; and he rose up and took his son 'ALA AL-MULK, and his slaves, and fled to SYRIA in the month of 'TYAR (MAY) of this year. And on the road some of his slaves were divided in their opinions (i.e. had doubts) concerning him, and they left him and returned to MAWSIL. And the natives of MAWSIL, together with YASAN, the governor of the MONGOLS, and TURKAN KHATUN, the Khawarazmite woman who did not wish to go with him, shut the gates in the faces of those who came; and [these] continued to make war on the city for a few days. Then the people of SHAHARSIN, that is to say, the Fourth Bazar of the bazars which are in MAWSIL, attached themselves to a certain man whose name was BAR ZEBALAK, and they opened the gates of the city to him. And 'ALAM SANGAR, and those who were with him, went in. And YASAN fled, together with his companions, and TURKAN fortified herself in the fortress.

And when these men [who had come back] went into MAWSIL, they started a great persecution of the Christians, and they looted their houses and killed every one who did not become a Muslim. And many elders, and deacons, and gentlefolk, and common folk denied their Faith, [all] except a few of the house of SUWAYAD, that is WADHKHOKI, and NAFIS the goldsmith. And as for the country outside NINEVEH, immediately MALIK SALIH fled, the KURDS came down, and they made a great slaughter among the Christians, and they took the nunnery of the Sisters which is in BETH KUDIDA, and they killed therein many of the people who from all over the country were hidden therein. And those accursed men also went up to the Monastery of MAR MATTAI, and thousands of horsemen and men on foot assembled there, and they made war on the monks for a period of four months. And they set scaling ladders in position, and they wanted to ascend the wall, but the monks prevailed [517] and burnt their scaling ladders. Then the KURDS hewed a mass of stone from the mountain which is above the monastery and rolled it [down] upon it, And that great mass of stone split in two, and one part made a breach in the wall, and it remained fast in the breach like a gem in a ring which cannot be moved. And the other part made a hole in the wall and passed through it, and the KURDS rushed to enter in thereby. And the monks, and the natives of the country who were refugees there, resisted fiercely, and they fought with stones and arrows and did not let them come in; and they built up immediately the breach with stones and lime. And during these fights one of the eyes of ABU NASR the

archimandrite was knocked out, and a few men were struck by arrows, but they became well again. And the monks being weary of the fighting, they demanded peace of the KURDS, and they undertook to give them all the hangings, and curtains, and equipment of the church, and also to collect gold, and silver, and chains (jewellery). Now because they heard a report of the coming of the TATARS, the KURDS inclined swiftly towards peace; and they took a very large amount of property from the monastery, the total value of which amounted to one thousand gold *dinars*, and departed.

And at that time certain people from the village of BETH SAHRAYE, and others of the natives of NINEVEH, who had been shut up in the Monastery of HABHSUSHYATHA, removed themselves from that place, and they went and crossed the river ZABHA to go to 'ARBIL. And KUTLU BAG, the Amir, met them, and giving them as a reason that they were coming from the side of the enemy, he killed them all, men and women alike. And 'ALAM SANGAR, just as soon as he had gone into MAWSIL, heard that the TATARS had come from the quarter of GAZARTA, and he sallied out and met them in battle and was killed.

And there came a spy of the TATARS who informed them, saying, 'Behold, MALIK SALIH is coming again to MAWSIL'. And because of this the TATARS halted and did not come against MAWSIL until SALIH had actually come and gone into the city.

When SAIF AD-DIN, the lord of GAZARTA, heard that SALIH, his brother, had fled to SYRIA, he himself made ready to flee. And NAWRIN, the governor [518] of MAWSIL, heard [this], and he came to seize him. And the people who were natives of GAZARTA gathered together against him, and they wished to kill him, and he escaped and fled only with the greatest difficulty. And SAIF AD-DIN collected the Christians, and shut them up in prison and demanded from them two thousand gold *dinars*. Now it was the day of the Ascension, and the Christians remained shut up and despaired of their lives. And SAIF AD-DIN distributed much gold among the troops, and about seventy thousand KURDS gathered together about him, and they took him and carried him to SYRIA. And as GAZARTA remained without a lord, two scouts sprang up, the name of the one was 'IZAZ BAS, and that of the other was MAHAMAD, the captain of the guard, and they made themselves their rulers. And they brought out the Christians from the places wherein they were confined after they had taken from them seven hundred *dinars*, and they only killed the two of them who were going and coming to the TATARS.

And at this time 'IZZ AD-DIN 'AIBAG, the lord of 'EMADIAH, a slave of BADR-AD-DIN, collected about three thousand horsemen, and came to reign over GAZARTA. And NURIN of 'AMIR met them in battle with three hundred horsemen by the side of the river DEBSHA, which floweth down from the mountains of KARDU, and he broke him and put him to flight. And 'ABD ALLAH, who reigned over MAIPERKAT, once came to take it, but he was unable to do so. And at the end of the summer of this year Sultan 'IZZ AD-DIN of ICONIUM prepared to go to do homage to the King of Kings because he was urged to do so by the ambassadors. And having struck his tents outside ICONIUM in order to set out, a spy came and said unto him, "ALYAJAK NAWIN hath arrived at 'AKSARA, and with him is RUKN AD-DIN thy brother, and PARWANA, and they are prepared so that when they meet thee in battle they may take thee prisoner, and carry thee in chains to the King of Kings'. And 'IZZ AD-DIN trembled and abandoned his tents which were struck, and he took his sons and his household and fled to CONSTANTINOPLE, to MICHAEL, the king of the GREEKS. 'ALYAJAK NAWIN took RUKN AD-DIN Sultan [519] into ICONIUM, and seated him upon the throne of the kingdom, and PARWANA became his administrator.

And in this year the lord of EGYPT made ready a certain young man who was black, whom he had discovered to be of the family of the Khalifah, and he sent him with a small army to come and take BAGHDAD and to sit on the throne of his fathers. And he sent also to MALIK SALIH, the lord of MAWSIL, to come to MAWSIL and to sit upon his throne. For the report had gone forth, saying, 'The TATARS have

come to an end, and have been wiped off the earth by the sceptre of heaven; and the birds have blinded them'—a story which not even babies would believe. And as for the black Khalifah, when he came into the neighbourhood of BAGHDAD, 'ALI BAHADUR went out with his army and broke him and killed him.

And as soon as ever MALIK SALIH had gone into MAWSIL towards the dawn of the third day of the week, on the seventh day of the month of the FIRST KANON (DECEMBER), the MONGOLS arrived quickly, with SAMDAGHU, a Christian MONGOL, a splendid young man, at their head. And they surrounded the city at daybreak of the third day [of the week], when the Moon was in [the sign of] the Lion, And they built a wall outside it, and they began to make war upon it strenuously. And the war against it dragged on until the summer, and there was a very severe famine in the city. And men were exhausted by the war, and they were wearied with the fightings (or, struggles). And, moreover, SAMDAGHU began to send to them words of a consolatory character, and he promised benefactions to MALIK SALIH. And MALIK SALIH went out to SAMDAGHU with drums, and sistra (?), and harpers playing their instruments of music, and acrobats who performed before him, and as soon as ever he arrived SAMDAGHU had him surrounded by Mongol troops; and they went into the city and looted it, and killed the population thereof. And SAMDAGHU gave wine to the son of SALIH, that is to say 'ALA AL-MULK, and they made him drunk. And they tied the string of a bow over his vents (?) so tightly that the whole of his inside was thrust upwards, and they cut him into two parts at the band of his loins, and they hung them over the two sides of the entrance of the gate of the city. And they also cut off the head of MUHI, the son of ZEBALAK. And they took MALIK SALIH to the Camp and there he was killed. And BAR YUNES of 'AMIR reigned over MAWSIL.

And when the affair [520] of MAWSIL was ended, SAMDAGHU went against GAZARTA, and he built a wall before it, and he began to make war on it, and he fought there the whole winter, until the summer. Then HENAN ISHO, the Nestorian bishop of GAZARTA, who was present outside [the city], admitted to the King of Kings that he had knowledge of the art of alchemy, and that he could prepare for him as much gold as he wanted, received from the King of Kings a *Pukdana* (i.e. Royal order) of the word of life (i.e. pledge for the lives) for the people of GAZARTA, and he came and entered the town. And the son of 'EZAZ BAS rose up to kill him, but the chiefs would not allow [it]. And he promised them that he would go and bring to them a warrant of greater power from the King of Kings. And he went and received a *Yarlikh* (i.e. Royal Decree) ordering that JEMAL AD-DIN GULBAG, a slave of SAIF AD-DIN, the lord of GAZARTA, should be king; and that 'EZAZ BAS, and MAHAMADI the captain of the host with him, should be Pakodhe (i.e. Commanders), and that MAR SAINT HENAN-ISHO should be counsellor and administrator, and like a father. And he went into GAZARTA, and he pleased the hearts of those who were therein, and they opened the gates. And SAMDAGHU went in, and he commanded, and in one hour he dug and threw down the walls of the city, and they left and went and sat down in the valley of SHEMAMA, in the country of 'ARBIL.

And when the year fifteen hundred and seventy-four of the GREEKS (A.D. 1263) began, SAIF AD-DIN, the lord of GAZARTA, sent from EGYPT one of his slaves to JEMAL AD-DIN GULBAG, the slave, who reigned in GAZARTA, [ordering him] to send him the gold which he had hidden in a certain place. And when JEMAL AD-DIN brought out the gold and gave it to that slave, he took it and went to 'IZZ AD-DIN 'AIBAG at 'EMADIAH to tell him the word of his lord. And he took him and brought him to SAMDAGHU. And he sent and called JEMAL AD-DIN GULBAG, and he admonished him, saying, 'We made thee king, and behold, spies come to thee from EGYPT, and thou hidest the matter from us'. And when he denied [the accusation], he produced the man who had come from EGYPT, and he proved GULBAG guilty and killed him. And after a little he went to GAZARTA, and he killed the Pakodhe, and MAR SAINT HENAN ISHO reigned.

And in the year fifteen hundred and seventy-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1264) a certain scout of BADR AD-DIN, the lord of MAWSIL, whose name was ZAKI, a native of 'ARBIL, laid a charge of treason against BAR

YUNES, who was reigning over MAWSIL, to the King of Kings, saying, 'He hath stolen gold from the treasure of BADR AD-DIN and hidden it, [521] and he wishes to take it and flee to EGYPT. I know his secret, and he hath given me poison to drink, and he wished to kill me, [and would have done so if this Christian physician whose name is MUWAFK, a native of Nisibis, had not cured me. Otherwise I should already be dead. 'And the King of Kings was angry and he commanded them to beat BAR YUNES. And when they laid him out a written paper fell from his bosom, and they opened it and read it, and behold, there were written on it sentences from the Kur'an, viz.: 'Their tongue shall be fettered in their mouths; and there shall be fetters on their legs (or, feet) ; and halters about their necks, and we shall rejoice and be glad'. And when the King of Kings asked what these words meant, the enemies of BAR YUNES replied, 'They [refer] to the sorceries which are worked by him for you '. And the King of Kings commanded and BAR YUNES was killed, and ZAKI the ARBELITE reigned in his place. And he was called by the additional name of "AKIL KARSA' (i.e. Calumniator), because he ate the flesh (or, belly) of BAR YUNES, and killed him.

And in the year fifteen hundred and seventy-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1265), in the days which introduced the Fast [of NINEVEH], HULABU, King of Kings, departed from this world. The wisdom of this man, and his greatness of soul, and his wonderful actions are incomparable. And in the days of summer TOKUZ KHATUN, the believing queen, departed, and great sorrow came to all the Christians throughout the world because of the departure of these two great lights, who made the Christian religion triumphant.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

XI

After Hulabu [Hulegu], Abaka [Abagha] was King of Kings.

In the days when HULABO the IL-KHAN departed from this temporary life, the sons of the kings and the MONGOLS agreed together that his eldest son should sit upon the throne of his father, because they saw that God had adorned him with understanding, and wisdom, and a good disposition, and mercifulness. And when the kingdom was established for him, he showed himself triumphant in his wars, and the conqueror of all his enemies, and he was beloved by all the peoples who were under his dominion. And in this year, which is the year [fifteen hundred] and seventy-six [of the GREEKS] (A.D. 1265), EPTHIMIUS (EUTHYMIUS), [522] Patriarch of ANTIOCH of the GREEKS, came, and he brought the daughter of MICHAEL PALAEOLOGOS to 'ABAKA, King of Kings. For his father had long before sent an ambassador asking for her; and in the year in which she was given, before they arrived in CAESAREA, then they were informed of the departure of the King of Kings, HULABO, and they could not return.

And in this year 'IZZ AD-DIN Sultan fled from the country of CONSTANTINOPLE. And he sent and informed those of the house of BARAKATH, for they were neighbours of that country, and they sent and seized him and departed, and behold he is there to this day.

And in this year, in the days of summer, a *Pukdana* came to 'ALA AD-DIN, the Master of the DIWAN, ordering that he should have a general *Pukdana* over BAGHDAD. And after a little time a stupefying report came to him that his brother SHAMS AD-DIN, the Master of the DIWAN, was held prisoner in the Camp. Straightway KARA BOGHA, the governor of BAGHDAD, laid his hand on 'ALA AD-DIN, and shut him up in his palace on the twentieth day of the month of 'AB (AUGUST), and he sent and informed his brother. And the *Pukdana* came that 'ALA AD-DIN should go with honour and be escorted, and also ISAAC, the Armenian youth, the scribe of KARA BOGHA, and with him a man of the MA'DAYE, [who said], 'I have come to make 'ALA AD-DIN to flee'. And when they arrived at the Camp that man of the MA'DAYE was beaten, and he confessed, saying, 'ISAAC taught me to lie'. And they killed ISAAC and the man of the MA'DAYE. And from this time the affairs of the Christians became confounded.

And in the year fifteen hundred and seventy-seven [of the GREEKS] (A.D. 1266), BUNDUKDAR, the lord of EGYPT, sent to king HAITUM of CILICIA, and he said unto him, 'Let us submit to him and pay a capitation tax, and we will open the road of SYRIA, and transport food from his country'. And the king, through fear of the TATARS, was unable to reply to him with words of peaceful agreement, and because of this he made ready to come to CILICIA without delay. And the king hastened to BETH RHOMAYE, to the chief of the TATARS, whose name was 'NAPHSI', so that he might come to his help. And he replied, 'Without the *Pukdana* of the King of Kings I am unable to come'. And during the time when, having sent the ambassador, and he was awaiting the reply, the troops of the EGYPTIANS burst into CILICIA, the king being outside (or, absent). Then the CONSTABLE, his brother, and two [523] sons of the king, and his nobles made haste and went to meet the EGYPTIANS, and they met them in battle by the side of the ROCK OF SERWAND. And the ARMENIANS were broken, and LION, the lord of the district, the eldest son of the

king, was made prisoner, on the third day [of the week], on the twenty-fourth day of the month of 'AB (AUGUST) of this year. And BARON TOROS, the younger son of the king, was killed, and the rest of his nobles fled.

And the EGYPTIANS went in and spread themselves over the whole country of CILICIA, and they wrought great destruction therein, [committing] murder and [leading the people into] captivity. And they set fire to SIS, and they pulled down the great church, nay, more than this, all the churches. Only two of our churches escaped, viz. the church of the Mother of God, and that of MAR BAR SAWMA, because there was no wood in the structures. And they spoiled MOPSUESTIA, and 'AYAS, and 'ADANA, and they took into captivity sons and daughters without end. Now they did not come to TARSOS. They set fire to the Monastery of PAKSEMAT, but they did not harm that of GWIKHATH, because there was found in it a monk who could speak ARABIC, and he humbled himself before them, and they did no harm either to himself or to his monastery. And they remained in the country, looting and burning twenty days, and then they went forth.

Now after they had gone forth king HAITUM came, and with him was all army [composed] of TATARS and men of BETH RHOMAYE, and these instead of rendering help did wanton damage, and the things which remained from the EGYPTIANS they looted. Then after these things king HAITUM began to be anxious about the deliverance of his son. And having promised to giye gold and fortresses to the EGYPTIANS as the ransom of his son, the EGYPTIANS replied, 'I ask nothing from thee except one friend, who is now in the hands of the TATARS, and whose name is SENKUR 'ASHKAR, that is a red-haired man; save this man and send [him] to me, and take thy son '.

And at this time RUKN AD-DIN, the lord of BETH RHOMAYE, wished to destroy PARWANA, the man whom he had seated firmly on the throne of the kingdom, and his actions with the benefits of his government were spread abroad. Therefore when PARWANA knew this he informed the nobles of the MONGOLS when RUKN AD-DIN was with them. He persuaded a certain man, and he went into the tent in which he was lying down, and he threw a cord round his neck [524] and strangled him, and they carried him [out] and buried him. And they set up in his place his son GHAYATH AD-DIN when he was a child about four years old. In this year NASIR (RADI ?) AD- DIN PAPA (BABA) brought a *Pukdana* from the Camp, and he killed ZAKI the ARBELITE, and reigned in MAWSIL.

And in the year fifteen hundred and seventy-eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 1267), king HAITUM came to MAWSIL, and from there he went to do fealty to the King of Kings, 'ABAKA. And he went before him because of his son who was a prisoner in EGYPT, and he begged for SENKUR, the red-haired man, that he might give [him] as a substitute and take his son. And 'ABAKA had compassion on him, and he said unto him, 'At present he is not near, but do thou go to thy country, and I will have him brought and will send him to thee'. And HAITUM left the king and went back.

At this time PARWANA, the administrator of the kingdom of BETH RHOMAYE, desired to contract affinity with king HAITUM through his daughter. And he discussed the matter with PARSIGH, an Armenian monk, an ambassador of the king to the TATARS, and he, the fool, counselled him, saying, 'When the king is ready to cross over into thy country, come to him, and pay him honour, and ask him, and he will not prevent thee'. Therefore when the king came back from the Camp, and arrived at the inn of KARATAI, and tarried the night there, PARWANA came to him, and with him were all the nobles of BETH RHOMAYE, and he offered to the king very valuable gifts, and asked for his daughter. And because the king was afraid lest he might ambush him on the road and do him harm, he did not offend him [by refusing], but gave him his word and his right hand, and went to his own country. And when PARWANA began to ask for her, the king replied, 'It would not be seemly for us to make her a wedding feast with her brother in prison'. And when PARWANA had waited

until her brother came, and there remained no longer any reason for keeping her [from him], it happened that the daughter died, and PARSIGH the monk perished through anger.

And in this year, which is the year fifteen hundred and seventy-eight [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1267)], ALAM AR-RIASAH, the Egyptian lawyer in MAWSIL, was seized and put to death in prison, on the second day [of the week], on the twenty-ninth day of the month of ILUL (SEPTEMBER).

And in the year which is the year fifteen hundred and seventy-nine of the GREEKS (A.D. 1268), SENKUR 'ASHKAR was brought from the country of SAMARKAND, and was sent to king HAITUM, and he sent him to EGYPT. And in this year, [525] in the days of the Fast of Forty Days, MAR DENHA, the Catholicus of the NESTORIANS, took a certain native of TAGRITH who many years before had become a Muslim, and wished to baptize him in the TIGRIS. And the people of BAGHDAD heard [of it]. And they made a great tumult against 'ALA AD-DIN, the Master of the DIWAN. And he sent nobles to the Catholicus several times and demanded that person. And when the Catholicus did not wish to give him up, the people became wild with rage, and they set fire to the wooden framework of the gates of the Cell (i.e. the house of the Catholicus), and they climbed up the walls to kill the Catholicus. And the Master of the DIWAN heard [of it], and he sent and took him to his palace from the side of the waters secretly, and saved him. And the Catholicus sent and complained to the Camp, and messengers came and took him and he went [there]. And when he had made his complaint no man hearkened to his voice, and he left and came to 'ARBIL; and he began to build a church in the Citadel thereof, and he lived therein.

Bar Hebraeus'

Chronography

XI

Concerning the Taking of Antioch.

In the month of KHAZIRAN (JUNE) of this year, BUNDUKDAR, the lord of EGYPT, sent armies against ANTIOCH the Great of SYRIA, and they took it with the sword because there was not in it a force sufficient for its defence; and moreover those who were therein had not understanding enough to surrender it in peace. Therefore the EGYPTIANS went into it, and they slew all the males therein, and they destroyed the famous churches, and they took captive women, and sons, and daughters, and they left it a heap of ruins and a desert place until this day.

And in the summer of this year MAR SAINT, that is HENAN ISHO, Bishop of GAZARTA, was seized, and there went forth a *Pukdana* that he was to be killed. And they killed him, not with the sword, but whilst he was lying down and meditating; they lifted up a huge stone and from behind his back smote him on the head, and put him to death. And they cut off his head, and hung it up above the gate of the city of GAZARTA. And this evil end came to him because he thrust himself into worldly affairs, and wished to become king; and he was accused of various kinds of disgraceful acts.

And at the time the EGYPTIAN sent the lord of the revenue, LION, the son of king HAITUM, to his father in honour, and he went to CILICIA in the month of TAMMUZ (JULY) of this year, and he became a comfort to his father and to all the Christians. And king HAITUM went to pay homage to the King of Kings, in BAGHDAD, and he gave thanks for the deliverance of his son, and he received a [526] *Pukdana* ordering his son to administer the kingdom; and he himself was to dwell in peace because he was an old man and was feeble. And the King of Kings commanded that when he came unto us we were to transfer to him the kingdom.

And in the year fifteen hundred and eighty of the GREEKS (A.D. 1269), on the seventeenth day of the month NISAN (APRIL), at the first hour of the night of the fourth day [of the week], a severe earthquake took place in CILICIA, and it destroyed the rock fortress of SERWAND, and that of 'AMAOS, and that of the rock HARU'TA, and the great Monastery of the ARMENIANS, that is [the Monastery] of BALUT the king. And about eight thousand souls perished in this catastrophe. And in the month of TAMMUZ (JULY) the lord of the revenue, LION, the son of the king, went to do homage to the King of Kings; and he was received handsomely, and it was decided that he was to rule the kingdom of his father.

And in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-one [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1270)] the lord of EGYPT went forth to PALESTINE, and he encamped in person against the fortress of 'AKRAD, and he took it with the sword. Now he killed no man therein, but he allowed every man to dwell therein who wished to do so, and he who wished to depart he sent to TRIPOLI.

And in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-two [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1271)], in the autumn season, the believing king HAITUM died of a virulent abscess which broke out in his chest. And in the year the chief

priests and the nobles assembled in the city of TARSUS, and they placed the crown on [the head of] his son LION. And they proclaimed him king on the day of the Feast of the Epiphany.

And in the days of the [Lenten] Fast the ISHMAELITES rushed out upon 'ALA AD-DIN, the Master of the Diwan, when he was riding in BAGHDAD, and they stabbed him with knives, but did not injure him [fatally]. And they were seized, and their members were cut off. And the ARABS spread the report that they were Christians, and that they had been sent by the Catholicus. And the holy men, and the monks, and the chief men who were in BAGHDAD were seized and shut up in prison; and KUTLU BAG, the Amir of 'ARBIL, seized and shut up the Catholicus and his holy men in prison. And they were in great tribulation during the whole of the Fast, until God helped [them], and a *Pukdana* came from the Camp, and they were released. And from that time the Catholicus went and dwelt in the city of 'ESHNU, in 'ADHORBIJAN.

And in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-three [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1272)], the nobles of the GREEKS of CILICIA acted treacherously against the new king LION, and when the [people] perceived their treachery, they seized BARON, their chief. And his companions heard [of it], and they fled to one of the fortresses, and they sent to BETH RHOMAYE [527] for them to come to their help and receive the fortress. Then the king made haste and encamped against the fortress, and the ARMENIANS who were therein seized the Greek nobles and handed them over to the king, and he destroyed them all. And he also destroyed BIHRAM in the fortress of the city of 'ANAZARBA. For when those men fled to that fortress, the king sent the Greek Patriarch of ANTIOCH to them, and he swore that if they came down in peace he would do them no harm. But the Patriarch when he had gone to them said unto them that they were not to come down, and if [they did] he (i.e. the king) would destroy them. And he came back and said unto the king, 'They would not hearken unto me and come down'. And the king perceived what had taken place through him. And having destroyed those men, he seized the Patriarch in order to send him to the king of CONSTANTINOPLE, so that the king might judge between them. The Patriarch having been handed over by the king to the soldiers that they might carry him to CONSTANTINOPLE, those who were to take him carried him to the city of 'AYAS; and they pitched a tent for him by the side of the sea. And having gone into the city to buy food for themselves, they also occupied themselves with the drinking of wine until the evening. And the Patriarch sent a message to some Greek sailors who lived in that neighbourhood, and he summoned them to him, and wept before them, and he showed them how [the soldiers] were placing him by the sea of the ARMENIANS, not to carry him to CONSTANTINOPLE, but to effect his destruction. And being sorry for him, they carried him off in their little boat and took him to BETH RHOMAYE, to the TURKS.

At this time LION, the king of the ARMENIANS, gave his daughter by a handmaiden to the son of PARWANA, instead of his sister whom his father would not give to him, and a convenient friendship sprang up between them.

And in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-four [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1273)], on the eighteenth day of the month of the LATTE KANON (JANUARY), on the night of the fourth day [of the week], there was a severe earthquake in the city of 'ADHORBIJAN, more especially in the city of TABRIZ. And it overthrew the palaces and the mosques, and the capitals of the pillars fell down. Our church, however, did the Lord protect, and it never shook, and the performance of the service never stopped, and GREEKS, and ARMENIANS, and NESTORIANS, and all our own peoples gathered together therein. But the rest [528] of the people of the ARABS by the ten thousand pitched tents (or, habitations) in the gardens outside [the city], and they dwelt in them for about two months and then went into [the city again]. Now in this earthquake about two hundred and fifty Arab souls died.

And in the summer of this year the robber bands of SYRIA came from 'AINTAB, and from BIRAH, to the country of KLAWDYA (CLAUDIA), from the side of the mountains. And passing like a flash of lightning

through the country they came to the boundary of the lands, and they came back and made captives of the whole of the population, both women and a multitude of young men. And they went through it in that day without tarrying for the night, for they were afraid that the army of the MONGOLS would capture them.

In those days we made ready to go up to the Monastery of MAR BAR SAWMA, because we did not understand the calamity which had taken place until we arrived in the neighbourhood of the district, which we discovered to be like unto a vineyard which had been beaten flat by the hail. And as we were sitting in the Monastery of SERGIUS there came from the monastery about fifty armed monks, and they took us and we went up to the monastery.

And in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-five [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1274)], the King of Kings came down to BAGHDAD with a multitude of troops; now there was poverty and food was scarce therein, and the locust also had appeared. And during the days of the Fast of Forty Days this year, a Nestorian monk from the Monastery of MICHAEL, which is by the side of MAWSIL, being discovered in fornication with an Arab woman, abandoned his Faith and became a Muslim. And the Christian suffered great pain and grief [through this]. Then the monks of his monastery, together with the uncle of the monk who had become a Muslim, and who was himself an anchorite, being unable to endure the disgrace and ignominy, sent and informed TARPASHI, the captain of the soldiery of the MONGOLS. And he rose up and came to MAWSIL, and he seized the man who had become a Muslim with indignation, as if he would kill him. And the Arab peoples of MAWSIL perceived this, and were filled with indignation, and they gattlered together at the gate of the palace, a great mob, with staves and lamps. And they uttered imprecations on the head of the MONGOLS, and they threatened TARPASHI that if he would not set free the man who had become a Muslim, they would kill him and all those who were with him. And the MONGOL being afraid sent him away. And the ARABS took him, and set him upon a horse and marched him about throughout the city of MAWSIL, and [thus] the last sorrow was worse than the first.

And in those days when the Christians of the city of 'ARBIL wished [529] to celebrate the Festival of Hosannas (Palm Sunday), and knowing that the ARABS were making ready to obstruct them, they sent and summoned to their help certain TATARS who were Christians and who were near them. And when they came they placed crosses on the heads of their spears, and the Metropolitan of the NESTORIANS, together with all his people, sallied forth with those TATARS riding in front of them. And when they approached the front of the fortress, the companies of ARABS grouped themselves together, and they were carrying stones and they stoned the TATARS and the Christians, and their companies were scattered and each of the Christians fled to one side; and after this they remained for some days without daring to go forth. And this also afflicted the Christians in every place.

And in this year died KHWAJAH NASIR, the Persian philosopher. He was a man renowned and famous, and was pre-eminent in all the branches of science, and was especially learned in those dealing with mathematics. He constructed instruments for the observations of the stars, and the great brass spheres which were more wonderful than those which PTOLEMY set up in ALEXANDRIA, and he observed and defined the courses of the stars. And there were gathered together about him in MARAGHA, a city of 'ADHORBILAN, a numerous company of wise men from various countries. And since the councils of all the mosques and the houses of instruction (i.e. colleges) of BAGHDAD and ASSYRIA were under his direction he used to allot stipends to the teachers and to the pupils who were with him. About this time, having set out for BAGHDAD to visit various places, he died in BAGHDAD. And certain men have reported that he was blind. He wrote many books—explanations (or, commentaries) on rhetoric and natural and divine learning. He arranged EUCLID and MAGISTI very accurately. And there is also [attributed] to him a lexicographical work in PERSIAN in which he taught the meaning of the words of PLATO and ARISTOTLE on practical philosophy.

For he held fast to the opinions of the early philosophers, and he combated vigorously in his writings those who contradicted them.

And in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-six [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1275)], in the month of the FIRST KANON (DECEMBER), certain evil-doing men in MAWSIL went and knocked at the door of a Jewish goldsmith in the night. And when he answered and said unto them, 'What seek ye?' they said unto him, 'We are young folk and we have come to thee that thou mayest give us money to buy food'. And he said unto them, [530] 'How much do ye want?' And they said, 'Twenty *zuze*'. And being afraid the JEW brought to them what they had demanded. And he told them to take the money through an opening in the door. And they said, 'No, but open to us the door'. And when they had stood disputing about the matter for nearly an hour, their companions climbed up the walls to the roof, and they went down into the house and opened the door, and those others entered in. And they put the JEW to the torture until he had shown them all the treasure which he possessed. And when they thrust [their] hand(s) to kill him, his wife lifted up herself over him, and she began to entreat the thieves, saying, 'Have pity on (or, spare) the youth of this man, and kill ye me instead of him'. Then those accursed men in their hardness of heart replied to her, 'We will kill both him and thee'. And having killed her husband; they stabbed her with knives and left her half dead, and they took much treasure and departed. And when the day broke and the people came they found the JEW dead and his wife at her last gasp. And having related what had happened, she died at about the ninth hour.

At this time certain Arab *fakirs*, about thirty souls, came from the region of SYRIA to CILICIA that they might receive a blessing from the tomb of the Khalifah MAMUN, who was buried at TARSOS. And the expectation fell (or, it was suspected) that BUNDUKDAR, the lord of EGYPT, was among them, and that he was in disguise, and was going about to spy out other kingdoms. And the lord of CILICIA laid [his] hand upon them, and he took them and shut them up in a great fortress. And when the rumour flew to EGYPT, ambassadors began to come frequently in quest of those who had been shut up in prison. And thus the suspicion came to be well nigh confirmed, and king LION was unwilling to release them. And an army of EGYPTIANS was collected and it invaded CILICIA in the days of the Great Fast.

In the year fifteen hundred and eighty-six [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1275)], about five hundred horsemen and an army of the ARMENIANS engaged them in battle and put them to flight. And again a powerful army of about eight thousand men was collected, and they burst out upon the miserable country. And they arrived at 'AYAS very early in the morning on the second day [of the week], on the Sabbath of Wonders, on the twenty-fifth day of the month of 'ADAR (MARCH), [531] and they killed those whom they found therein. For many people in the little island which was near had fled there. But having escaped from the Egyptian Arabs, the Frankish highway robbers came upon them and looted all their possessions so thoroughly that they carried off even their cloaks; but they did not kill them. Then the EGYPTIANS came quickly from 'AYAS to MOPSUESTIA on the third day [of the week], and they made a great slaughter therein and burnt it thoroughly. And they crossed the bridge and spread themselves about throughout the country. Some of them went to TARSOS, and on the day of the Sabbath of the festival of the ARABS they called to prayer in the tower thereof, and they went as far as CYRICUS, killing and plundering, and burning. Now some of them made their way as far as SIS, but they found no man therein, for they had all sought protection for themselves in the Citadel, and piece by piece they burnt it. Twenty-five monks were killed in the Monastery of PAKSIMAT, together with RABBAN SOLOMON, a glorious old man, and the syncellus of the deceased Patriarch MAR IGNATIUS. And they set fire to the monastery, and also the Monastery of GHUIKHATH, and the other monasteries of the ARMENIANS and GREEKS, and the little Monastery of our Patriarch which is in the suburbs of SIS, as if they had never left it. Then the Patriarch fled to the fortress of BAHGA, and there he remained in asylum until the wrath had passed.

Now these EGYPTIANS remained in the country until the Sabbath of the White had passed, and they went forth taking very much booty. And the number of the slain amounted to sixty thousand, and the women and the children who were led away into slavery are beyond count. And there were in the country about ten thousand TURKOMANS, and they also wrought great destruction of the [property of the] Christians. And when the EGYPTIANS sallied out the king killed them all, and enslaved their families, and looted all their possessions.

And in the [same] year BAIMOND (BOHAIMOD), the Prince of TRIPOLI, died, and his son reigned in his place. And the nobles sent and brought [532] SIR HARRI, the father of the lord of CYPRUS, an old man, and a man of understanding, and to him they committed the direction of the young man and the administration of the kingdom.

And at [this] time two brothers, the sons of SHAIKH 'ADI, whom the KURDS of the country of MAWSIL hold to be a prophet, quarrelled with each other. And because one of them took to himself a wife from the MONGOLS, the other was afraid, and he took all his family and household, about four hundred souls, and fled to SYRIA, together with all the sheep, and oxen, and horses which they possessed. For the Christians were greatly terrified, and they were afraid of him, lest he should loot their goods in his passage and kill [them]. He, however, passed on and injured no man. But after he had gone, certain highway robbers came and took BETH TAKSHUR, a village in the country of NINEVEH. And the villagers fought strenuously against them in war, and they killed about ten of the robbers; and five men of the village were killed, and seven maidens and three young men were carried off.

And when the year fifteen hundred and eighty-seven [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1276)] began, on the fifth day [of the week], on the third day of the month of the FIRST TESHWIN (OCTOBER), a violent earthquake took place in the city of 'ARKESTIA, which is 'ARGISH, and the strong walls and all the buildings thereof fell down, and a large number of its inhabitants perished. And the selfsame thing happened in the city of KHALAT, and the earthquake in the country thereof took place at the time of the ninth hour; there was great destruction there, but it was not as widespread as that which took place in 'ARGISH. And in those days when the great caravan of Christian merchants was going from CILICIA to BETH RHOMAYE, three hundred horsemen of the TURKOMANS fell upon them, and they killed about eighty of the most famous Christian merchants in the neighbourhood of the city of HERAKLEIA, and they carried off the property which they had with them. Now, with one of the merchants who belonged to the family of 'ISA, the son of HADIRI, there were one hundred and twenty thousand Tyrian *dinars*. And nothing escaped from the caravan except four Arab camels.

And in the winter of that year about seven myriad (i.e. seventy thousand) of troops of the MONGOLS gathered together, and they went to capture the fortress of BIRAH, but they were unable to do so because of the heavy snow which fell and the bitter cold which arrived. [533] And many of them were deprived of [their] horses, and they returned on foot without success. Now 'ABATAI NAWIN the Great stood at their head, and even he, when he turned back and arrived in ASSYRIA, fell sick of an acute illness. And after the return of these troops the TURKOMANS waxed strong, and they mustered in great strength, and they were accompanied by about one thousand horsemen from the army of the EGYPTIANS. And they came from the side of MAR'ASH to go again into the rocky (or, mountainous) country of CILICIA. And when king LION perceived [this], he collected his army of ARMENIANS and set at its head BARON SINBAT, the Constable, his uncle, and others of the nobles. And they went and engaged the TURKOMANS in battle by the side of MAR'ASH on the Eve of the Sabbath (i.e. Friday), on the third day of the Holy Fast of Forty Days. And on that day BARON SINBAT himself, the uncle of the king, was killed, and others of the nobles, viz. the lord of KHARBIZAG (?), and thirteen other famous men, and three hundred horsemen. And of the TURKOMANS also very many were killed, and they returned, having been unable to enter the country .

And before these things happened, that is on the first Sabbath of this Fast, on the fourth day [of the week], on the nineteenth (or, seventeenth) day of the month of SHEBHAT (FEBRUARY), in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-seven [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1276)], hurricane winds blew in MAWSIL and 'ARBIL and in the regions round about. And the wind was loaded with such great quantities of red sand that the air became densely charged [with it], and no man could see his neighbour from the third to the ninth hour. And terror fell upon men, and they thought that they would be wiped out by an air-flood, or by an earthquake, like the city of 'ARGISH. And they went out and passed the night in the plain outside their houses, and the wind dropping they went back to their houses. And also on the first day of the Week of the Dead, which precedes the entrance of the Fast, the wind brought large quantities of sand, but not as much as on the former occasion.

And at [this] time the captain of the host of the fortress of ZAID, whose name was BISHAR, a wicked man and a shedder of blood, an old man, one hundred years old, made up his mind to flee to the EGYPTIANS. For he had in his heart a hatred of MAR SARKIS, the bishop of the ARMENIANS, in the city of 'ARZENGAN, who was a great man and who was honoured by the king of the HUNS. He determined to kill him and then to go away. And, taking certain of [534] his free men with him, he went to the country of 'ARZENGAN. He heard that the saint was in one of his monasteries preparing for the Feast of Hosannas (Palm Sunday), and he lay in wait for him on the road. And when the holy man rose up on the second day [of the week] of the Sabbath of the Passion to go into the city, his son who was great and famous, was also with him. And he said unto the holy man, his father, 'Do thou go into the city, and I want to go and occupy myself in such and such a village, where they want to consecrate the church which they have built'. And his father gave him permission to go, and he was not to stay too long. And when they had separated from each other, three Turkish horsemen came and met the holy man, and they dismounted and went to kiss his hand. And they said unto him, 'An ambassador hath come and he asketh for thee and thy son also to read the *Yarlikh* (i.e. a Mongol Patent or administrative order) which he hath with him'. And the holy man said, 'My son hath gone to such and such a village, but behold. I will come'. And when they had journeyed on a little farther, there fell upon them about two hundred Turkish horsemen, and they killed the holy man and the thirty souls, elders, monks, and other slaves, who were with him. And they cut off his head, and they took it and went and seized that village, and they surrounded the church wherein was the son of the holy man very carefully. And when they entered the church they could not find him because there was a heap [of grain] there, and he had hidden himself inside it. And when they wanted to depart, one of those accursed infidels said; 'Let us set fire to this heap first, and then we will go forth'. And having set fire to it the young man came forth only half alive. And the TURKS said unto him, 'Where is thy father?' And he replied, 'He hath gone into the city'. Then they cast down before him his [father's] head. And when he saw [it] he shrieked and fell down on the head of his father. And then and there, as he fell down, they hacked him limb from limb.

And after these things that wicked old man BISHAR took his sons and and his company of soldiers and departed to the lord of EGYPT. And PARWANA, who was administrator of the kingdom of BETH RHOMAYE, fearing lest the MONGOLS should have their suspicions that his heart also inclined towards the EGYPTIANS, rose up and took the daughter of Sultan RUKN AD-DIN, and carried her to the service of the King of Kings. And he said, 'I heard that the EGYPTIANS were ready to come and seize her, and therefore [535] I made haste and have brought her [here]'. And the TATARS thanked him for this. And he also said, 'One of these Amirs of ours, that is BAR KHATIR, wisheth to take the young man GHAYATH AD-DIN, the lord of BETH RHOMAYE, and to flee to EGYPT. Therefore give me an army that I may go and take him quickly.' And KUNGHURTAI, the younger brother of the King of Kings, having gone with him, they found BAR KHATIR and the young Sultan on the plain of PALESTINE, and that they wanted to flee to SYRIA. And having killed BAR KHATIR, [KUNGHURTAI] handed the Sultan over to PARWANA, and he seated him again on the throne of his kingdom. And thus PARWANA came to be a very great man with the TATARS, and he was greatly beloved by them because of sincerity of the love which he showed towards them.

At this time 'ALAM AD-DIN YA'KUB, a great merchant and a Christian, a native of BAR KAWTAH, a village in the country of 'ARBIL, coming from doing homage to KUBLAI KHAN, died on the road in the country of KHORASAN. Then 'ASHMUT, the ambassador who was appointed [to go] with him, who was himself a great man and an honourable man of the race of the IGHURAYE, and who led the ascetic (or, monastic) life, took his sons and brought them to do homage to the King of Kings, 'ABAKA. And the King of Kings received them kindly, and he made MAS'UD, the eldest son, ruler over MAWSIL and 'ARBIL; and 'ASHMUT became the administrator of the Amir.

And in this year, the year in which MAS'UD reigned, that is to say, the year fifteen hundred and eighty-seven [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1276)], the other son of Shaikh 'ADI fled from the country of MAWSIL to EGYPT, and he also carried off with him the Mongol woman whom he had taken from the TATARS.

(Continued on Next Page)

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

XI

Concerning the Taking of Antioch (continued).

And in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-eight (A.D. 1277), BUNDUKDAR, the lord of EGYPT, decided that he would go in person to BETH RHOMAYE. For the old man BISHAR, together with the other nobles of BETH RHOMAYE who had fled to him, urged him to take this course. Now when LION, king of CILICIA, perceived this, he sent and informed the captains of the hosts of the TATARS that they must be on their guard, because the EGYPTIAN was ready to capture them. Then PARWANA, either because of the hatred which he bore to the king of the ARMENIANS, or because his heart was not straight in respect of the TATARS, showed himself to be a liar in regard to the TATARS. And king LION, because he could not endure [this], rose up and came into the neighbourhood [536] of the TATARS in the fortress of DABABA. And he sent an ambassador every day and said to the TATARS, 'Look ye, and wake ye yourselves up from your sleep, for behold the EGYPTIAN hath drawn nigh with a numerous army'. And similarly PARWANA lied, and said unto the TATARS, 'In vain doth one lay upon you a good deed'; and he sent reports concerning food and drink. And because of this they (i. e. the TATARS) did not believe the word of king LION. And PARWANA himself made a feast for them, each day and made [them] drunk, until the day of the Eve of the Sabbath (Friday), the sixteenth day of the month of NISAN (APRIL), of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-eight [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1277)].

On that day the EGYPTIANS hurled themselves upon the MONGOLS, and they found them drunk and stupefied with wine, and only with the greatest difficulty could each one of them mount his horse. And because it is not [written] in the Law of the TATARS that they may flee before meeting the enemy in battle, the TATARS engaged the EGYPTIANS and were broken before them. And in the course of this breaking two of the great chiefs of the TATARS were killed, the one being TOGHU and the other TUDAN, the athlete. And there were present with the TATARS three thousand IBERIANS, and as the result of the great resistance which they offered, two thousand of them were killed; and they cast down many EGYPTIANS, and one thousand of the IBERIANS escaped. And of the MONGOLS about five thousand fell in the war.

And when PARWANA saw that the TATARS were broken, he took the Sultan and fled to the fortress of DUKIA. And BUNDUKDAR, the lord of EGYPT, went and pitched his tents by the side of CAESAREA, in the place which is called KAI KUBAD, and he remained there fifteen days. And he went into CAESAREA once and sat on the throne of the Sultan. He neither injured anyone of the peoples nor looted, but the soldiers of his army took everything at [its] price (i.e. on payment), and they even bought the hay for their horses. 'For', he used to say, 'I have not come to lay waste the country, but to free its lord from the slavery of the TATARS.'

Then when 'ABAKA, the King of Kings, heard the report [of this battle], he gathered together the troops which were ready, and he set his face towards BETH RHOMAYE. And when BUNDUKDAR knew that his army was not able [to fight], he went forth from BETH RHOMAYE, and he took with him the old woman, the mother of PARWANA, [537] and his eldest son who was the son-in-law of the king of the ARMENIANS.

And at his going forth he destroyed the Christians of the city of ROMAN with the edge of the sword because it had been said unto him, 'by these the TATARS are made strong when they pass over into SYRIA'. And as soon as the King of Kings had come to BETH RHOMAYE, he found no EGYPTIAN there, but only men of the TURKOMANS who had fled to SYRIA. And he pursued and overtook and killed them, and made captives of their families and households. And the TATARS in their greediness also killed many of the Christians, and they made captives of them and looted, even though the King of Kings had commanded that they were not to harm the Christians, because they had hidden and fed many of the TATARS who escaped from the EGYPTIANS. And also he had taken a *Yarlikh* (i.e. a Mongol Patent or administrative order or decree) through a certain elder and monk, and had commanded them to go round about in the camps and rescue the Christian prisoners who were from BETH RHOMAYE. And behold thus they did.

And when the King of Kings himself went about in the mountains of CAPPADOCIA and arrived at the place which is called 'AKSHA ('AGHJA?) DARBAND, he came back again. And when PARWANA came to the King of Kings he did not reduce the honours paid to him, but exalted him more than ever. And he took him with him ostensibly that they might work out [together] a plan of action concerning BETH RHOMAYE, and [decide] how great the army [was to be], and what captain of the host they should leave there, who would be able to stand up against the EGYPTIAN if he repeated [his invasion]. And when they arrived in ARMENIA, in the mountain which is called 'ALATAGH', he made a feast for PARWANA. And he made him drink a large quantity of the milk of mares, for he did not drink wine, and when he went out to pass water, the King of Kings made a sign to the men who carried arms, and they hacked him limb from limb on the second day [of the week], on the second day of the month of 'AB (AUGUST), of the year which is the year six hundred and seventy-five of the ARABS (A.D. 1276). Thus PARWANA was put to death in the same way as the King of Kings put RUKN AD-DIN to death. So that the words might be fulfilled, 'The killer shall be killed, and his blood shall not be considered'. It is said that as soon as [the TATARS] drew their swords on PARWANA he neither trembled nor was terror-stricken, but he poured out evil curses on the TATARS, saying, 'Is this my reward from you? And is this the reward of every one [538] who loveth you?'

And before BUNDUKDAR arrived at DAMASCUS, a judgement of the Most High overtook him in the neighbourhood of HAMATH, and the end reached him and he died; and his deep schemings, which were full of villainy, came to an end. This man in his own mind was very very great, and within a very little he said what the PHARAOH of old used to say, 'The river NILE is mine, and I made it' (1). It is said that in the war of the TATARS he was wounded by an arrow in his anus, and that the head of the arrow remained in him for many days. And having commanded the surgeon to extract it, as soon as he did so his spirit departed. And his son rose up after him in EGYPT, and he handed over the administration of the whole of SYRIA to the lord of HAMATH. Now we have been assured subsequently that his death did not take place thus. But his treasurer mixed a deadly poison with the milk of mares and gave it to him to drink. And when he felt sick, he commanded and made the treasurer to drink of the milk also, and straightway the two of them died together.

Now there happened during this war something which is worthy of note. For they say that when the TATARS were broken their slain fell on the ground. BUNDUKDAR commanded his younger brother BAR KHATIR, who had fled to him, to go round about among the slain of the TATARS, and see what famous men of them had been killed, in order that he might boast himself about them to the EGYPTIANS. And when that man went to the place where the dead were, he turned round their faces in order to recognize them. And among the slain TATARS there was a man who had been wounded, and had fallen down, but was not already dead; he still had some strength in him, and he lay waiting so that in the night he might rise up and flee. And when he saw BAR KHATIR examining the slain carefully, he thought that he was going about to kill those who were not completely dead. And as he had fallen down in the state in which he had been with his weapons attached to him, he took his bow and drew out an arrow from his quiver, and shot it with masterly accuracy at BAR KHATIR, and it hit him in his eye and the arrow-head lodged in his brain. And those who were with him

thought that the arrow had flown from heaven. And they took him up and carried him before BUNDUKDAR, and he died in that hour.

And on the fifth day [of the week], on the seventh day [539] of the month of HAZIRAN (JUNE) of that year, the accursed KURDS made an ambush in MOUNT 'ALPAP, and they took ten monks from the Monastery of MAR MATTAI and tortured them. And one of them who was nicknamed MARUTHA they killed, and the other nine they sold for four thousand *zuze*.

And in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1278)], king LION sent and took to his house his daughter, who was the daughter-in-law of PARWANA, because her husband had been taken to EGYPT, even as we have said. And in this year a very hard winter, with extreme cold, came in 'ADHORBIJAN, and in all GREAT ARMENIA as far as the frontier of the SCYTHIANS; and the horses, and cattle, and sheep of all the dwellers in tents perished. And there was a scarcity of food, for one hundred *manaye* of wheat, that is to say a small load of an ass, was sold for forty Ruknaye *dinars* in MUGHAN.

And in this winter the Persian PAPA (BABA), who had put an end to MASUD, the son of KAWTI, in the kingdom of MAWSIL, calumniated (i.e. brought an accusation against) MAS'UD, saying that he was 'destroying the country of MAWSIL, and that he did not know how to rule'. Then the King of Kings commanded certain nobles, and they came with the PAPA to MAWSIL. And the PAPA set up false witnesses against 'ASHMUT and MAS'UD, and they bribed the judges, and perverted the judgement (i.e. obtained a verdict by fraud). And they (i.e. the TATARS) condemned those Christians, and made an end of them, and they appointed the PAPA governor.

And in the summer of this year a multitude of the TURKOMANS, and dwellers in the desert, and KURDS who were gathered together in SYRIA, assembled, and they invaded CILICIA, and they came as far as HAMDON, and wrought great destruction in the country, and having taken a vast amount of spoil they went forth.

And in the year fifteen hundred and ninety [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1279)], when the great queen KUTAI Khatun saw that in these [recent] years the Christians had ceased from going forth on the day of the Epiphany to bless the waters on the river, because of the quarrel which the ARABS made with them, and that the cold was intense, she came in person to the city of MARAGHA, and commanded the Christians to go forth according to their custom with crosses suspended from the heads of their spears. And having gone forth the Divine Grace visited them, and the strength of the cold diminished, and the grass prospered, [540] and the winter possessed the characteristics [favourable] for herbage. And the MONGOLS had joy in keeping their horses in condition, and the Christians in the triumph of their Faith.

And in this winter rebels from the hordes of the TATARS, about five thousand [in number], who had fled and hidden themselves on the borders of INDIA came to the country of SHIRAZ, and they wrought great destruction there, and made a great slaughter. They were, however, unable to enter the city, but they engaged in battle the army which sallied out and broke them, and only a few of them, and those with great difficulty, escaped. And the thieves who were in SHIRAZ laid their hand[s] on the owners of riches, and seized their possessions. And when the son of the King of Kings heard of the behaviour of those rebels, he pursued them and overtook them, and he destroyed the greater number of them with the edge of the sword.

And in the days of spring there was a certain wicked and audacious man in BAGHDAD who was in the service of the governor, and he made many to suffer evil things, and he debauched men's wives. And he jeered at the Great Council of the kingdom, and laughed derisively at it, as if it was a comedy. And one day when the governor was engaged in the chase, the Council seized that tyrannical man, and they fixed a cross

for him on a wagon, and they fastened his hands and his feet [to it]. And they carried him round through the bazars of BAGHDAD with two needles used for sewing sackcloth (i.e. pack-saddle needles) thrust through his tongue. And a young man stood behind him on the wagon and drove away the flies from the cheeks of the wretched man. And they smote him with their hands, saying, 'Thus are rewarded those who jeer at the nobles'. And when they had brought him out on the bank of the TIGRIS they cut off his head and suspended it above the bridge, and his body they burnt in the fire; and many evil-doers were terrified at the destruction of this man. Now it was night when they marched him round through the streets, and a large number of actors went before him beating drums and dancing as they jeered at him.

And in this year, on Friday the nineteenth day of the month of 'TYAR (MAY), the armies of the EGYPTIANS burst forth on KAL'AH RHOMAITA, viz. nine thousand horsemen and four thousand footmen. At the head of the EGYPTIANS stood an Amir whose name was BASARI, and at the head of the soldiery of SYRIA was HUSAM AD-DIN, a native of 'AINTAB. And they camped on the river [541] of PARZAMAN. And they sent two persons as ambassadors to the Catholicus, the one an ARAB and the other an ARMENIAN, and they said unto him, 'The Sultan hath commanded that thou shalt surrender the fortress in peace, and that thou shalt take thy monks and go and dwell in JERUSALEM. And he will give thee villages sufficient to maintain thee. And if thou dost not wish to act thus, but dost wish to go to CILICIA, in this case likewise we will transport thee on our mules and horses with all honour. But if thou resistest, and will not surrender [it], God will require the blood of all these Christians from thee.'

Then the Catholicus replied, 'I will fight until I die. I cannot be faithful both to God and to the king.' Then during the whole night the EGYPTIANS crowded into the plantations (or, gardens), and they cut down the trees, and they reared up ladders, and in the morning of the Sabbath they began to fight a fierce battle against the city. And they put to flight the ARMENIANS who were fighting on the new wall which they had built below. And they placed ladders and entered into the wretched city and looted it, and they set fire to all the houses therein. And because the whole population had fled up to the Citadel they found no man in the city; but they remained there for five days looting, and spoiling, and burning. Then after the great destruction which they had wrought therein they departed. And they ate up its stores of grain, and they cut down its vines, and its trees, and they smashed the stones of the corn mills, and they dug out the baths in the bath-houses and carried them to BIROA.

And during the days when the army of the EGYPTIANS was encamped against KAL'AH RHOMAITA, BAR KARAMAN sent the Turkoman EUGAYA from BETH RHOMAYE to the lord of EGYPT, [telling him] to send to him an army to pave a road before him and conduct him over into SYRIA, because he was afraid of the armies of the TATARS, and of the king of the ARMENIANS. And the lord of EGYPT sent to king LION, [telling him] to give a passage to the Amir BISARI so that he might go and bring BAR KARAMAN. The king agreed that they might pass over by the borders (or, limits) of his land; and thus they did. And they passed over in the mountains, and came forth near CAESAREA; and they took BAR KARAMAN and returned. And on their return the Amir BISARI made it his object to rebel against his lord, and he made the troops [542] who were with him to swear fealty on his behalf. And they went to the country of CILICIA and remained fifteen days therein spoiling and looting. They encamped for ten days at 'ANAZARBA, and they made the natives of the country who had fled there to suffer great tribulation. And if they had stayed there a little longer they would have used up all the water, but God smote them. They burnt the Monastery of PAKSIMAT entirely, and thus did they with the Monastery of RABBAN SAWMA, but they did not come to GUIKHATH.

And as soon as they arrived in SYRIA this plot became apparent to the lord of EGYPT, who was the son of BUNDUKDAR. And he sallied forth hastily from DAMASCUS and went to EGYPT. And when he began to collect troops those who were with BISARI decamped, because they feared the Sultan. Then, remaining by

himself (or, alone), he went to JERUSALEM, and he took refuge in the PORCH OF SOLOMON; and he shaved the hair off his head, and offered repentance for his folly. Then the eldest son of BUNDUKDAR, seeing that dissension had fallen among his troops, went up to the fortress of KARAK, and abdicated the kingdom. And the nobles gathered themselves together, and they swore oaths of fealty to his young brother, and they seated him upon the throne of EGYPT. And he did not prosper, for there rose up against him a certain Amir whose name was 'ALPI and drove him away, and he himself reigned over EGYPT.

And in this summer the Sultan 'IZZ AD-DIN, the lord of BETH RHOMAYE, fled from the country of BARKAH, and he came to 'ABAKA, who received him gladly. And when he wished to give him a part of BETH RHOMAYE the nobles would not permit [it], 'For', said they, 'if this taketh place the strife between him and the son of his uncle will increase'. And they undertook to give him a portion of the revenue of the whole country, but he was not to have command over [any one particular] place. And he agreed to this, although it was not according to his wish.

And in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-one [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1280)], 'ASHMUT, the Igurian Amir, and MAS'UD, the son of KAWTI, approached 'ABAKA, the King of Kings, and they showed [him] that the judges who had been sent with PAPA (BABA) the PERSIAN had wronged them, and that the judgement against them had been brought about by bribery. [543] Then 'ABAKA commanded that his brother and his son-in-law should be the judges and that they should see which of the two parties was the innocent one. And having passed about a month of days in investigating [the matter], PAPA (BABA) was found guilty, and these former judges were exposed, and they confessed to the bribe which they had taken from PAPA (BABA). And the command went forth, and the head of PAPA (BABA) was cut off with the sword on the fifth day [of the week], on the eighth day of the month of 'AB (AUGUST) of the year aforesaid, and brought to MAWSIL. And those Christian governors again ruled over MAWSIL and 'ARBIL, and they triumphed nobly. And a great man, a PERSIAN by race, whose name was JELAL AD-DIN TURAN, from the country of KHOTAN, was also killed because of the part which he took on behalf of PAPA (BABA), and because he did not repress his impudent boldness.

And in those days a certain Kurdish Amir from the country of MAWSIL, whose name was 'BARDU', fled to SYRIA with all his family and household. And the keepers of the highways from the army of the TATARS, although they pursued him, did not overtake him. And SENKUR 'ASHKAR, who was in DAMASCUS, would not consent to 'ALPI reigning in EGYPT, but he collected an army and engaged him in battle. And when 'ALPI prevailed over him he fled from before him. And he came to RAHBUTH, to the Amir 'ISA, a dweller in the desert, and the two of them became allies. And they sent an ambassador to 'ABAKA, the King of Kings, [asking him] to send troops against 'ALPI. And he having hearkened to them, and troops having gone down to SYRIA, SENKUR was in fear for himself because of them; and he did not trust them, but fled and took refuge in the fortress of SEHYON (ZION). And the TATARS came as far as ALEPPO, and they destroyed with the edge of the sword every one who fell into their hands, and they set fire to all the buildings and went back. But a very large number of the population were hidden in caves, and they were delivered from the sword. Now their descent into SYRIA took place in the days of winter in the year fifteen hundred and ninety- two [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1281)], KUNGHARTAI, the young brother of 'ABAKA, King of Kings, standing as their captain.

And after the TATARS had turned back from ALEPPO, seven thousand Egyptian horsemen gathered together, and went to encamp against the fortress of MARKAB, [544] which is on the sea-coast. When the wretched Brethren, the lords of the Citadel, realized their coming, about two hundred horsemen and five hundred footmen sallied forth, and hid in a ravine in the neighbourhood of the fortress. And they got down from their horses and had begun to pitch their tents, when an army of FRANKS burst upon them and destroyed most of them with the edge of the sword, and only a very few of them escaped.

And in the summer of this year the PERSIANS of the house of JALAL AD-DIN TURAN, and of the house of PAPA (BABA), stirred up a quarrel against MAS'UD, the son of KAWTI, saying that 'he went into the treasury of JALAL AD-DIN and carried off a great quantity of treasure, gold and precious stones'. And MAS'UD was arrested, and under the severe tortures which they made him to suffer he gave a written undertaking [to pay] five hundred thousand darics. And his nephew, whose name was SU'IDATH, was condemned in judgement, and was killed with the sword. And a certain ARAB of MAWSIL, the son of SAMNIAH, who was under the patronage of MAS'UD, died under torture. And another Amir, a Hakarian Kurd, whose name was 'ABU BAKR, who in years past had been a rebel in the mountains of ASSYRIA, and with whom MAS'UD had come to terms of peace, they carried to the Camp, and he also was killed and eight companions with him. And when the eldest son of Shaikh 'ADI, who had fled to SYRIA, came back and went to the Camp, and began to make excuses for his flight, he was condemned to death and was killed. And MAS'UD was brought to MAWSIL together with Mongol scouts, that he might give [them] the gold, and, having remained with them for some days, he fled from them by night.

And in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-three [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1282)], in the autumn season, the armies of the MONGOLS came down again into SYRIA, some fifty thousand of them, with MUNGA TIMUR, the beloved brother of the King of Kings, standing as their captain. And LION also, the king of CILICIA, collected his troops, and he went with him to help him. And the armies of EGYPT and SYRIA were assembled, 'ALPI, who had been Sultan, standing as their captain, and SENKUR 'ASHKAR also, for the two of them had become reconciled to each other.

And the TATARS and the EGYPTIANS met each other in battle between HAMATH and EMESA on the fifth day [of the week], on the thirtieth day of the month of the FIRST TESHWIN (OCTOBER) of the year, and the side of the TATARS [545] prevailed over the side of the EGYPTIANS. And just when the TATARS were nearly obtaining a complete victory, an ambush of the TAGHLIBITES of the desert fell upon them from the left side. And the TATARS thought that the enemy had surrounded them in the front and in the rear, and those who were in the centre of the battle, with those of the left wing, turned their backs to flee. But those who were in the right wing, and who belonged to the race of the TATARS who are called 'AWIRATHAYE', together with five thousand IBERIANS, and the king of the ARMENIANS with his soldiers, not perceiving the ambush of the ARABS, broke the EGYPTIANS who were resisting them with great violence. And they chased them as far as the gate of EMESA, and they made a great slaughter of them until they heard of the flight of their companions, when straightway they also retreated. And as they were returning they encountered the force of the EGYPTIANS who had come back from pursuing the TATARS who had fled; and each side was terrified at the other, and they killed and were killed. And they formed into companies on each side, and each party went over to its own district. And thus it happened that the right wing of the TATARS came bearing much loot, Egyptian darics, and mules, and vessels, and apparel, whilst the left wing and those of the heart (i.e. central line of battle) had cast away even their clothes. And many came back on foot being sorely vexed by hunger and thirst. And thus the right wing and those of the centre of the army of the EGYPTIANS went back to DAMASCUS with much loot, which they had carried off from the TATARS. Of the left wing of the EGYPTIANS very few were saved, and they were badly wounded and plundered. And but for the non-coming of 'ABAKA as far as the banks of the EUPHRATES, and his return to BAGHDAD, the EGYPTIANS would have been left [on the field] cut into pieces.

And in the winter of this year great anxiety fell upon the inhabitants of ASSYRIA, and of the whole of the country of SEN'AR through the return of these troops. For there was also intense cold, and much snow fell in this country of MAWSIL, far more than was usual. And after a dissolution (or, disbanding) of this kind had taken place of the two parties of MONGOLS and EGYPTIANS, thieves from the desert tribes, and TURKOMANS, and KURDS, allied themselves to each other, and they invaded the country of CILICIA, and came as far as 'AYAS, [546] and they set fire to it and looted it. They did not find in it one of its inhabitants,

for they had all fled to sea, and had gone into a new fortress which they had built out in the sea. And having made spoil of whatsoever fell into their hands, they went forth, and again others went in three times. Then others gathered together for the fourth time, and they invaded the country on the Sabbath of NINEVEH of the year [fifteen hundred] and ninety-three [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1282)]. And they came as far as TELLADHE HAMDON, and they carried off very much loot. And when they were going forth the ARMENIANS shut the fortifications and gates on them, and they destroyed them all with the edge of the sword; and they took away their weapons, and they stripped off the skins of their heads. And they loaded up ever so many animals with loads of armour, and spears, and swords, and scalps with the hair upon them, and they sent them to the King of Kings.

And after a few days the governor of the fortress of BIRAH, whose name was HAIDAR, collected a force of about two thousand horsemen, and he captured the fortress of ZAID. And many Christians fled and took refuge in the Great Mosque of the ARABS and were saved; and others rebelled in the place which is called 'AL 'ESTONA' (2) and the robbers were unable to go in against them, because that place is difficult [of access], like a precipice. Then those accursed men, having stolen (or, robbed) about four thousand women and children, crossed the EUPHRATES, opposite MELITENE, and looted the country thereof. And they found in the village of 'ARKA a large population of Christians, and these also they carried off into captivity, and they went to SYRIA. And MANGU (sic) TIMUR, having returned from SYRIA, came to 'ABAKA at BAGHPAD. He was sad and sorrowful because of the breaking (i.e. defeat) which had happened to him, and he undertook to go back again to SYRIA. And having gone back and arrived at GAZARTA of KARDU, a certain informer, whose name was SAFI KARKUBI, laid information (i.e. calumniated) the governors of GAZARTA. And because of this MUNGA TIMUR made them to suffer many evil things, and they held (i.e. nursed) their wrath against him. And one day when he went out of the bath they contrived a plan and made a secret arrangement with one of the cup-bearers, and he made him drink poison. And being disturbed in his body, he removed from GAZARTA towards NISIBIS. And when the governors [547] of GAZARTA knew that the web of the life of MUNGA TIMUR was already cut off, they seized SAFI KARKUBI, and his son, and his slave, and they paraded them naked through the bazars of GAZARTA, and put them to death with an evil death.

And the King of Kings, 'ABAKA, removed from BAGHDAD and came to the city of HAMADAN. And on the Sunday of the Resurrection of the year fifteen hundred and ninety-three [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1282)] he went to the church there, and he rejoiced at the festival with the Christians. And on the second day [of the week] a certain Persian nobleman whose name was BIHRAM made a feast in his palace in his honour. And on the night of the third day of the week he became excited (i.e. delirious) and he saw phantoms in the air. And in the early morning of the fourth day [of the week] of the Sabbath of the White, on the first day of the month of NISAN (APRIL) and the twentieth day of the eleventh month of the ARABS, he departed from this world. And on Sunday, the twenty-sixth day of the month of NISAN (APRIL), on the sixteenth day of the month of MUHARRAM, his brother MANGU (sic) TIMUR also departed this life in the country of GAZARTA. Thereupon, after the death of 'ABAKA, the nobles sent an ambassador to him, and said to him, 'There is no command for thee to go to SYRIA', without informing him of the death of his brother. Thus these two brothers, kings of the world, died, neither of them having knowledge of the death of his brother.

And after a few days about six thousand horsemen came from SYRIA, and they crossed the EUPHRATES and went as far as GAZARTA of KARDU. And MOMIN, the governor of the city, sallied out and engaged them in battle, and he was broken, and captured, and was carried a prisoner to EGYPT. And terror fell on the country of NINEVEH, and all the natives of the district fled to the Monastery of MAR MATTAI. And they were in great tribulation, and a pestilence fell upon them, and about thirty of the monks died.

At this time a certain Persian scribe, whose name was MAJD AL-MULK, attacked ALA AD-DIN, the Master of the Diwan of BAGHDAD, and he proved that he had filched from the revenues of the government treasury a large sum of money. And ALA AD-DIN was seized and he was stripped of everything which he possessed, and even his young sons were sold to the merchants. And whilst he was in this tribulation 'ABAKA died, and 'AHMAD reigned, and he killed MAJD AL-MULK the scribe, the informer against 'ALA [548] AD-DIN. And after a little 'ALA AD-DIN died also within the year.

(1) Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself.—Ezekiel xxix. 3.

(2) Perhaps a building, or set of buildings, resting on very high pillars; the place was near the Citadel of ZAID.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

XI

Takudar [Teguder] 'Ahmad.

After 'ABAKA [came] his brother who was called 'AHMAD. When 'ABAKA, the King of Kings, had departed from this world, all the sons of the kings, together with the nobles, gathered together, and they agreed that 'AHMAD, the son of HULABO, whom KUTAI Khatun, the Great Queen, had borne to him, should be the head of the MONGOLS who were in the west, because the way (or, path) belonged to him, and he was the eldest of his brothers. And he sat on the throne of the kingdom on the first day of the week, on the twenty-first day of the month of HAZIRAN (JUNE), in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-three of the GREEKS (A.D. 1282). And he exhibited great mercifulness of disposition and liberality of hand. And he opened the treasury of his father and brother, and he brought out great treasures of gold and silver and distributed them among [his] brothers, and the Amirs, and the Mongol troops. And he looked upon all peoples with a merciful (or, sympathetic) eye, and especially on the heads of the Christian Faiths, and he wrote for them Patents which freed all the churches, and the religious houses, and the priests (elders), and monks from taxation and imposts in every country and region.

And he sent ambassadors to the lord of EGYPT, to the old man, the Atabag of the lord of BETH RHOMAYE, and to KUTB AD-DIN, the Judge of the city of SEBASTIA, and to SHAMS AD-DIN, the son of TITI, the Wazir of the lord of MARDIN. And he said unto the EGYPTIANS, 'According to the command of God, and the Law which our father CHINGIZ KHAN laid down for us, the kingdom of the MONGOLS hath come to me by lot. And because God hath summoned me to peace, I wish that every man shall possess (i.e. enjoy) a peaceful and quiet life in his own country, and that battles, and killings, and captivities shall cease from the face of the earth. Therefore, if ye have the same minds in this matter, give the hand to (i.e. assist) peace and submission. And if it be that ye would remain in your state of rebellion, God will require of you the blood of the wretched people which will be poured out.' And the lord of EGYPT agreed that there should be peace, and that the sword should be removed from the midst [of them], but on the condition that the city of MAWSIL should belong to the son of BADR AD-DIN, and that he himself should give to the MONGOLS what the others were giving, and BAGHDAD and SINJAR accepted the offer.

And when these ambassadors came back and made known what had been said to them, the King of Kings sent the Shaikh 'ABD AR-RAHMAN to the EGYPTIANS that he might confirm [549] the peace, and behold there it was. And at that period the roads were opened, and merchants were going from BABIL, and ASSYRIA, and PERSIA to SYRIA, and Egyptian merchants were coming to these countries of the TATARS, and no man molested them. Then 'ABD AR-RAHMAN, being ready to go to SYRIA, received a large amount of money from the royal treasure of the MONGOLS, and precious stones, and marvellous pearls, and gold, and silver, and apparel, and bales of stuffs (i.e. brocades) wherein much gold was woven. And he left 'ALATAK and came to TABRIZ, and he sat down there for about a month of days. And he gathered together handicraftsmen of all kinds, jewellers, and sewers (i.e. weavers), and others, and he made everything to a royal pattern. And from there he came to MAWSIL. And he sent and had brought from BAGHDAD ten thousand gold [pieces] also, and he took [them] and went to MARDIN. And the ambassador of Sultan 'ALPI,

the lord of EGYPT, came to him there, and he said unto him, 'The Sultan saluteth thee. And he saith, "I have been sitting in DAMASCUS all this very long period of time, and I have been awaiting thy coming, so that I might see thee and fulfil thy request and go to EGYPT, because this land cannot support all the multitude of troops who are with me. Therefore I beseech thee tarry not."'

And 'ABD AR-RAHMAN sent and said unto him, ' Behold, I am ready to come, but I beseech thee that when I come to thy country thy servants shall bring me into thy presence with honour, and that they shall not conduct me by night, as they did the other ambassadors who have preceded me in coming to thee'. And the Sultan sent and said unto him, 'Thou art a great man with us (i.e. in our opinion) and thine honour is quite distinct from that of the [former] ambassadors. Therefore make glad thine heart, and with the satisfaction which thou wishest come.'

Then Shaikh 'ABD AR-RAHMAN became confident, and he sent and brought the army of the TATARS, who guarded the roads of 'AMID, and they rode with him. And MALIK MUTAFAR, the lord of MARDIN also sent with him an ambassador from him, one SHAMS AD-DIN who is called the 'son of TITI', a great and a famous man. And he also sent other troops to go into the service of the Shaikh as far as the EUPHRATES, and to come back. And the Shaikh left MARDIN in the tenth month of the ARABS, which is SHAWAL, in the year six hundred and eighty-two [of the ARABS, i.e. A.D. 1283]. And when he arrived at the city of HARRAN a certain Amir, one of the slaves of the lord of EGYPT, came to meet him. And that Amir [550] was to wait for the Shaikh, and to alight from his horse [when he came], and to come on foot to salute him, and to kiss his hand according to custom. But that Amir did not alight from his horse, and he shouted out the salutation in front of him. And he sent and said unto the Shaikh, 'There is now no need for these TATARS to come any further; order them to go back', and the Shaikh permitted the army of the TATARS to depart.

And when they had gone the Amir took the Shaikh and those who were with him, and he went off the road which goeth to BIRAH, and he said, 'We have made ready a camping ground for you in another place'; and having left they arrived on the banks of the EUPHRATES. And the Amir said, 'We have pitched tents for you on the other side'; and the Shaikh replied, 'Where ye encamp, we will encamp'. Then the men of MARDIN, who had come into the service of the Shaikh, wished to go back from the EUPHRATES, according to the command of their lord. But the Amir of the lord of EGYPT would not dismiss them, and he said unto them, 'Our Sultan hath commanded that ye are to come as far as ALEPPO'. And thus, although they did not wish [it], they also crossed the EUPHRATES, and they all encamped there.

And at the time of evening the Amir brought abundant supplies of food for the Shaikh and for all those who were with him. And when they had eaten their meal and were resting, and had lain down for an hour or more, the Amir and those who were with him mounted their horses, and he sent and said unto the Shaikh, 'Arise, mount thy horse and let us go'. And the Shaikh objected, and he said, 'I will not ride except in the day-time when the sun is shining'. And the Amir replied, 'I was commanded to carry thee only by night, whether thou wast willing or unwilling'. And the Shaikh was angry and he said, 'Even if thou goest so far as to kill me, I will not travel by night'. And the Amir said, 'I shall certainly not kill thee, but I shall carry thee in fetters'. And when the Shaikh saw that they wished to render his honour contemptible, he consented and rose up and mounted his horse. And they began to travel, and did so the whole night, and very early in the morning they went down away from the road, and away from inhabited country. And having arrived at ALEPPO in the night, they made him camp in one of the colleges.

And a command came from 'ALPI, the lord of EGYPT, that they were to give two hundred *zuz* to each one of the men of MARDIN who had come in the service of the Shaikh, and send them back to their own country. And they were to bring the Shaikh and his company, and the Mongol Amir who was with him, and SHAMS AD-DIN, the ambassador of the lord of MARDIN, with very great care [551] to DAMASCUS, [travelling]

during the night. Then the Sultan, having given these commands, left and went to EGYPT, and he had no expectation of meeting the Shaikh. And when the Shaikh had been brought to DAMASCUS, they took him into the fortress. And they shut up him, and the Mongol Amir who was with him, in one house, and the ambassador of the lord of MARDIN in another, and each couple of their servants in a house. And they appointed the young man who was the son of the Mongol Amir, and another young man who was the son of MAJD AL-MULK to the service of the king of the Amirs, and they rode with him and carried his armour. And they laid down the law that no man should ask his neighbour questions concerning Shaikh 'ABD AR-RAHMAN, either as to where he was or how he was. And news of him hath been concealed until this day—the period of a complete year.

Now after the departure of Shaikh 'ABD AR-RAHMAN to SYRIA it was said to the King of Kings, 'AHMAD, concerning his brother KUNGHARTAI, 'He holdeth converse with 'ARGHON, the son of 'ABAKA, and he is preparing so that one night he may capture thee when thou art asleep in thy tent that he may kill thee'. Therefore 'AHMAD trembled and was terrified, and he hastily bound his brother KUNGHARTAI in fetters, and killed him. And 'ARGHON heard of the murder of his uncle, and he was exceedingly sorrowful about it, and his heart was changed in respect of 'AHMAD. And when 'AHMAD knew that the heart of 'ARGHON was not perfect towards him, he sent against him a captain of the host whose name was 'ALINAKH ('ALYANAKH?) together with a numerous army. And when 'ALINAKH NAWIN advanced and arrived in KHORASAN, 'ARGHON began to flee before him. And 'ALINAKH believed in creature comforts, and he was negligent in respect of a complete devotion to war. And he began to eat, and to drink, and to get drunk. And one night 'ARGHON attacked the camp of 'ALINAKH and made a great slaughter, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that 'ALINAKH and a few followers were able to save themselves from the sword.

Then when 'AHMAD heard of the ill luck which had come upon 'ALINAKH, he sent into all the countries and collected troops, MONGOLS, KURDS, LORAYE (LURS), and PERSIANS, and IBERIANS, and he set out against 'ARGHON in KHORASAN. And when 'ARGHON saw that he was unable to cope with the army of 'AHMAD, he went up into one of the fortresses which were there, together with three hundred of his chosen men, and he began to be disturbed in his mind because to be shut up [552] in a fortress was not advantageous for him, 'for', he said, 'every one who is shut up is [already] captured'. And he was afraid to go to 'AHMAD.

And whilst he was in this position, a certain Amir, whose name was BOKA, a man of the treasury, who was greatly beloved by 'ABAKA, the father of 'ARGHON, said unto 'AHMAD, 'If thou wilt promise to do no harm to 'ARGHON I myself will go and bring him to thee'. And 'AHMAD promised and swore the oaths which the MONGOLS are wont to swear, saying, that if 'ARGHON would come to him of his own free will he would do no injury whatsoever to him.

Then that Amir BOKA went up quickly to 'ARGHON, and he made him come down and brought him to 'AHMAD. And 'AHMAD rejoiced greatly in him, and he made a feast [which lasted] three days. Then after the three days evil thoughts began to move in the mind of 'AHMAD, and he set guards over 'ARGHON, [viz.] 'ALINAKH and his companions. And he said unto them, 'I am going to my mother KUTAI Khatun in 'ADHORBIIAN, do ye keep strict watch on 'ARGHON that he shall not escape, and bring ye him to me wheresoever I may be'. And in the night in which he wished to move he revealed his secret to some of the nobles, and he said unto them, 'If I do not kill 'ARGHON and the other princes, the kingdom will not be made sure for me'. These things he said, and at daybreak on the following morning he moved away. And he commanded that little by little 'ARGHON should be brought to him.

Now when BOKA understood this, he delayed in the setting out with 'AHMAD, and he remained [there] until the night. And he went about to all the princes and informed them of the secret (or, object) of 'AHMAD, and that he was prepared to destroy all [of them]. And wrathful indignation seized the princes, and they rose up and came by night to the place where 'ARGHON was kept under guard. And they brought him out, and clothed him in armour, and gave him weapons, and seated him on a horse. And they all went together to the place where 'ALINAKH was sleeping, and they killed him in his tent, and they also killed the other nobles who were his companions. And the heralds cried out in the camp of the MONGOLS, 'The princes have killed 'ALINAKH and the nobles his companions. Therefore let every man remain where he is, and let him not move or depart to [another] place'. And when the day came the MONGOLS sent and brought certain men who are called 'KARAWUNAS', and who did not wish [553] for 'AHMAD. And they pursued him and overtook him at [the abode of] his mother, and they seized him and bound him with fetters, and they kept him under strict guard, and they looted the camp of his mother and his wives.

Then 'ARGHON and the rest of the princes arrived and they all agreed together that 'ARGHON should stand at the head of the MONGOLS, and that he should hold the kingdom in the place of 'ABAKA his father, and that 'AHMAD should be sent away because he was incapable of ruling.

And whilst the armies of the TATARS were engaged in war with each other, 'ALPI, the lord of EGYPT, sent HAIDAR, the captain of the host, and with him three thousand mounted men, to the country of SHABAKTAN. And they were to seize BAR SHEKAN (ISHKAN), the captam of the host, an Armenian athlete, and to bring him alive in a cage to EGYPT, because he made the ARABS who were going to SYRIA to suffer foul treatment. And having crossed the EUPHRATES they came and encamped against TINA, a fortress of the ARMENIANS. On the first day in which they began to fight, HAIDAR was wounded by an arrow and died, and his troops became stupefied with terror, and they abandoned the fortress and fled to SYRIA. And justice was avenged on HAIDAR, who robbed the Christians and spoiled and laid waste the countries of MELITENE and ZAID. These things took place in the days of summer in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1284).

Bar Hebraeus'

Chronography

XI

'Arghon [Arghun], the son of 'Abaka [Abagha/Abaqa].

After TAKUDAR, who was called 'AHMAD, 'ARGHON, the son of 'ABAKA, [ruled]. The kingdom of 'AHMAD having come to an end in the manner in which we have described, on the fourth day of the week, on the first day of the fifth month of the ARABS, of the year six hundred and eighty-three (A.D. 1284), that is to say on the twenty-sixth day of the month of TAMMUZ (JULY), of the year fifteen hundred and ninety-five of the GREEKS (A.D. 1284), 'ARGHON, King of Kings, sat on the throne of the kingdom. And though many of the nobles said, 'It is not right that 'AHMAD should live', 'ARGHON said, 'I will not take any part in the killing of him. But the mother of KUNGHARTAI and his sons know; if they wish let them kill him; and if they wish let them keep him alive.' And having been kept a certain number of days under watch, the sons of KUNGHARTAI killed him, and the cause of their father was avenged, on the fourth day of the week, in the sixth month of the ARABS, that is to say the sixteenth day of the month of 'AB (AUGUST) of [this] year. And the kingdom was established for 'ARGHON, and he appointed one of the princes in each of the countries [554] at the head of the armies of BABIL, and MAZINDARAN, and ASSYRIA, and KHORASAN, and in BETH RHOMAYE; and the fear of 'ARGHON fell upon every man, especially in SYRIA. It is said that when this report went to SYRIA, the hire of a camel [to go] from ALEPPO to HAMATH rose to four hundred *zuze*, for all men were on their faces and were fleeing towards EGYPT. For 'ARGHON, the King of Kings, at the beginning of his kingdom made MAS'UD BAR KUTI king in MAWSIL and the districts thereof, and there was gladness for all the Christians. But they were grieved because on the day when 'ARGHON came to AHMAD, the sons of JALAL AD-DIN TURAN killed the Igurian monk, the Amir 'ASHMUT, in avenging the cause of their father.

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

XI

Concerning the Murder of Shams ad-Din, the Master of the Diwan.

Now there was a stone of contention between 'ARGHON and 'AHMAD because of SHAMS AD-DIN, the Master of the Diwan, for to 'ARGHON it had been said, 'The Master of the Diwan killed thy father with poison'. Therefore 'ARGHON sent and demanded him from 'AHMAD, and 'AHMAD would not give him up. And thus 'ARGHON indulged a suspicion concerning 'AHMAD that he was gratified by the death of the King of Kings, 'ABAKA, so that he could sit in his place, however it happened. Now 'AHMAD being disgraced, and 'ARGHON having triumphed, SHAMS AD-DIN fled to the mountain of MADAI, and he took refuge with the race of KURDS who are called 'LORAYE' (LURS). And when the head of the LURS, who was called YUSEF SHAH, saw that the kingdom of 'ARGHON was established, he came to do submission to him and was received gladly, because he promised to seize the Master of the Diwan, and to bring him [to him]. And thereupon he went and seized him, and brought him to 'ARGHON, although he offered many presents (i.e. bribes). One hundred myriad (one million?) of gold darics were demanded from him as the price of his blood that it might not be shed. And SHAMS AD-DIN said, 'If ye will bring back to me my possessions I shall be able to give more than this, and if ye cannot I cannot'. And the nobles counselled him, saying, 'Borrow this amount and offer [it], and then we will hand back to thee thy possessions'. Therefore he began to borrow from his kinsfolk, and his household, and his servants, and his friends, and he collected forty myriads [of darics], and said, 'I am not able to produce anything more; [555] whatsoever ye wish to do that do'. And the command went forth that he was to be killed. Then the MONGOLS suspended him in the air by his hands and his feet, and three times they smote (i.e. threw him down) on the earth, and they trampled him to pieces with their shoes, and then they cut off his head on the third day [of the week], on the fifth day of the month of SHA'BAN, in the year six hundred and eighty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1284), that is to say, the seventeenth day of the month of the FIRST TESHWIN (OCTOBER), in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1285).

Such was the evil end which came to this terrified and anxious man. And the whole kingdom of the House of MAGHOGH hung on his finger, for he was very sagacious with an understanding nature; and he was well instructed in the greater number of the sciences and the various kinds of learning. Now his brother was 'ALA AD-DIN, who was governor of BAGHDAD, and who two years earlier had well nigh died a natural death in MUGAN; and he was brought to the city of TABRIZ and buried there, Now this man was exceedingly skilled in doctrines (or, learned subjects), and he had an adequate knowledge of the poetic art. And he composed a marvellous work in PERSIAN on the chronology of the kingdoms of the SALJUKS, and KHAWARAZMIANS, and ISHMAELITES, and MONGOLS; what we have introduced into our work on these matters we have derived from his book.

And in the year six hundred and eighty-three of the ARABS (A.D. 1284), the Sultan GHAYATH AD-DIN, the son of RUKN AD-DIN, the lord of BETH RHOMAYE, died. He set out to come to the Camp and to meet the Sultan MAS'UD, his nephew. And when he arrived in the city of 'ARZENGAN, the nobles administered to him a deadly drug and put him to death because he was very prodigal and corrupt in his ruling. And during

this winter the seven wandering stars (i.e. planets) were gathered together in the Zodiacal Sign of Capricorn, in the *anabibazon* (i.e. the upper part of the Zodiac), and behold, the whole world trembled and quaked at this event (1), for it was the year of the conjunction of the two supreme [stars] KRONOS and ZEUS in the Zodiacal Sign of AQUARIUS, for they make their conjunction in the summer.

And when the lord of EGYPT heard that the kingdom stood firmly, and that 'AHMAD had departed and his peace with him, he brought out Shaikh 'ABD AR-RAHMAN from confinement in the fortress, and made him to dwell in one [556] of the mosques of DAMASCUS, and he gave him an allowance (or, food) which was sufficient for him. Now this man 'ABD AR-RAHMAN was the son of one of the slaves of the murdered Khalifah MUSTA'SIM, and was by race a GREEK. And when BAGHDAD was taken, he was saved from the slaughter, and he came to MAWSIL, and he dwelt in the bazar and did carpentry work, for he loved it and had learned the trade. And he went to the fortress of 'EMADIAH and said unto 'IZZ AD-DIN, the lord of the fortress, that he was able to make things (i.e. objects or furniture) which would be regarded with admiration, and that he had learned [to do so] in a revelation from beings of the spirit. And 'IZZ AD-DIN took him to the King of Kings, 'ABAKA. And whilst holding converse with the king he said, 'Take me into the fortress of TILA where your treasury is, so that I can show you my craftsmanship'. And when they took him thither he began to measure out the ground on this side and on that, and finally he stood upon a certain spot and commanded them to dig there, while he himself stood some distance away. And when they had dug, they found a ring in which was set a marvellous and valuable seal (or, gem), and they took it and brought it to the king. And since his word proved to be true in this one instance, they believed everything he said, namely, that he was able to cast out devils, and to understand the secrets of the demons. And he enjoyed such great freedom of speech and intimacy with the princes that at length the whole government of the kingdom was committed to him, especially during the short time in which 'AHMAD reigned. It is said that when the TATARS looted the treasury of the Khalifah they also took him prisoner, and they brought him to the fortress of TILA; and he went into the fortress carrying [his] possessions, and that that ring which he found he himself had buried in that place.

And in the month of the LATTER KANON (JANUARY) of this year, 'ARGHON, King of Kings, sent YARLIKE out into all countries, saying, 'Inasmuch as 'AHMAD turned aside from the laws of our fathers, and trod the path of ISLAM, which our fathers did not know, all the princes agreed and they cast him forth from the kingdom, and sent him to a Khan, our great father, that he might judge him; and they seated me on the throne of the kingdom, from the river GIHON to FRANKISTAN. Therefore let your hearts be happy, and let every man occupy himself with his own works. And the rulers and governors who are in every place [557] shall oppress no man, and if they do, let them be afraid for themselves, so that they may not be cut to pieces.' We have heard that in those days the lord of EGYPT sent Shaikh 'ABD AR-RAHMAN, and those who were with him, from DAMASCUS to the fortress of SAFAD, and that he shut them up therein, where [all] hope of their coming out was cut off.

And in this year, which is the year fifteen hundred and ninety-six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1285), a hen in the village of BARTELLI laid an egg which was nearly as large as that of an ostrich. And on the Sabbath of the Passion of the Redeemer another hen laid a little egg in BARTELLI which had a neck that was as thin, and curved, and long, as a cucumber. And they brought it before us and we saw it. And on the first day of the week, on the twenty-ninth day of the month of TAMMUZ (JULY), a Syrian horde of mounted robbers, KURDS, TURKS, and desert ARABS, about six hundred strong, burst upon the country of 'ARBIL, and they looted and killed many men who were Christians from the village of 'AMKABAD, and from SURHAGAN and other villages. And BAHA AD-DIN, the KURD, sallied out from 'ARBIL to meet them in battle, and he was broken before them and fled and went into the city. And those accursed robbers carried off great spoil, women and maidens, and many cattle, and departed. And in those days other marauding bands came to the country of TUR 'ABDIN, and they made a great slaughter in the village of KESHLATH, and in BETH

MAN'IM and the villages thereof, and in SBIRINA, and they carried away very much spoil from the country of BETH RISHE and departed.

And in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-seven [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1286)] (2), on the seventeenth day of the month of HAZIRAN (JUNE), about four thousand mounted robbers and brigands, KURDS, TURKMANs, and ARABS, gathered together, and some men say that three hundred chosen horsemen from the Egyptian slaves were joined to them. And they directed their gaze on the country of MAWSIL. And having spoiled the villages which were on their road, they burst upon the city at dawn on the second day [of the week], on the twenty-second day of the third month of the ARABS, of the year six hundred and eighty-five (A.D. 1285). Then king MAS'UD and the other horsemen who were found in the city [558] mounted and rode out to engage them in battle. And when they saw how great was their number, and that they themselves had no force equal to theirs, they turned back and went into the city. And they crossed the TIGRIS and went and ascended to the Monastery of MAR MATTAI, and they remained there for a few days. Then when the accursed marauders had entered the city, the ARABS who were natives thereof met them with abundant supplies of food and cool waters, And they rejoiced in them with a great joy, and they exulted, pretending that they were prepared to do harm to and spoil and kill the Christians only.

And those Christians who were in the neighbourhood of the church of the TAGRITANAYE (TAGRITANIANS) took their wives, and their sons, and their daughters, together with all their cattle, and they went and took refuge in the mansion of the uncle of the Prophet, who was called 'NAKIB AL-'ALAWAHIN' (or, 'ABD ALWAHAN; or, NAKIB AL-'ALAWYIN), that peradventure the marauders might pay respect to that building, and that there they might be saved from the slaughter and spoliation of the city.

Then the remainder of the Christians who had no place whereto to flee, and could not take refuge in the mansion of the NAKIBA, remained terrified, and trembling, and weeping and wailing over themselves, and over their evil fate, though in reality it was through those who had gone there (i.e. to the mansion of the NAKIBA) that the evil fate came. As soon as ever the marauders had gone in they began asking about the Christians. Then the ARABS who were natives of the city cried out with one mouth (or, voice), 'Behold, all the Christians are in the mansion of the NAKIBA'. Then they all became strong, and all the marauders went there. And they placed ladders in position and went up them and captured the mansion, and they looted and robbed the whole of the people who were therein. And one of the Christians who were there was wounded by an arrow and died. And they put to the torture not only the Christians but the ARABS also, and they made a mock of their women, and sons, and daughters in the mosques before their eyes.

And when they had made an end there they went to the quarter of the JEWS, and they looted their houses and plundered all their community. And as for the Christians who had remained in their houses, and had not gone elsewhere, no man injured them, and they did not even see the marauders with their eyes. But certain Christian merchants, and many ARABS, who were coming to the city, and had alighted at the inns (*khans*) which were outside the city, where none of the marauders came, because [559] of their fear, suffered the loss of a large quantity of their goods. And they brought their loads into the city and deposited them in the market-place of the bazars, and inasmuch as all the food and provisions of the citizens was there, they thought that they would never be neglected by [those who kept] guard over such a place as this. Therefore they struggled and wrestled with each other that they might bring in their treasures. And the natives of the city also were carrying possessions out from their houses, and were bringing gold, and silver, and bales of cloth, and apparel of various kinds to that place. And so after [all these things] had been gathered together, the marauders came, and they smashed the gates of the market-place easily, and they went in and took everything which they found there.

Now many young men from among the natives of the city were standing by the gate of the market-place, and when the marauders, who were heavily laden with plunder, were going out, they snatched it from them and fled. And others took their horses which they had left at the gate of the market-place and fled. And thus during the whole of that day, from morning until evening, they went round about through the bazars of the city and carried off horses, and mules, and asses, and oxen, without number. And they took prisoners the slaves and handmaidens, nearly five hundred souls, and the greater number of them were ARABS and JEWS; there were a few Christians, but only those who were found from the mansion of the NAKIBA. But one man, a believer and a marvellous jeweller, was killed, for he wished to take away his little son out of their hands. Him they smote with the sword and after three days he died. About ten of the accursed marauders perished, because when they were going about through the city they went into streets which had no exits, and the people stoned them with stones and killed [them]. And if the ARABS who were natives of the city had known that the marauders were their fellow believers they would have, without mercy, made a mock of them, and spoiled them, and they would have killed the greater number of them in the narrow streets of the city; and, moreover, at the beginning they were not able easily to enter therein. And having been deceived they bit their fingers without profit. Now the marauders brought the spoil from the city all day long and they remained there until it became dark. And the natives of the city thought that the robbers were ready to continue the spoliation of them on the following day. [560] But during the night they loaded up their horses, and they took goods which it is impossible to enumerate, and rode away in the night. And when the day broke not one of them was left behind; only the place where they had camped was visible.

And in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-nine [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1288)], on the twenty-eighth day of the month of NISAN (APRIL), some strife broke out between the KURDS and the MONGOLS who were near them, and the MONGOLS kept their anger against them. And during their removal six of their men were left behind, and they went and hid themselves on the MAWSIL road. And when twelve distinguished young men of the sons of BETH KUDIDATH (KUDIDA?) came along, those accursed robbers rushed out upon them and killed them all mercilessly like sheep, in the day-time, with the sun [high] in the vault of heaven. And after a time (or, hour) others came from MAWSIL and they found those unfortunate young men drenched (or, befouled) with their own blood, and in one of them life still existed. And they lifted him up and brought him to the village, and he told the story of how they had been killed, and [gave] the names of the heathen murderers. And after three days he also died.

After the kingdom of 'ARGHON, the son of 'ABAKA, was established, BOKA, the treasurer who had been the cause of the saving of 'ARGHON from 'AHMAD, as has been shown above, prospered exceedingly, and he became so high and mighty in the kingdom that even the princes and princesses, and the sons-in-law and the daughters-in-law, and the captains of the armies of the MONGOLS, used to come and submit to him, and stand at his gate and beg stipends from him. And all the administrative offices of the kingdom were committed to him, and the kings and the governors who ruled in all the countries which were under the dominion of the House of MAGHOGH were not accepted (i.e. acknowledged) without his *Pukdana* and the red sign (manual) of BOKA. And this BOKA appointed his brother 'AROK to be the Head and Governor-General in all the countries of BABIL, and 'ADHORBILAN, and BETH NAHRIN. And this man who was terrible and terrifying was over all the armies of the MONGOLS, and over the kings, and the governors, and the scribes who were in all these countries.

Now these two brothers ruled the Mongol kingdom with great pomp and with magnificence [561] indescribable for a period of six years. About the affairs of the King of Kings, 'ARGHON, they were negligent, and they occupied themselves with the collection of riches, and horses, and gold and silver, and treasure. Now 'ARGHON appointed other Amirs for his service, the men who rode, and went in and came out, and ate and drank with him. And everything which was done in the Camp, and in the countries which were remote, as well as in those that were near, little by little they made the King of Kings to know. And that

BOKA exalted himself over the nobles, and boasted of his power, and that by his determined will he brought about (or, did) everything that he did.

And thus the Amirs who were his opponents easily misrepresented and perverted to the King of Kings all the matters which BOKA confirmed and arranged. At length three of the honourable persons who were in BAGHDAD went to the Royal Camp, and they made accusations against 'AROK, and they showed that he was working destruction and doing harm by his corrupt deeds, and gathering together great riches by extortion. Then the King of Kings commanded that these three persons should be kept under observation with honour until 'AROK came to the Camp. [BOKA] sent a message, [saying,] 'Arrest these persons and cut off the heads of the three of them without the questioning and investigation and knowledge of the Judges.' Now this [display of] pridefulness was visible to the kingdom, and this act became a great occasion for the opponents of the two brethren BOKA and 'AROK. And from that moment everything which was said about them was accepted easily, and without any doubt. And the princes were exceedingly sorry for the slain [or, murdered] men, and they were very angry. Then BOKA quieted the consciences (?) of the princes by means of bribes, and he left and departed.

And after a short time a certain JEW, whose name was SA'D AD-DAWLAH, and who was the father-in-law of the governor of BAGHDAD—now this governor had died recently—approached the Camp, and in the presence of the Amirs said, 'If ye will stop the going down of 'AROK to BAGHDAD, he himself (i.e. I myself) will bring the double of the revenue which is brought each year to the Camp'. And straightway the command went forth that 'AROK was not to go down to BAGHDAD again, and he was to have no further command (or, jurisdiction) over it. [562] And [the Amirs] handed affairs over to the JEW. And behold, at the present day there is a Jewish governor and general director on the throne of the House of 'ABBAS. Observe how ISLAM hath been brought low! And [the MUSLIMS] neither cease nor rest from their wickedness and their tyranny.

And from this moment complaints against 'AROK became frequent, and among them were those of a certain Persian scribe whose name was 'ABD AL-MUMIN, and who also went to the Camp and showed that 'AROK, and his Amirs, and [his] officers and [his] scribes had destroyed the countries and all the cities which are under the dominion of 'AROK, and if we were to overcome him and seize him by his hands he would drop out of them one hundred myriads of gold *dinars*'. Then the Amirs were pleased with such tales as these, and they agreed to the wish of the informer (or, accuser), [saying,] 'Certainly wait ye for him a little', Now when BOKA saw that the complaints against him and his brother were received joyfully, he was offended and withdrew himself. And he made himself sick (i.e. feigned sickness), and he took to his bed in his house. And when the nobles went in ostensibly to visit him in his sickness, he groaned before them and uttered regrets concerning the good deeds which he had performed for 'ARGHON in the time of 'AHMAD, and said that 'ARGHON had not repaid him with adequate interest. And he began to concoct a deceitful and rebellious secret against 'ARGHON, and he revealed his secret to some of the nobles. And they received this with simplicity, for they knew that he was a crafty man, and that 'AHMAD had been brought low by his astuteness and that 'ARGHON has triumphed thereby. Then 'ARGHON, because he himself had experience of work of this kind, kept a strict guard over himself. For the Amirs who were in the service of 'ARGHON continually understood the evil intention which BOKA had.

Then when BOKA recognized that his deceit was discovered, terror, and fear, and trembling fell upon him, and he was distracted and did not know what to do. And he rose up and mounted his horse, and fled to the Camp of the Great Khatun 'ALJI, ostensibly to take refuge with her. And when 'ARGHON and the rest of the Amirs heard that BOKA had ridden away, they also mounted their horses and rode after him and overtook him; and they seized him and brought him [back]. And when they questioned him, he confessed the deceit. 'Verily,' he said, 'I had no wish at all to injure the King of Kings, but only those [563] Amirs who malign me

continually, and who abuse me and make me contemptible in the eyes of the King of Kings. 'And his word was not accepted, but they killed him and hacked him limb from limb, on Friday the fourteenth day of the month of the LATTER KANON (JANUARY), in the year sixteen hundred [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1289)]. And they looted his house, and his possessions, and his furniture, and they killed his sons and those who were participators in his secret. And on that day was killed also SHEM'UN, the priest, and physician and lawyer, who was a Christian and a native of 'ARBIL (now he was named "ABU AL-KARAM'), and many of the MONGOLS who are unknown to us.

And because 'AROK was wintering in the country of MAWSIL he sent hurriedly from the Royal Camp an Amir, a man of courage whose name was 'BAITMISH', a strong and strenuous man, who a few days before had come from MUGHAN to the neighbourhood of 'AMID. And he made all the troops of the MONGOLS to mount their horses, and he came and surrounded 'AROK who had no knowledge of the affair of his brother, but was dwelling [quietly], eating and drinking, for those were the days of the MONGOL festival of the 'White'. And when he saw that the troops of the MONGOLS and the bulls of BAISHAN had encircled him, he was stupefied and did not know what to do. But he mounted his horse, and he took his wife and his sons, and he sought asylum in the little fortress of KHASHAF until the day broke. And straightway BAITMISH sent to him, saying, 'It is unseemly for thee to resist'. Then 'AROK sent and said, 'I have not come up here as a rebel and one who resists, but because I do not know what hath happened, or for what reason these crowds of soldiers have gathered together against me; therefore inform me so that I may understand'.

Then BATMISH himself drew nigh to the gate of the fortress and said, 'Thy brother BOKA acted treacherously against the king, and the command went forth and he is killed. And we have come to arrest thee, and to carry thee to the service of the King of Kings. Whether we are to keep thee alive or whether we are to kill thee he will know.' Then straightway 'AROK opened the gate of the fortress and came down with his household, and he said, 'The command of the king is on [my] head and eyes'. Then they bound him with chains, and they set guards over him, and sent him to the Camp and there he was killed. 'AROK was taken on the second day [of the week] of the Fast of Nineveh, that is to say on the last day of the LATTER KANON (JANUARY) [564] of the year, and after seven days he was killed.

Now the word of that Persian lawyer—who had already calumniated (i.e. informed against) 'AROK, saying that the hundred myriad darics which he was about to bring out [had come] from the kings, and governors, and scribes, whom 'AROK had appointed in the various countries, and who had behaved corruptly and taken [them] unjustly, and had laid waste the countries—was accepted because of the [universal] hatred of 'AROK, and an evil judgement went forth against them (i.e. the kings, governors, and scribes). And the dealing with them was handed over to the Amir BAITMISH, so that when 'ABD AL-MUMIN had made the reckoning of their [liabilities], everything which went out (i.e. was charged) against them, BAITMISH by means of beatings and tortures was to take back from them, and was to put to death him that was guilty of death without mercy.

And because MAS'UD BAR-KAWTI, and his brethren, and his kinsfolk, knew no one besides BOKA in the Royal Camp, and they considered the service of the other Amirs as of no account, they were unwilling to make a meaningless salutation to those others. And because the command of BOKA over all the Amirs was superior and sublime, they neglected them all. And they accepted BOKA only, although through this [behaviour] they were condemned and blamed by every man. And to them they gave this advice, saying, 'It is not right to neglect the service, and submission, and obedience to those Amirs who are permanently in the Royal Service. And for us to accept one and to offend many is a foolish act; because it is possible that [a period of] trial may come upon that one Amir in whom ye put your trust, and ye will not be helped by the other Amirs.'

Then MAS'UD, because he was childish in mind, and unwise in his actions, said boastingly, 'I do not wish for life without BOKA, and if BOKA dieth I should esteem death better for me than life'. And this took place, and his word was actually fulfilled. For on the day when 'AROK was arrested they set guards over MAS'UD, and kept watch over him very carefully until 'ABD AL-MOMIN the Persian lawyer arrived. Then was stirred up the persecution and wrath against the hated Christians, and, though I ought not to say it, abandonment by God. And they (i.e. the MONGOLS) began to torture them without mercy, and they tortured excessively TAJ AD-DIN, the son of MUKHATAS, [565] who was governor of 'ARBIL. They hung this man up by his feet (i.e. head downwards) to the height of a cubit above the ground. And they beat his feet until he collapsed. Then forthwith they let him down and beat him on his chest and back, until he fell down as one dead. Then they put fire in a brazier which they suspended over his breast. And in this wise they made him to suffer excruciating tortures until they had taken from him nearly fifty thousand *dinars*. And when he could no longer endure tortures, they cast him [several] times into the river TIGRIS. Perhaps he was drowned and escaped [further] wrath, and tortures, and beatings.

And because MAS'UD, the son of BAR KAWTI, was sick, they did not inflict blows upon him. They feared lest he should die and his money perish with him. And verily they employed empty promises in dealing with him, saying that if he would give them ten myriads of gold [*dinars*], he should remain in his honourable office, and that no man should harm him. Now MAS'UD himself thought that since he had not been beaten by them they would confer some honour upon him, and he was exceedingly avaricious, and he used severe words in converse with them. Nevertheless, they, in their artfulness, partly by means of stripes and blows, and partly by threats and curses, took that amount of money from him. And they carried him off with them to 'ARBIL, and there they killed him on the second day of Passion Week, on the fourth day of the month of NISAN (APRIL) of that year. And they placed wooden fetters on his son, and shut him up.

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(1) Bedjan's note reads: What happeneth in the world doth not take place through the Course of the luminaries, neither doth it happen through their conjunction, but by the will of the Lord, without Whom not one sparrow falleth to the ground.-Matthew x. 29.

(2) Bedjan's note reads: In this year 1597 of the GREEKS, which is the year 1286 of our Lord, on the 30th day of TAMMUZ, MAR GREGORY BAR HEBRAEUS departed from this world in the city of MARAGHA. Another writer, perhaps his brother BAR SAWMA SAFI, wrote what took place in the following years.

Bar Hebraeus'

Chronography

XI

Concerning the Murder of Shams ad-Din, the Master of the Diwan (continued).

And his brother SHAHAB AD-DIN fled, and they sought for him diligently, but they found him not. And DUBAIS, a man from the village of BETH SAHRAYE, was killed because of him, for SHAHAB AD-DIN had hidden himself in the village for some days, and left [it] and departed. And when they questioned DUBAIS about him, he took an oath and denied that he had seen him. And having seized upon a certain small youth and beaten him, he confessed and showed them the place where SHAHAB AD-DIN had been. And when they had made sure that he had been with them, they carried the wretched DUBAIS to MAWSIL, and there they killed him, and the mob stoned his dead body.

And after his murder the men of MAWSIL made accusations against another young man, and they declared that 'he was a whoremonger', and that 'he committed adultery with Arab women'. Him also they killed, and they dragged his dead body through the streets of the city, and they heaped up wood upon it and burnt it in the fire. And they took his head [566] and carried it about to the doors of the churches, and they scoffed and jeered at the Christians. The persecution and wrath which the men of MAWSIL suffered during these two months, neither the tongue can describe, nor the reed (i.e. pen) write. Wake up then and sleep not, O Lord, and look on the blood of Thy servants which is being poured out without mercy, and be sorry for Thy Church which is being rent in pieces by the persecution.

And in the days in which BOKA was killed, BAITMISH was sent to the western countries. And all the troops of the MONGOLS mounted their horses and rode away to capture 'AROK. And the dwellers in SYRIA were perturbed, and terror, and fear, and trembling fell upon them. And they thought that the MONGOLS were about to attack them. And they also made themselves strong, and they collected many troops, and were prepared to engage [the MONGOLS] in battle. And while being assured that the MONGOLS were occupied with their own affairs, and that they had no care for other people's [concerns], they were not pleased that their gathering should be dissolved with no result. Then they went and encamped against TRIPOLI, a city on the coast of the Great Sea, and they made war upon it strenuously. And those who were inside [the city] sent and asked for help from their kinsfolk the FRANKS who were in the Island of CYPRUS, and a few troops were sent to them by the means of ships on the sea. And [these] having arrived, the citizens became strong, and they stood on the walls, and they waged war with superlative valour for nearly three months, more or less, with those who were outside. And when those outside gained the upper hand, and breached the wall with engines of war, and the Christians saw that they were overpowered by those outside, the greater number of them embarked in ships, and they left and went to CYPRUS. And as for the remainder who were in the city, the ARABS attacked them, and they drew their swords, and they became mixed together, and they killed and were killed. And because of the great slaughter of the ARABS which took place, the ARABS burned with wrath, and they destroyed the wretched city entirely, and they left therein no tower and no church which they did not lay in ruins. And they took therefrom an endless amount of spoil, and they took innumerable sons and daughters prisoners, and they killed an endless number of priests, and deacons, and monks, and nuns. And

they left the city a howling wilderness and departed. These things took place at the full moon of the month of NISAN (APRIL), [567] of the year sixteen hundred of the GREEKS (A.D. 1289).

And in this year also about two thousand horsemen of the robber bands of SYRIA gathered together, and they came and crossed the frontier of SINJAR and BETH 'ARBAYE, and they neither plundered nor looted until they arrived in the neighbourhood of PISHABHUR, a village on the banks of the river TIGRIS, where they halted there for the night. And they rose up during the night and crossed the river, and they directed their gaze on WASTAW, a large village of the NESTORIANS, and they burst upon it at the early dawn of the first day of the week, on the fourteenth day of the month of 'AB (AUGUST). Now the villagers thinking that they were merely a few marauders sallied out to engage them. And when they saw how many they were, they went back into the village, and some of them took refuge in the church and were saved, and some of them scattered themselves about in the gardens and vineyards. And those accursed men spread themselves over the seven hamlets which were round about it and then they wrought great destruction. And they killed nearly five hundred men, and they took prisoners nearly one thousand persons, women, and sons, and daughters, and they took treasures, and sheep and cattle without number. And they went back the same day by the way they had come, and they travelled quietly and without fear until they arrived at the river HABURA, over which was a fragile (or, narrow) bridge, and there they were impeded by the weight of the loot and the great number of the prisoners which they with difficulty were carrying away. And thus news [of them] reached the Amir of the MONGOLS who was in MAWSIL, and the MONGOLS without delay made themselves ready and stood up and mounted their horses and pursued them. And they went on and found them, and the greater number of them had crossed the bridge, and were journeying on laden with loot. And those who had not yet crossed the bridge the MONGOLS killed. And they recovered of the spoil three hundred prisoners, women, and sons, and daughters, and they brought them and handed them over to their owners.

And moreover, in this summer the marauders of SYRIA, about two thousand mounted men, sallied out and went to the countries of MELITENE and of HESNA. And KHARBANDA, the captain of the host who was there, heard [of it], and he collected his troops and they made ready and went and engaged them in battle, and they were broken before them. And a large number of those who were with him were killed, and certain of his friends, and his kinsfolk, [568] and the sons of his brothers, an unknown number of persons, were made prisoners. And only he and the forty persons who had fled escaped, and they came and went into the new mansion which he had built in the country of HESNA, in the place which is called in the Aramean language 'HESONA'. And whilst sitting, and grieving and pondering how they could save those of them who had been made prisoners in the war, they all agreed that the war which had taken place in this country had happened because of the Christians, and that it was therefore right to take the money from them and to buy (i.e. ransom) those who had been made prisoners because of them. Then they began to assess every city and country for a certain amount of gold according to the ability of the place [to pay]. But justice could not endure that their object should be actually fulfilled, for it cast down quickly that new mansion upon them, and made an end of them one and all, and except for the one man, the doorkeeper, on whose back a beam fell and hurled him outside the door of that mansion, not one of them was saved.

And at the beginning of the year sixteen hundred and one [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1290)], 'ALA 'ALMISH, the lord of MAIPERKAT, who was also a great persecutor of the Christians, sent secretly and killed the lord of MUSH, who was a Christian and an ARMENIAN by race, and he made the monks of MAR KAWMA to suffer other evils. Then one of the monks who were there burned with anger within himself, and he went to the Camp and made accusations against 'ALA 'ALMISH. Now he possessed freedom of speech with the King of Kings, and the king hearkened unto him with pleasure. And one day when the King of Kings was riding, and he was going to cross a bridge over the river KHAWRAR, the monk seized the bridle of his horse and swore an oath, saying, 'I will not let thee cross until thou commandest that 'ALA 'ALMISH is to be killed', and straightway he commanded and 'ALA 'ALMISH was killed.

And in those days also an Egyptian lawyer, a courageous man, who was known as FARAJ ALLAH, and was a scribe in MAWSIL, made public the treachery of the Persian lawyer 'ABD AL-MOMIN (whom we have mentioned above), who had unjustly killed MAS'UD, the son of BAR KAWTI, and had made the Christians to suffer great evils, and had collected a large sum of money for himself. And the King of Kings having commanded that his history was to be investigated, the PERSIAN was condemned and killed, and the righteousness of God was avenged speedily. And behold, from this time [onwards] the King of Kings recognized, [569] and it was proved to him fully, the falseness and impudence of the ARABS, and that everything they did they did with deceit (or, treachery), and the accepting of persons (i.e. hypocrisy). And straightway he commanded that SA'D AD-DAWLAH, the JEW, who was governor in BAGHDAD, should be the chief of the scribes, that is to say, SAHIB DIWAN, in all the dominion of his kingdom; and that governors should never, never appoint the ARAB to be a scribe, but only the Christian and the JEW. And thus the hatred and ill-will of the ARABS [towards the Christians] grew stronger. Now since that JEW was governor, the administration of the revenue and taxation of the city was committed to him. And the King of Kings sent his brother [to be] governor of BAGHDAD in his place. And he sent his other brother, together with TAJ AD-DIN, the son of MUKHATAS, the Director-General, to MAWSIL, and to MARDIN, and all DIAR BAKR.

And when they arrived in these countries, a certain Amir, a KURD, who had long been governor of 'ARBIL, and who was known as 'MBAZAR BAG', was afraid of them. And he thought that they were about to make him to suffer sorely, and immediately and swiftly he sought the road to the Camp, for he said that if he should be looked on with the eye of mercy before the King of Kings, every kind of fear would be removed from him. And thus he having gone, these Amirs sent many informers against him in his footsteps (or, on his heels). The King of Kings thought that he would kill him, but he kept him in a state of hope for the moment. And before [he killed him] he sent a messenger secretly to seize his sons, and his household, and his kinsmen, and his fellow countrymen, so that he might make a thorough ending of them; then they were to kill with their own hands him that was with them.

Now there was a certain woman who had knowledge of this secret, and she came to the Kurdish Amir by night and informed him about the whole matter. Then the KURD, without the least hesitation, straightway took one of his slaves, and the two of them mounted their horses and fled from the Camp. And they fled like the bird from the snare. And this man flew on his horse so swiftly that he outrode the messenger [of the King of Kings]. And he arrived at his house. And his family fled with all their food, and he took refuge in the mountains, and hills, and savage places which were inaccessible.

And after this the messenger [of the King or Kings] arrived, and he was stupefied and marvelled. Then the King of Kings blazed with wrath and he was inflamed greatly with rage, [570] not only because this man had saved himself from his hands, but he was especially irritated that he had obtained knowledge [of the secret]. Who then from inside the Camp informed that KURD and revealed to him the secret? And he sent troops to patrol the mountains and to hold the roads over them to the KURDS. And because it was the season of winter and heavy snows [lay] on the tops of the mountains where the KURDS were, the troops of the MONGOLS were unable either to cut through them or to master them. Therefore they returned to the plain where the KURDS were farmers and poor labourers and men who paid tribute; and the MONGOLS spoiled and killed them, and they looted and burnt their houses and their stores of grain. These poor people were especially ill-treated by the men of the mountains who were with the Mongols and who are called K'AYASHYE (KAYAJYE?). For these were Christians and by nature hated the ARABS, and they did great injury to the KURDS and committed indescribable atrocities on them. They killed the men without mercy, and they made prisoners of innumerable women, and sons, and daughters. And of their food supplies as much as they were able they carried away, and the rest they burnt in the fire. Therefore by reason of these men of the mountains, the ARABS blazed with wrath against all the Christians, and they said, 'If it were not for these men of the mountains, the MONGOLS would never, never have treated the KURDS evilly, because a very large number

of the MONGOLS have become HAGARAYE (i.e. MUHAMMADANS) in our own days, and they would never wish to do evil to the MUSLIMS, unless, perhaps, they were forced [to do so] by their nobles.'

Now the MONGOLS, the summer having come, left the countries of MAWSIL and 'ARBIL and departed, but the KURDS who had come down from the tops of the mountains, and were gathered together in tens of thousands, came to the plain. Then the natives of the country fled before them and took refuge in the cities and fortresses. All the people of the country of 'ARBIL went up to the Citadel, and straightway the KURDS besieged the Citadel. But Divine Providence checked their furious onslaught, and they did not entirely prosper in their attack on the Citadel. And every time they crowded together to make war upon it, seven or eight, more or less, of them were killed.

And when they had been occupied with them for a period of seventeen (or, fifteen?) days, certain FRANKS, [571] about two hundred men, came down the TIGRIS by water to MAWSIL by the command of the King of Kings, as if they were going to BABIL (BAGHDAD) to construct ships there and to go down to BOSRA (AL- BASRAH), and from there by the SEA OF PANTOS (SEA OF SUF?) to attack the EGYPTIANS. And others of the FRANKS, about seven hundred men, went by land; and they remained in BAGHDAD the whole winter—until their plan (or, object) was fulfilled. Now there exist stories about the FRANKS IN BAGHDAD which are worthy of remembrance, but in order that the sequence of our narrative may not be disturbed (or, become confused) we will return forthwith to our plan, and we will make mention of these stories later.

And when the KURDS heard that certain FRANKS had arrived in MAWSIL, they imagined that they had come on their account, and they abandoned the Citadel and scattered themselves about in the country. Then those who were in the Citadel, being free from the KURDS, wished to go and bring the inhabitants of the village of BETH SAYYADHE to the Citadel lest they should suffer any harm from the KURDS. Now, according to what is the fact, had they left them in the place where they were they would never have suffered harm. Therefore these men of the mountain, the KAYAJYE, about two hundred mounted men, came down from the Citadel, and went to BETH SAYYADHE, although it was not about them that they were anxious, but about their own advantage more especially. For when they came there they lent the horses which were under them to the ploughmen, and they came before them on foot. And thus they were scattered from each other, like a people without a head, until they arrived close to the city. Then the KURDS who were lying in wait and watching for them burst forth upon them, and although only a very few of them were killed, yet the KURDS made prisoners of most of them, and they looted everything which they found with them.

Now when the marauders and freebooters who were in SYRIA heard that the KURDS had besieged the Citadel of 'ARBIL, they believed that they would besiege SYRIA at the same time, and would loot, and kill, and take prisoners, and carry off [spoil]. Therefore they collected about two thousand men, and came to the help of the KURDS. And when they arrived they could not find them as they expected, for not even they were able to approach the Citadel because of the strength and military ability of those who were inside it. And the Syrian marauders wishing to put them to the test told off about two hundred men of their number, and they approached the [572] gate of the Citadel, and those who were inside came down and fought with them, and they captured from them a certain number of horses, and they went back up into the Citadel. And when the marauders saw that they themselves had neither gained in any way nor done any good by their coming, and that up to that time they had not even joined up with the KURDS, they turned and went back by the way which they had come, men empty and foiled. These things took place on the third day [of the week], on the twenty-seventh day of the month of HAZIRAN (JUNE).

And in the month of TAMMUZ, (JULY) of this year a certain monk, who was an ARMENIAN and a just man, one of those who used to go round about through the countries admonishing [the people] and proclaiming repentance, and reformation, and the confession of sins, arrived at the Citadel of ZAID, and he

remained there about a month of days. And his discourses pleased the Christians who were there very very much, and some young men were attracted by him, and they began to assemble about him in the night-time, and they ate, and drank, and conversed about the histories of the holy men and the crowning of the martyrs. And when the power of his utterances became reported to the ARABS, certain of them were smitten with envy, and they went on the night of Friday and took a dead dog and hung it up over the door of the Great Mosque. And when the day broke and the ARABS gathered together to pray, they saw that dead dog, and they burned with wrath. And they all with one mouth said, 'This deed is the work of the Armenian monk and of those who gather together about him'. And they drew their swords and daggers, and they went and seized the wretched monk and a few of the natives of the city who were with him. For when the people had knowledge of the trick [of the dog], they fled, and all of them hid themselves from before the wrath of [the ARABS]. Then those wicked men took the monk and departed to the Monastery of BA'UTH, and they went into the cells of the monks and carried away all their possessions. And they killed that poor monk there together with two or three natives of the city, and they returned to the city. And they also entered the houses of the believing Christians, and they looted everything which they found in their houses, and they inflicted beatings and tortures on many honourable men. And the city remained for about a month of days without buying and without selling (i.e. trade was paralysed).

And in those days, when FARAJ ALLAH, the Egyptian lawyer, who had some time before brought to light the treachery of the Persian scribe and killed him, saw that he had prospered because [573] his word had been accepted, he began to feel exceedingly proud of himself, and he went to the Camp and poured forth calumnies on TAJ AD-DIN, the son of MUKHATAS, and said, 'He hath collected forty myriads of gold [pieces] for himself'. Then when the JEW who was the SAHIB DIWAN heard his word(s), he became proud and he said within himself, 'If this be certain (or, true) about this man, how much more certain will it be concerning his brother who is the companion of TAJ AD-DIN! For he possesseth more power as governor in the countries, and his hand is more extended in taking and giving.'

Therefore he began to flatter FARAJ ALLAH, and he showed him that this course of action would be injurious not only to TAJ AD-DIN, but that his brother would be hurt far more, Then the wretched FARAJ ALLAH saw that he could neither suppress the command of that man, nor stand up against it, and that if he went back on his own word(s) the Amirs of the Camp would condemn him and kill him. And certain men said unto him, 'Write a document thyself [and say] that thou didst say what thou didst say through drunkenness, and that "these two persons, that is to say, TAJ AD-DIN and his companion, have [not] acted oppressively, and that they have never taken from any man anything unjustly", and give it to the SAHIB DIWAN, and he will arrange thy business forthwith, and will save thee, and, moreover, he will make thee a companion and an associate of these [men]. Then FARAJ ALLAH accepted this [advice] implicitly, and he wrote the document in these [words] and he gave it to the SAHIB DIWAN.

Then that treacherous JEW, as soon as the document fell into his hand, took it and went to the King of Kings [and said], 'What dost thou command in respect of the man who yesterday uttered that statement and today hath written that document?' And the King of Kings replied, 'In truth such a man as this is worthy of death'. And straightway they killed FARAJ ALLAH there. And [the JEW] also proved that he had two companions in MAWSIL who were worse than he was, and [the King of Kings] commanded that they also should be killed. And [he sent] hurriedly to MAWSIL MUWAYAD, the son of MUWAYAD the scribe, and AMIR AD-DIN, the son of MUHTASEB, a native of 'ARBIL.

And after some days the Amir MATTAI, an excellent man and a great pillar of the Christians who were in the country of MAWSIL, was sent from the Camp to the city of SI'IRAD to receive from them (i.e. the people) the customary gift of the MONGOLS. Now the citizens [574] were haters of the Christians, and they disliked the Christ-like man who ruled over them, and they drew their swords and daggers and attacked him in the

mansion in which he lived, and there they killed him on the second day [of the week], on the thirty-first day of the month of TAMMUZ (JULY) of that year. Then the sons of this man whose life had been taken wickedly went to the Camp quickly, and made manifest the impudence of the ARABS who were there. And the command went forth, 'The killers shall be killed, and the natives of the city shall be mulcted of ten myriads of gold [*dinars*]'. And thus they came to the city and they killed seven or eight of the satraps who were there.

And in the beginning of the year sixteen hundred and two [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1291)] an accusation was brought against the Amir, a KURD, who was known as SEJAL AD-DIN LA-ZAKAI, from the country of GAZARTA of KARDU. And his case was investigated before BAITMISH, the strong man, and he was killed in the country of MAWSIL, both he and one of his sons.

And in these days certain men of the ISHMAELITES disguised as merchants were sent to MAWSIL so that they might leap upon the Amirs and commanders who were therein and kill them, and that a Christian and a JEW might no longer rule in the place. And if they could not [leap upon them] they were to kill them secretly and craftily. Now therefore, having arrived in MAWSIL and alighted at one of the inns according to the custom of merchants, they quarrelled with each other and began to fight the one with the other. And a certain man who was near them and heard their quarrel was perplexed about the meaning of their talk, and he went quickly and informed the Amirs about these [men], and they sent hurriedly and arrested them. And when they began to torture them, one of them, an old man, said, 'Ye have no need to torture us; we three men have come to kill you. And three other men have gone to BABIL. to kill the JEW who is there. And three others have gone to the Camp to kill the SAHIB DIWAN, who is there'. Then the Amirs straightway crucified (or, impaled) these men, and they sent to BABIL and arrested easily [the three men there] and killed [them]. And as for those [three men] who had gone to the Camp, their petition was replied to, and their aim was fulfilled without toil and trouble.

Now, observe the marvellous character of the manner in which Nature directeth affairs. For even if it erreth in a certain case, and exalteth a fool, and maketh him prosperous, and raiseth him on high, yet it is only for a short time. [575] Then that act is corrected very easily, and it seemeth as if Nature itself repenteth of its error, and it goeth back and bringeth low its high estate (1).

The behaviour of the ARABS hath [long] been made manifest in the world, and up to the present day no JEW hath ever been raised to a position of exalted honour among them; and except as a tanner, or a dyer, or a tailor [the ARAB] doth not appear among the JEWS. But truly the honourable ones and the fortunate among them [exalt] the art of healing and the art of the scribe; but in situations in which others will not demean themselves to work, they will work. And at this time when the MONGOLS were ruling over these western countries, they did not honour every one who was worthy of honour, and they did not make those who had descended from the loins of kings to rule over the cities and villages which were in subjection to them. With the MONGOLS there is neither slave nor free man; neither believer nor pagan; neither Christian nor JEW; but they regard all men as belonging to one and the same stock. And every one who approacheth them and offereth to them any of the mammon of the world, they accept it from him, and they entrust to him whatsoever office he seeketh, whether it be great or whether it be little, whether he knoweth how to administer it, or whether he doth not. All they demand is strenuous service and submission which is beyond the power [of man to render].

Therefore this JEW triumphed in every way, and attained the greatest glory and honour possible in the time of 'ARGHON, the King of Kings, and he alone brought all political matters to a successful issue, and much else besides. To the nobles of the Camp he paid no heed, and he reduced the taking and giving of their hands, and he treated with contempt the principal Amirs and the directors of general affairs. The man who could

confer a favour (or, benefit), or who could do harm, was never seen at the Gate of the Kingdom, unless perchance [he was] a JEW. And through this state of affairs many of the JEWS who were on the fringes of the world gathered together to him, and they all with one mouth said, 'Verily, by means of this man the Lord hath raised on high the horn of redemption (or, deliverance), and the hope of glory for the sons of the HEBREWS in their last days'.

Therefore, when they were boasting proudly of their exaltation, and occupied with their power, suddenly [576] 'ARGHON, the King of Kings, perceived (i.e. was attacked by) paralysis, and he was grievously afflicted with the disease for a month of days. And the wretched JEW was perplexed by his illness, and with great care he endeavoured in every way possible to heal him. Then the Amirs and the nobles of the Camp who despised the JEW utterly, having lost all hope of [saving] the life of 'ARGHON, [behaved] as if the JEW himself, through the evil of his machinations, was the cause of the sickness of 'ARGHON. And they began to roar at the wretched man like lions, until 'ARGHON ended his life on the fourth day of the week, at the end of the LATTER KANON (JANUARY) of the year (A.D. 1291). Then God stirred up His wrath against the JEWS who were in every place. This SA'D AL-DAWLAH, the SAHIB DIWAN, they killed there. And with great care [the Amirs and nobles] sent ambassadors into all the countries which were under the dominion of the MONGOLS, and they seized his brethren and his kinsfolk, and they bound them with chains, and they plundered their stores of food, and they took their sons, and their daughters, and their slaves, and their handmaidens, and their flocks and herds, and all their possessions. And he who was killed by them was killed, and those who were left [alive] returned to their original stations. The man who yesterday was an officer, and could bind and set free, and was arrayed in royal apparel, was to-day swathed in sackcloth, and had dirty discoloured hands as if he was a dyer and not a scribe, and a beggar going round from door to door and not an officer. The trials and wrath which were stirred up against the JEWS at this time neither tongue can utter nor the pen write down.

Then in BABIL (BAGHDAD), when [the report of] the murder of this JEW was heard, the ARABS armed themselves and went to the quarter of the JEWS, because the JEWS were all living together in one quarter in BABIL. And when they wanted to go in and plunder them, the JEWS rose up against them in great strength, and they fought against the ARABS, and killed and were killed; and they did not leave alive [any JEWS] to rule over them. 'Now,' said they, 'when this JEW became great and exalted, he commanded that a palace should be built for him in TABRIZ, and he buried many pots filled with gold and silver in the walls thereof.' Now this [fact] only became known at that moment, for it was only when [the MONGOLS] were torturing them (i.e. the JEWS), they showed them the places where the pots were, and so they dug [in the walls] and brought them out. Now the whole period during which [577] the JEW was Director and Governor was two years, more or less. And he was killed and his name (i.e. fame) perished, and because of him the JEWS throughout the world were hated and ill-treated.

(1) Bedjan's note reads: It is not Nature that governeth the world, but it is governed by the Lord of the Worlds, in Whose government no error is found because God is the Judge; this one He abuseth and that one He exalteth.-Psalm lxxv. 7.

Bar Hebraeus'

Chronography

XI

Kanjatu [Geikhatu], the brother of 'Arghon [Arghun].

After 'ARGHON, the son of 'ABAKA, KANJATU [Geikhatu], his brother, who was called 'ERNAJIN TURJAI', ruled. Now, in the beginning of his kingdom, 'ARGHON, his brother, appointed this man to take ten thousand of the soldiers of the MONGOLS and to go and keep guard over the countries of BETH RHOMAYE. And being there during the whole of the period through which 'ARGHON lived, the places (or, towns) thereabouts pleased him, and he was unwilling to go out from them. At length, when 'ARGHON, his brother, died, and all the princes assembled and declared that it was right for him to sit on the throne of the kingdom, with difficulty and, as it were, by sheer force, did he become willing to sit in his brother's place. For he was living in the countries of BETH RHOMAYE in great content and absolute peacefulness, and he ate, and drank, and enjoyed life with the pleasant things of this world. And more especially when he saw that of the two kings who were his predecessors, whilst still in the vigour of early manhood, the thread of their lives had been cut off, without their having enjoyed to the full this temporary life. Then, [I say,] he drew back, and would not consent to sit upon the throne of the kingdom, and he made it his object, and his desire inclined thereto, to return to BETH RHOMAYE again. And so he made a compact, and he kept the princes and the nobles hanging on the hope that next year, at the same period in the following year, he would come and rule. And he left them and removed to the countries of BETH RHOMAYE.

And when he arrived there he found the TURKOMAN IUGAYE of BETH KARAMAN stretching out their hands against the MONGOLS, and plundering, and looting, and conquering [cities], and carrying away people into captivity. Then KAIJATU (KANJATU) collected his armies and he went and encamped against the famous Citadel of TANGAZLU, and they took it with the sword, and they killed a large number of men therein. And he laid the sword upon the remainder of the IUGAYE who had fled into the villages, and he destroyed them utterly.

When 'ARGHON, his brother, was alive, [578] Frankish ambassadors used to come to him from the Pope of Rome and from other kings and impress upon him that the MONGOLS should become one shoulder (i.e, stand shoulder to shoulder) with the FRANKS, and go against the EGYPTIANS and PHARAOHITES who had waxed fat and kicked and were doing harm to the Christians and their towns. And 'ARGHON himself sent to the Pope an ambassador, RABBAN BAR SAWMA, the Igurian monk, who had come with the Catholicus MAR YAHBH 'ALLAH from the countries of the Great Khan, and the Pope sent with him compacts and assurances that they would sally forth together and destroy the Religion of the ARABS. But the exact opposite, however, of their calculations took place. When KAIJATU returned from the countries of BETH RHOMAYE to the mountains of GREAT ARMENIA, the princes and the nobles of the MONGOLS gathered together, and they took him and seated him on the throne of the kingdom on the twenty-third day of the month of HAZIRAN (JUNE), of the year sixteen hundred and three of the GREEKS (A.D. 1292).

Then when the EGYPTIANS heard that 'ARGHON had already ended his life, they gathered together great armies composed of natives and foreign soldiers, whose number was without end. And they went and

encamped against the great and famous city of 'AKKO of the FRANKS, which is on the shore of the Great Sea. And they fought against it with great ferocity for two months. Now the FRANKS who were inside [it], because of their pride and boastfulness, did not condescend to shut the gates of the city in their faces at any time, neither by night nor by day. And the Frankish horsemen used to sally out boldly from within, and as with scythes used to mow down the ARABS who were outside. And it is said that more than twenty thousand men of the ARABS were killed at 'AKKO. And the FRANKS held the city well and carefully until their Governor, the Great Count, was wounded by an arrow and died. Then those who were inside became sluggish, and those on the outside became exceedingly strong and prevailed. They set up about three hundred engines of war on the low wall which was on land, and they placed about one thousand miners under each tower to dig out the ground under it, and they threw down from the wall one or two towers. ...Then the wretched Brethren and the rest of the nobles began to go into the strong buildings (or, monasteries) and they continued to fight.

And when they (i.e. the EGYPTIANS) [579] had taken the poor city, they began to coax those who were in the buildings to come out, saying that no man should harm them, and that they could go down into the sea (i.e. embark in ships), and go whithersoever they pleased with their wives, and their sons and their daughters, but that they must not take any of their possessions with them. And immediately they (i.e. the Brethren) opened the gates the ARABS went into them to keep watch over the goods [and money] which were in the buildings, so that they might not take any of them away. Now they (i.e. the ARABS) saw these sons and daughters with faces like moons for beauty, and they laid [their] hands upon them. But the FRANKS could not endure [this], and they drew their swords and daggers, and they fell upon each other, and an endless number of men were killed on both sides. And [the ARABS] laid waste the fine prosperous city, and they did not leave to the FRANKS on the shore of the Great Sea a place whereon to lay their heads. These things took place in the month of NISAN (APRIL), in the year which is the year sixteen hundred and three [of the GREEKS (A.D. 1292)].

And again the innumerable hosts of PHARAOH were gathered together, and they came and encamped against KAL'AH RHOMAITA, which is on the EUPHRATES. And this also they took in a period of twenty days, and they killed, and spoiled, and looted, and made prisoners of sons and daughters innumerable. And they took the Armenian Catholicus, and all the monks who were found with him, and they carried him with honour to JERUSALEM on the Sabbath, the twenty-eighth day of the month of HAZIRAN (JUNE) of that year, and behold there he still is. And others say that he is not, but that they crucified (or, impaled) him, and that they hung upon iron [stakes] those who were with him and carried [them] to EGYPT. And up to the present the history of him is uncertain. It is, however, quite true that he ended his days as a prisoner in DAMASCUS in misery. And the ARMENIANS regard this as a sure fact, [for] they selected a suitable man and appointed him Catholicus in the place of the other man, and they made a throne for him in SIS of CILICIA.

Now KAIJATU being ruler, and the kingdom of the House of MAGHOGH being established for him, occupied himself with nothing except riotous living, and amusement and debauchery. He had no thought for anything else except the things which were necessary for kings, and which they were bound to have, and how he could get possession of the sons and daughters of the nobles and have carnal intercourse with them. And he would wanton with them without shame and without modesty. And very many chaste women among the wives of the nobles fled from him, and others [580] removed their sons and their daughters, and sent them away to remote districts. But they were unable to save themselves from his hands, or to escape from the shameful acts which he committed with them. And when he had led this blameworthy manner of life for nearly four years, more or less, and he had polluted himself with the mire of wanton desire of this kind, and he had amused himself with the lusts of the body which do not bring profit, he was hated with a very great hatred by all those who held the reins of his kingdom.

And in the year fifteen hundred and five [of the Greeks (A.D. 1294)], in the month of TAMMUZ (JULY), there was present with him one of the sons of his uncles who was called 'BAIDU', and he had a son whose appearance was handsome. And whilst they were sitting at a wine-feast, and were eating, and drinking, and making merry, KAIJATU abused BAIDU openly, and BAIDU also abused him, and accused him of being the son of a whore. Then straightway KAIJATU was filled with a boiling rage, and he cried out to those who were round about him, and ordered them to drag BAIDU outside the Camp and stab him to death. Now this was a thing which had never entered the mind of BAIDU, and he never expected that KAIJATU would do a thing of this kind, even though he had greatly offended [him]. And seizing BAIDU they laid their hands upon him, and treated him with contempt in an immoderate fashion. And they dragged him out and carried him away and set him down in a small tent, and they thought that they were to kill him. But KAIJATU, having slept for an hour, sent a message concerning BAIDU to the nobles and told them to go and reprimand BAIDU for the vulgar way in which he had behaved, and for the disgraceful act in which he had belched forth revilings (or, curses) on the King of Kings. Then he [i.e. BAIDU] cunningly, as if by way of a joke, jeered at these [nobles], and said that he 'neither understood nor knew what they were talking about'. And 'Where was KAIJATU?' And 'Bring wine to drink', And 'What happened then?' And 'How did he come to that little tent?' And with speeches similar to these he confounded [his] hearers, and he made many to hold the view that what was not true was even as that which was.

And KAIJATU also was easily coaxed and deceived, and he was exceedingly sorry for the blows which he had made BAIDU to suffer. And he strove in every way possible to pacify [581] his mind, and he said, 'BAIDU hath been ill-treated'. And after BAIDU had slept for a further period, KAIJATU again sent his nobles to ask him 'if he knew what he had said in his drunken bout'. And BAIDU denied [that he did] even more strongly, saying that even if he were beaten with stripes he could neither know nor even imagine [what he had said]. And with subtlety he made the nobles swear whether their stories were true or whether they were simply playing a game with him.

And when they repeated before him the full story of what had taken place between him and KAIJATU he was seized with great wonder and said, 'There is nothing comparable to the debt which I owe KAIJATU, otherwise how is it that he did not forthwith hack me limb from limb?'

And when KAIJATU heard these things his mind was placated absolutely. And he himself went in to BAIDU, and he embraced him, and kissed him, and took him and went to the Camp. And he had royal apparel brought and arrayed him therein. And KAIJATU made himself out to be an offender, and a doer of evil deeds, and one guilty of death, and in his drunken fits he would groan and say as tears ran down his face, 'I did not know that I was sinning. Therefore, if I sinned it was without knowledge, I offended thee unwittingly. I entreat thee to feed thy dogs on my flesh without pity'. And KAIJATU added to his love for him. And he bestowed upon him very many incomparable gifts. And to speak briefly, in these two or three days he bestowed on BAIDU wellnigh forty myriads [of *dinars*]*—*gold, and silver, and apparel of gold brocade, and a priceless cloak, and belts inlaid with jacinths and [other] precious stones, and riding horses (stallions), and mules, and pack-horses. KAIJATU, however, was rebuked by all the members of his household, who said unto him, 'It was not right that the honour of this man should be belittled, neither was it right for this man to be treated wholly with contempt, and handed over to inhuman beings who dragged him along by his hair, and beat him, and scourged him. Now that which hath happened hath happened. Gifts will not benefit, and amusing stories will not bring pleasantness. But it is right to keep a watch on him forthwith in every way possible, whatever the path may be.' And others said, 'It is right to remove him out of the way, for otherwise great tribulations will arise through him'. Others said, 'No, but it is right that he should be yoked under service, [582] and that he should be kept in bondage for the whole period of his life, so that his hand can never be stretched out to kill or to commit any injury'.

Now KAIJATU, because of the peculiar propensities which he possessed and which cannot be praised, was overcome by lascivious desire, and his mind wandered about on all sides, and his understanding was distracted. And he was drawn on so far as to say to BAIDU, 'I want thy son to live with me, and to be with me in my service, and to be to me a friend and a companion'. And BAIDU as one who was absolutely obedient, and was in cheerful subjection, accepted this [proposal] joyfully, and he commanded that some one should be sent quickly that he might fetch his son. But KAIJATU said, 'No. Rise thou up and go quickly to the members of thy household, before the report of the strife which hath taken place between me and thee can reach them and these servants of thine, or they will be perturbed. And as soon as thou arrivest there send thy son to come to me.' And BAIDU said, 'The command of thee shall be [obeyed]'.

And he went forth from the Camp like a bird from the snare, and he looked behind him, and travelled each day the distance of four ordinary days' journey, until he came to his house. And he did not tarry there, but he made his son ready and sent him to KAIJATU, but he himself set out for the mountains of HAMADAN, as if he was going a-hunting. And from there he sent an ambassador to KAZAN [GHAZAN], the son of 'ARGHON, weeping and complaining, and he showed him everything which had come upon him. Now KAIJATU knew nothing at all about this, but he was occupied with [abominable] affairs, and an immeasurable liberality of hand (i.e. extravagance). And by ill luck there was present before him the chief of the lawyers, that is the SAHIB DIWAN, a PERSIAN, whose name was SADR AD-DIN. And this man also was so extravagant that in a very short space of time he exhausted the treasures of the kingdom of KAIJATU. And he began to borrow and he spent, until at length there remained nothing, so that not even one sheep could be killed for the food of KAIJATU.

Now a certain JEW, whose name was RASHID AD-DAWLAH, had been appointed to prepare food which was suitable for KAIJATU, of every kind which might be demanded, and wheresoever it might be demanded. And thus this JEW stood up strongly in this matter, and he spent a large sum of his own money, and he bought myriads of sheep and oxen, and he appointed butchers and cooks, [583] and he was ready in a most wonderful fashion on the condition that in every month of days silver (or, money) should be collected for the SAHIB DIWAN, because the treasury was empty, and it was destitute of money, and not even the smallest [coin] was to be found therein. And he wrote letters and sent [them] to the [various] countries, but the JEW was unable to collect anything. And thus the whole of his possessions came to an end, and as he was unable to stand in (i.e. continue) a work such as he was doing, he left and fled. And though exactions (i.e. taxings) were frequent, the SAHIB AD-DIWAN was worried, and he was hard pressed to fulfil and to complete the frequent gifts of the King of Kings. Now since all the money which was collected in the whole of the dominion of the MONGOLS was insufficient for the liberality of the SAHIB DIWAN, how was it possible for him to provide for the liberality of KAIJATU? Then he began to think out vain imaginings—that he would make new money; but as his hand could not lay hands on the gold and silver he rejected them. And he promulgated a royal command that men should no longer use gold and silver. And he made slips of paper from papyrus which could be written upon, and he stamped them with a mark in red, and he wrote [on them] and showed which was for one *dinar*, and which for two, or three, or four, or five [*dinars*], and so on up to ten *dinars*. And he called them '*Shaw*'. And the heralds proclaimed throughout the city, 'Whosoever buyeth and selleth, and taketh and giveth without [using] *Shaw* shall die the death. And whosoever hath in his hand silver, and doth not carry it to the offices of the Government to be stamped therein with [the word] *Shaw*, and giveth it up and taketh [in exchange] *Shaw* shall die the death.' And thus men remained in a state of great tribulation and indescribably difficulty for a space of two months.

And TABRIZ, which was the royal city of the MONGOLS, remained like a desolate ruin. Men fled therefrom and dispersed themselves about the country, and only a very few people were seen in the streets (or, bazar). After the prosperity which [TABRIZ had enjoyed] words are not able to describe the famine, and scarcity, and hardship which arose therein. For men would not consent to use the contemptible slips of paper, and they

clung to the use of money. And the people cried out against the SAHIB DIWAN until at length they hurled insults and abuse at him when they were face to face with him. And they made him to hear jeers and scoffs, [584] and they would not submit to be convinced and to hear his word. And he remained stupefied and astonished; to go back on his word (or, to withdraw it) would bring ignominy upon him, and to carry out his will he was unable. And there was not a single maker of verses who did not gibe at this act, and not a single singing man who did not string together poems and ditties and admirable verses [about it]. And being urged by those inside [the city] and those outside [it], the SAHIB DIWAN issued another royal command, saying, 'Every man according to his wish and according to his inclination. If he wisheth for the *Shaw* let him use it, and if he wisheth silver [let him use it]. There is no compulsion for any man.' And the King of Kings also said, 'We wish you to have a comfortable existence, and a quiet life, and an abundance of good thing, and moreover, we do not wish that everything which a man hath to give should be taken from him. But let every man use, according to what [his] need is for goods (i.e. flocks and herds) and equipment (or, furniture). In the twinkling of an eye let the slips of paper by thousands and by tens of thousands be sunk in the sea and done away. And now let everyman who is not pleased [with them] know that we do not put pressure on anyman.' And there was great joy in every country and city, and the roads were opened [again], for during these two months the merchants could not trade, and the roads were cut, and the *khans* (i.e. inns) were closed, and buying and selling ceased.

And the year sixteen hundred and six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1295) having begun, BAIDU went back to winter in the country of DAKUKAH, according to his wont, pondering on the cruelty of KAIJATU to him. And he entered into a secret compact with the captains of thousands of the MONGOLS who were near him, and he surrounded himself with soldiers. And he came in person to the country of MAWSIL, and he seized the captain of the soldiers there and killed him. And he also sent and killed the man who held a similar post in BAGHDAD.

And when the other great nobles of the MONGOLS saw that BAIDU had been bold enough to do a deed of this kind, they submitted to him without difficulty. They gathered together about him gladly, and sent ambassadors to KAZAN announcing their agreement, and they said, 'KAIJATU hath departed from the path of the MONGOLS, and hath despised our father CHINGIZ KHAN. And by his reprehensible and riotous life and his unmeasured liberality (i.e. extravagance) he hath wasted the treasures of the kingdom. His care is only for the lustful amusements of the world, and not for the government of the kingdom in which we live. Therefore the nobles, and the sons, and the daughters, and the wives, and the brides (or, daughters-in-law) have agreed together to cast him out of the way, [585] for his species is useless to the kingdom, and they intend to seat thee upon the throne of the kingdom of the House of MAGHOGH.'

Then KAZAN sent and said to BAIDU, 'Thou art a great man in ISRAEL, and each of us together with all of us (i.e. individually and collectively) agree with thee, and we will bring ourselves back under thy governance. Whatsoever thou knowest to be fitting, and right, and beneficial, that do. But the houses of our kingdom must abide uninjured and unshaken. And if it meet that the man who shall be chosen shall not devote himself to luxury, and to eating and drinking, and to extravagant feasts and dainty meats, and to giving lavish gifts which should not by right [be given]; nay, he must, protect his kingdom carefully; and he must think continually how he can meet his enemies in battle, for a kingdom is better protected by wisdom than by tens of thousands of fighting men.'

Then the nobles, and the princes, and the captains of ten thousands of the MONGOLS, being assured that KAZAN and BAIDU were friends, and were with one consent and one desire treating each other lovingly, and were holding converse by means of ambassadors; and it being evident that their Law gave by right the throne of the kingdom to KAZAN after KAIJATU, and that BAIDU was striving for them to set KAZAN, on the throne of the kingdom, they all submitted themselves willingly to BAIDU. And they turned their faces

from KAIJATU, he being unconscious [of it], for he had no knowledge of what was being done in the world; but he led a soft and very indolent life of enjoyment of the luxuries of the world, until at length he stood revealed, both to those inside and those outside, as an impostor.

Then he woke up as from slumber, and he sent an ambassador to the north, ordering the troops [stationed] there to ride forth and to seize BAIDU. And when the ambassador arrived in the northern quarter, that is to say in the country of DIAR BAKR, he discovered that all the troops there were joined to BAIDU, and that they were ready to go and engage KAIJATU in battle. And the ambassador left and fled back as from pollution, and he went and informed KAIJATU of the intention of those troops. And as soon as KAIJATU heard these things, he thought that BAIDU was about to flee, and that he would go to KAZAN. And he sent soldiers and closed the roads and passes of KHORASAN, and he made TAJIR, the great captain, to ride out with ten thousand men, and he sent him [586] to head off BAIDU from crossing the mountains of SHAHARZUR.

A few days later he also made his father-in-law, a man whose name was 'AKBOKA, to ride out with another ten thousand, so that he himself might take another ten thousand and go and engage BAIDU in battle. And whilst he was still in the neighbourhood of TABRIZ, in a place which is called 'AUGHAN', TAJIR and 'AKBOKA arrived with the twice ten thousand men who were with them at the skirts of the mountains of SHAHARZUR, on the eastern side. And BAIDU himself was, together with his men, on the skirts of the mountain on the western side. And he sent an ambassador secretly, to TAJIR, saying, 'I myself am burning with the fire of zeal for the kingdom of the House of MAGHOGH, and I am striving to uproot KAIJATU from the power of his personal qualities, which cannot be praised, more especially because I hear that he hath not left to you wives, and sons, and daughters whom he hath not debauched. Therefore it is right that all of us should unite and remove him from the midst (i.e. scene), and should set KAZAN on the throne of the kingdom, and we all together must reduce KAIJATU to subjection.'

Then TAJIR accepted this [proposal] gladly, and joined to him without difficulty. And straightway he sent [an ambassador] and said unto 'AKBOKA, 'I am with BAIDU, and I agree with him, and I am ready to go with him; what is thy intention?' Now because 'AKBOKA was the father-in-law of KAIJATU, this did not please him, and he was sad and troubled. And he made up his mind that during the night he would take the ten thousand men who were with him and go back to KAIJATU.

And when the day broke TAJIR rode out as if he were going to BAIDU. 'AKBOKA thought that he was about to attack him, and he left and fled, and a few of the ten thousand who were with him accompanied him. And with quick marches he came to KAIJATU, and reported to him what had happened.

Then terror fell upon KAIJATU and he did not know what he was doing. He sent and called the captain of the thousands who were with him, and whose name was 'BRIM' ('IBRAHIM?'), and he said unto him, 'Behold, I see that my troops are divided against me. Thou therefore, who art strong and strenuous, remain [with me], and be not doubtful.'

And he brought forth apparel and dressed himself therein, [587] and he mounted his horse intending [to go] to his camp, where his wives and families and household were; and he left the pavilions and the tents standing. And before he had gone the distance of a bow-shot BRIM struck and looted the tents of KAIJATU, and pursued him. And because before these things happened KAIJATU himself had sent demanding [the presence of] the captain of another ten thousand, who was in the country of the IBERIANS, and whose name was DUKAL, this man arrived from the region which was in the neighbourhood of the camp of KAIJATU. And he found there tumults, and quarrelings, and dissensions, and bodies of soldiers fighting each other, and looters and plunderers without end. And KAIJATU arrived immediately, with four or five persons, and BRIM

(BRAIM?) pursued him—now it happened that DUKAL was in front of him—and they captured him and killed him, on the fifth day of the month of 'ADHAR (MARCH), in the year sixteen hundred and six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1295), without the knowledge of BAIDU.

Now BAIDU was not inclined to destroy KAIJATU, but only to seize him and shut him up in one of the fortresses. Through the nobles having joined forces with him, and the soldiery agreeing with him, BAIDU had sent an ambassador to take KAIJATU and bring him to him. When the ambassador arrived he found that KAIJATU had already been put to death, and he left and came back empty. And thus all the nobles, and the sons, and the daughters, and the sons-in-law, and the brides urged each other to submission and obedience to BAIDU. And the greater number of the nobles being in one mind with him, he sent an ambassador to KAZAN [telling him] to come and not to delay. And because KAZAN himself was quartered a long way off, and it was still the time of winter, and the roads were destitute of grass and provender, KAZAN and the troops who were with him journeyed with difficulty to the region [where] BAIDU [was]. Then those who were gathered together about BAIDU, seeing that KAZAN was hampered and could not arrive quickly, began to flatter BAIDU, saying, 'The kingdom is suitable for thee. And KAZAN is a young man, and his years are few, and he is not equal to governing the kingdom of BETH MAGHOGH. And if thou withdrawest thyself, and dost hand over the whole administration to KAZAN, the race of the MONGOLS will end in destruction.'

Then was BAIDU led into error by the flatterers, and he became proud and magnified himself, and he would not [588] wait any longer for KAZAN. But he sent and had brought the great throne which was in TABRIZ, that same throne on which 'ABAKA, and 'ARGHON, and the kings who rose up after them, had sat, and he planted it in the neighbourhood of 'AUGHAN, and he went up and sat upon it, and he imagined that henceforth his kingdom was assured.

And after they had remained there a few days, being occupied in eating and drinking, they removed towards SIAHKUH, and there the sons, and the daughters, and the brethren, and the cousins, and the captains of the hosts, and all the nobles of the MONGOLS, were gathered together in friendly intercourse. And then BAIDU began to deal with them with complete humbleness of mind, and he delivered over to each brother and to each nephew a certain district, on the condition that they should eat the whole of the produce of that district, and that if there was anything left over they should send it to him, and that if they lacked anything they were to send to him and take what was sufficient for their subsistence. And thus all the [princes] and the nobles parted from him with joy, and pleasure, and gladness, and thanking God for the peace and friendship which had sprung up among the soldiers and among all the nobles of the MONGOLS.

Now when KAZAN arrived near SIAHKUH, he became aware that BAIDU had seized the kingdom for himself, and that he had sat upon the throne of the kingdom unlawfully. And he became hot with anger, and he lamented bitterly, and was very very much grieved that the toil, and the trouble, and the exhaustion of the long journey which had come upon him and upon the troops who were with him, appeared to be absolutely useless (or, empty) and fruitless. And in blaming BAIDU he would say, 'Why ever did he summon me? And having summoned me, why ever did he not wait until I came to him? And did he sit on the throne with my consent?' Now BAIDU was confident that he could pacify the mind of KAZAN by humbleness of mind and lavish gifts, even though he had to hand over to him the whole of KHORASAN, and SHIRAZ, and BAHRAIN, and KERMEN, and to give him all the camps of 'ARGHON his father, leaving not even one of them for himself, and to deliver up to him horses, and cattle, and herds of horses, and goods, and flocks and herds, so that KAZAN might take them and go back to KHORASAN.

Continued on Next Page

Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*

XI

Kanjatu [Geikhatu], the brother of 'Arghon [Arghun] (continued).

Then KAZAN arrived in the neighbourhood of KUNGURULAN (KUNGUR 'AULAN), and there remained between him [589] and the place where BAIDU was [the distance] of one day's journey. He took counsel with the captain of the company of the soldiers who were with him (a man who had gained experience in many fights, and whose name was NAWRUZ, the son of 'ARGHON 'AKA) as to how they were to go by night and capture BAIDU suddenly and unawares. Thus they did, but the issue of the work was not in accordance with their thought. For whilst they were riding during the night, and were pressing forward on their journey with the utmost strenuousness, the cataracts of heaven were broken, and floods and torrents of rain descended, and there were lightnings, and thunders, and winds and hurricanes, the like of which had never been seen [before] in the world. They began to wander off the road, and they became separated and scattered, and they did not know where they were going, or how to go on, they took the wrong roads, every man riding straight ahead, and they wandered about in the desert confusedly until the day broke. Then they saw their position and knew that they were in the neighbourhood of those [soldiers] who were attached to the company of BAIDU. They were unable to engage in a fight with them because of the wet condition, and the exhaustion, and the weariness of each and every soldier, besides the general disorganized state of the troop; and they remained dazed and stupefied.

Then terror, and fear, and trembling fell upon BAIDU and those who were with him, and they mounted their horses and went forth to engage KAZAN in battle. Then KAZAN, seeing that there was no occasion (or, room) for a fight, alighted from his horse; and when BAIDU saw him do this he also alighted from his horse. And they drew nigh to each other and embraced, each of them feeling ashamed before his companion because of the thing which he had done. BAIDU, because of the blameworthy haste with which he had hurried, and because he had not waited for KAZAN; and KAZAN, because he had come in a hidden and secret manner to capture BAIDU. And according to what is certain, but for the rains, and the lightnings, and the thunders which impeded KAZAN's troops, the whole company of BAIDU would have been left to complete annihilation, for in the night not even one man could have escaped [from KAZAN's attack], and they all would have been destroyed by the edge of the sword.

Now therefore, having made friends, they began to discuss the matter with each other, and to assign blame to each other. KAZAN himself exhibited a fine submission, together with praiseworthy discretion and wisdom, which it is absolutely necessary for kings to employ. He proved that he was reconciled to BAIDU, and he agreed with everything which was said to him [by him]. And they swore oaths to each other that [590] neither of them would quarrel with or abuse the other, but that with one consent, and one will, the two of them would live in love, and peace, and quietness. And when BAIDU wished to bring KAZAN to his camp to eat, and drink, and be happy together, and to rejoice in the peace which had been made between them, KAZAN said, 'we have exhausted ourselves greatly during this night. Let us reverse our actions a little, and alight from our horses, and rest ourselves, and then in the morning we will meet together again in one place.'

Then, in his simplicity, BAIDU accepted KAZAN'S proposal, and consented to his desire. And KAZAN, having parted from BAIDU and gone back, did not alight from his horse, but he began to ride from the evening of that day and he rode all night, looking behind him, and wondering how he could save himself from the hands of BAIDU. And when BAIDU reached his camp, he began to prepare meats and lavish gifts of every kind. And he did not rest, and he neither lay down nor slept, but he passed the whole night in thoughts as to how and by what means he could pacify the mind of KAZAN, so that there might be no cause at all of offence [left in it]. And as soon as ever the day broke he sent nobles to go and salute KAZAN, and to inquire of him concerning the exhaustion and fatigue which had attacked him. And having gone a distance of a parasang, or two, or three, or four, none of them found any man at all upon that road and nothing except perhaps foundered horses which had been left there; and some of them were lying as if they were dead. And so the nobles left and came back and informed BAIDU. Then BAIDU felt certain in his mind that KAZAN was offended, and was not inclined for a reconciliation, and that he had not gone back, and that he would make himself strong and would return and again attack BAIDU. And great fear came upon him, and terror not a little. And he sent [and commanded that] all the nobles and their companies of troops should gather together in all haste, and stand up against the violent onset of KAZAN, when he came back to attack him.

And KAZAN and NAWRUZ the great general (i.e. general-in-chief) took counsel together, and they made a plan that they would send and pacify the mind of BAIDU, and prevent him from enrolling the soldiers and peoples of KAZAN. For if BAIDU was to be pressing in collecting armies, he could collect many tens of thousands, and KAZAN would be unable to stand [591] before him. And they must make him content because the men who were with him (i.e. KAZAN'S own men) were already tired and exhausted, and their horses were emaciated and weak through shortage of food. For the plains of those regions are destitute of grass, and the districts [about the cities] are a waste, and neither hay for the horses nor food for men can be found. And through these excuses, and others which were like unto them, NAWRUZ undertook to go back in person to BAIDU, and by some means or other to coax him neither to put himself in motion nor to stir, but to be quiet and gracious in respect of KAZAN.

And when NAWRUZ came to BAIDU he received him with great honour, and he revealed all his secrets to him. At length NAWRUZ said unto BAIDU, 'If thou dost not put thy trust in KAZAN, and thy mind is not pacified in respect of him, I myself will go and will send thee his head on a platter', although at the same time he was scheming in every way possible how to save himself and to get back to KAZAN in peace (i.e. safety). Then BAIDU rejoiced and was glad, and he danced about and exulted, saying, 'If thou art able to do this I will hand over to thee the administration of all the offices of my kingdom'. And he presented to him lavish gifts, and he put myriads of gold [coins] in his hands, and he wrote a Patent (i.e. authority) that he was to take another ten thousand from the city of KAZWIN, and set him free to depart. And when he went to KAZAN, they began to wonder, and to be seized with amazement at the simplicity with which NAWRUZ had thrown himself into the hands of BAIDU, and how BAIDU himself, with even greater simplicity had allowed him to live.

And behold, from this moment they began to make ready for war, and they collected armies. And NAWRUZ in person undertook the direction of bands of soldiers, and the gathering of them together from every quarter. And he sent KAZAN and a few men to the mountains of MAZINDARAN to hunt there, and the bodies of troops which were collected in another quarter, and he remained by himself in one place with his household. Then BAIDU was perplexed, [wishing] to know, 'Where were KAZAN and NAWRUZ? With what are they occupying themselves? Have they the intention to have war or not?' And he sent messengers unto them very frequently, and he schemed to spy upon [them] and to discover their astuteness. And so when the ambassadors [592] of BAIDU came to NAWRUZ, and tried their utmost to meet KAZAN in person, and to hold discourse with him, mouth to mouth, NAWRUZ would say to them, 'What benefit can ye gain in meeting a simple young man who never knoweth anything or understandeth anything? And behold, he is

tramping about in the mountains and hills, and the only thing that he careth about is the chase. But if it be absolutely necessary for you to see him, behold there are men with me, and go ye to him.' And so the ambassadors of BAIDU took those men of his, and they marched with them by the desert road, and straying from the [right] road, and losing their way, and wandering about they went from village to village, and from city to city.

And after many days which [they spent] in bringing them to KAZAN, at the beginning of his meeting with them he complained about BAIDU, saying, 'Where are the promises which he made to me? And where are the camps, and the women, and the concubines of my father which he promised to send to me that I might take [them] and go from this place? If it be that he thus goeth back on his oaths, let him inform me [of it], so that I may leave and back to KHORASAN.' And when the ambassadors returned to BAIDU they swore and denied, saying, 'There is absolutely no gathering [of troops], and KAZAN careth nothing about engaging [in battle], but he is waiting for thee to send what thou didst promise him that he may take [them] and go back to his own place'.

Then with simplicity BAIDU consented to send to KAZAN more than the things which he had promised to send to him, but the astute men who were with him did not agree with him. 'For', they said, 'there is treachery to the fore, and his intention towards thee is not straight. And he is not fighting to take the camps of his father, but to prevail over them and attack thee; for he would go with tens of thousands of natives and foreigners, and horses, and possessions which are carried away from thee.'

And after a little KAZAN sent again to BAIDU, saying, 'Make haste, send me armies, for enemies from the east, who are on the banks of [the river] GIHON, are meditating the crossing over into the quarter of KHORASAN, and very many rebels have made themselves visible in these quarters'. And the astute and experienced men also who were with BAIDU pondered upon these crafty words and proposals. And so when KAZAN saw that this proposal was not coming [593] into being, he sent to BAIDU and said, 'There is no need for armies; thou shalt send no man', thus putting away from him this wicked suspicion.

Then BAIDU relaxed somewhat, and he looked upon the shadow as if it was the substance, and after the manner of a small child he deceived himself with these machinations, and wiles, and cunning tricks. [The idea of] strife, and battle, and war he drove away from him, and he began to find pleasure in eating, that is to say drinking, only. He was wholly unconquered by lust and lasciviousness. and his mind was never led captive by any strange woman except his wives. And he never wished to gratify his lust in the Sodomite fashion like his predecessor, [that is to say KAIJATU]; but he conducted himself with understanding, and a well-ordered mind, a praiseworthy humbleness of disposition. And he received and honoured the men of high position, and the learned, and the monks and ascetics who were there, whatever the community to which they belonged might be; and he made men rich with gifts, and he made men splendid with royal apparel. And because he had been acquainted for long years with the DESPOENA (?) (1), the daughter of the king of the GREEKS, who was the wife of 'ABAKA, he was favourably disposed towards the Christians, and for a certain number of years he made a church and a beater of the board (2) to march with his camp, moreover he boldly gave himself the name of 'Christian'.

And because at this time the MONGOLS, both the nobles and the inferior folk in their entirety, had become HAGARENES (i.e, MUSLIMS), and had already been circumcised, and had been well instructed in ablutions, and prayers, and the special customs and observances of the MUSLIMS, since it was pleasing to them BAIDU himself became a MUSLIM, and all the nobles of his kingdom rejoiced exceedingly. But he was unable to withdraw himself from converse with the Christians, and besides them he never consented to trust any man whatsoever in all the affairs of the administration of [his] kingdom. And behold because of this he began to be hampered by two barriers. To the Christians he used to say, 'I am a Christian', and he hung a

cross on his neck. To the MUSLIMS he showed that he was a MUSLIM, but he was never able to learn the ablutions and the fasts. And whenever the headmen of their Faith were present with him, and they stood up to prayer, BAIDU used to send his son to pray with them, and in this way [594] he pacified their minds and cooled their wrath. But it was not hidden from the ARABS that he inclined towards the side of the Christians and that he leaned [on them]. And for about five months with such contradictory policies as these he ruled his kingdom.

And when the believing, and just, and righteous king HITAM [Het'um/Haithon] (II?) of CILICIA heard that BAIDU had triumphed, and that the kingdom of the MONGOLS was established for him, and that he was a friend of the Christians, and inclined to them more than to the other Faiths (or, Religions), he desired greatly to come to his service (i.e. to pay homage to him), and to meet him in person, and to put on a sure footing many matters between BAIDU and himself. And having set out from his own country he remained on the road nearly two months. And his arrival in the neighbourhood of SIAHKUH happened [at the same time as] the arrival of the great Amir NAWRUZ, with the troops who were with him, to capture BAIDU.

Now, because BAIDU was entirely engrossed with his own affairs he sent and said to the Armenian king HITAM (II) through an ambassador, 'Turn back to MARAGHA, and rest there for a little until I am at peace and return to the Camp, and then I will send and fetch thee'. And HITAM did so. And having arrived in MARAGHA he sat down there for about ten days, more or less. But BAIDU fled from before NAWRUZ the great general, and so the King of Kings, KAZAN, came, and he went and encamped on TELLA 'AUKAMA, which was near DIAHKHURKAN. And straightway king HITAM made ready and went to his service (or, to do homage), and he presented to him great gifts. And the King of Kings said unto him, 'Thou hast come to visit BAIDU and not us'. And king HITAM replied, 'I am bound to show subjection to all the seed of CHINGIZ KHAN, and I come to pay homage to whosoever is established on the throne'. Then the King of Kings welcomed him warmly, and he arrayed him in royal apparel. And he commanded that a Patent should be written for him, [595] and that all his petitions should be fulfilled.

Now inasmuch as some time before this the command had gone forth that the churches should be destroyed, HITAM begged from the King of Kings that the churches should not be destroyed, because they were the dwellings of God, and also houses of prayer. And so the King of Kings commanded that [the churches] should not be destroyed, and he wrote a Patent and gave it to an ambassador, [ordering] that the churches must by no means be destroyed, but that only the houses of images were to be overthrown, and that they should be henceforth mosques and colleges for the ARABS. And thus through this believing king many churches were freed from the destroyer. And this king went forth from the Camp with a happy heart, and gladness and rejoicing, on the first day of the week, on the ninth day of the month of the FIRST TESHWIN (OCTOBER) in this year, which is the year sixteen hundred and seven of the GREEKS (= A.D. 1295?).

Immediately, suddenly and unexpectedly, NAWRUZ and his troops burst upon BAIDU at a place which is called KUNGUR 'AULAN. But BAIDU was unable to make a stand even for a single hour before the King of Kings, KAZAN, and to engage in battle with him and oppose him. And he quickly turned his back and fled before him on the Sabbath day, on the twenty-fifth (or, twenty-fourth) day of the month of ILUL (SEPTEMBER), in the year sixteen hundred and six of the GREEKS (A.D. 1295). And NAWRUZ pursued him and overtook him, and he put him to death on the fifth day [of the week] of the ninth day of the month of the FIRST TESHWIN (OCTOBER), of the year sixteen hundred and seven (A.D. 1296). And he issued a command that the churches, and the houses of images, and the synagogues of the JEWS should be destroyed, and that the priests [of the images] and the chief priests should be treated with ignominy, and that tribute and taxes should be imposed upon them. And no Christian was to be seen [in the streets] unless he had a girdle round his loins, and no JEW was to be seen [in the streets] unless he had a mark on his head.

And in those days the foreign peoples stretched out their hands to TABRIZ, and they destroyed all the churches which were there, and there was great sorrow among the Christians in all the world. The persecutions, and disgrace, and mockings, and ignominy which the Christians suffered at this time, especially in BAGHDAD, words cannot describe. Behold, according to what people say, 'No Christian dared to appear in the streets (or, market), but the women went out and came in and bought and sold, because they could not be distinguished from the Arab women, and could not be identified [596] as Christians, though those who were recognized as Christians were disgraced, and slapped, and beaten and mocked. And behold, all the Christians who were in these regions were tortured with punishment of this kind; I would not say abandoned by God. And whilst they were being driven hither and thither, and were being worn out by tempestuous storms, the enemies of righteousness were jeering at them, and saying to them, 'Where is your God? Let us see if you have a helper or one who can redeem and deliver [you].' Now this persecution had not dominion over our people alone, but also over the JEWS, and it was twice as fierce, many times over, on the priests who were worshippers of idols. And this after the honour to which they had been promoted by the Mongol kings, and which was so great that one-half of the money which was gathered together in the treasury of the kingdom had been given to them, and it had been expended (?) on the work of images of gold and silver. And a very large number of the pagan priests, because of the way in which they were persecuted, became MUSLIMS.

And subsequently there went forth a command from the King of Kings and Yarlike (i.e. Edicts) were written to all the countries, and Mongol messengers were sent to every country and town to destroy the churches and to loot the monasteries. And wheresoever the messengers went and found Christians who rose up before them to render them service, and to give them gifts, they were less severe and were more lenient. For they were far more anxious to collect money than to destroy the churches, according to what happened in the city of ARBELA. For when the officers arrived there they remained twenty days, and they expected that some one of the Christians would approach [them] and undertake [to bring] a certain amount of gold, and would manifest towards them open-handedness in return for sparing the churches which were there so that they might not be damaged; but no man approached [them]. And the Metropolitan himself who was there could not support the weight (i.e. burden) of his churches, and no other man took upon himself the care of the churches, but every man looked carefully after the management of his own individual house. Therefore there was given straightway an opportunity to the pagans, and they laid [their] hands on the three splendid churches which were there, and they destroyed them utterly, down to the very foundations. These things took place [597] on the fourth day of the week, on the twenty-eighth day of the month of the LATTER TESHWIN (NOVEMBER) in that year.

Now when [the NINEVITES] heard of the calamity which had taken place there, they were terrified and were exceedingly afraid. And when the nobles and the officers [of the Mongols] passed over into the region of MAWSIL, certain men who loved works [connected with] the holy churches, and who made themselves responsible for the troubles [which assailed them], approached them, and undertook [to give] much gold. And because they did not possess any of the mammon of the world, they laid [their] hands on the equipment and furnishing of the churches, and they did not leave untaken a cross, or an eikon, or a censer, or a Book of the Gospels which was mounted (or, inlaid) with gold. And when this was not sufficient, they made the believers who were in the towns and villages subscribe a certain amount of money. And they collected nearly fifteen thousand *dinars*, and they weighed them (i.e. paid) against the destruction of the churches, and the tribute of the Christians. And by the help of God not one church was damaged.

And in these days a certain tribe of MONGOLS, who were called 'AWIRATAYE, who were wintering round about the Monastery of MAR MATTAI, and it happened that they had a complaint against the King of Kings. And messengers came from him to them, uttering curses and threats, because in the days when BAIDU reigned, those 'AWIRATAYE had laid their hands on certain TURKOMANS and taken from them sheep and

cattle, and herds of horses, and stallions, and mules, and camels without number. And after the kingdom of BAIDU had come to an end and KAZAN was ruling, the command went forth that the TURKOMANS should take it all back again from the 'AWIRATAYE, and every one who resisted and would not obey was to die the death. And because the great number of these possessions had come to an end, and nothing at all of them remained with the 'AWIRATAYE, they suffered great tribulation, and they were treated with contempt by the ambassadors and by the TURKOMANS. [And] [598] they leaped upon the ambassador and upon the TURKOMANS and killed them. And they took their families and everything which they were able to carry, and they fled to SYRIA—a body of ten thousand soldiers and fighting men. These things took place on the third day [of the week], on the twenty-ninth (or, nineteenth) day of the month of the FIRST KANON (JANUARY), in the year sixteen hundred and seven of the GREEKS (A.D. 1296).

Now in this year never a man of the cruel spoilers of SYRIA came forth to this eastern quarter, because the blood of those who were oppressed and they cry of the poor was heard before God. And justice was stirred up against them, that justice which watcheth times, and it wrought disasters on them by means of the famine and the pestilence which came upon their countries, especially in EGYPT. For they say that ALEXANDRIA was entirely emptied of [its] population. And since this story was not transmitted to us accurately, we do not enlarge our speech concerning the exciting rumours which [come] from the peoples, but that they occupy themselves with them in respect of famine and pestilence there is no doubt whatsoever. Moreover, as to how, and were, and when, and at what time we are not certain about to this day.

In (3) the year sixteen hundred and eight of the GREEKS (A.D. 1297), during the twenty days in the month of HAZIRAN (JUNE), on the second day of the week, in the morning, 'ALA AD-DIN, who was called the son of JAJA, captured the city of 'AMID; he had with him a strong force of ARABS who were gathered together from the countries of SYRIA. And 'AMID went forth into bitter captivity; they took prisoners twelve thousand persons, and many believers were killed. And after they had made Saint MAR GREGORY of that city suffer beatings they killed him. And they dared to loot the great church of the Mother of God, and they burnt it with fire. And its buildings were destroyed, and its beautiful and wonderful porticoes and pillars were overthrown; and through the intensity of the conflagration and the fierceness of the flames it was reduced to a mere heap of stones. The fire continued to smoulder in it for a month. And these things took place because the citizens of 'AMID had rebelled against the lord of MARDIN, MALIK AS-SALIH. And it was he who sent to this man whom we have mentioned above to come to SYRIA. And he came and he brought with him about twelve thousand [599] horsemen. And there was in the city a certain Amir whose name was 'ALAM AD-DIN, and he opened the gates of the city before them, and brought them in without any man being conscious of the fact. But he himself brought them in, and he sallied forth and went to the lord of MARDIN, and they made themselves masters of the city together and destroyed it. They came to a man, and he and his wife and his children were sleeping together. And straightway they woke them up, and the man they killed, and the woman and the children they took prisoners.

The Chronography Terminates Here.

(1) i.e. Mary, the daughter of Michael Palaeologus.

(2) The board was struck by a sacrist and served as a bell.

(3) The following paragraph is only found in in an Oxford Codex (Bodl. I).
